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CONTENTS

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LIST OF PLATES

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

———:)o(:———

Page 2, line 17.—*Read* executor

„ 5, line 21.—*Read* 606 A.C.

„ 11, text, line 10.—*Read* °ddhūlana

„ 14, foot-note 4, line 11.—*Read* comparison

„ 15, foot-note 2, line 3.—*Read* a surname

„ 16, text, lines 14-15.—*For* Maṟṟalūra *read* Mallalūra

„ 17, line 3.—*Read* Satyāśraya

„ 17, line 4.—*Read* Pōrmukharāma

„ 17, line 14.—*Read* interesting

„ 17, line 21.—*Read* tanuja

„ 18, line 19.—*Read* is Sanskrit

„ 18, line 20.—*Read* inscription

„ 18, line 36.—*For* 1939 *read* 1239

„ 20, foot-note 6, line 1.—*Read* examined

„ 21, foot-note 7, line 1.—*Read* Anaṅgabhīma

„ 23, text, line 4.—*Read* śrīmad°

„ 23, text, line 6.—*Read* utsav-ōpa°

„ 24, line 32.—*Read* tṛitīyō=ṅśa

„ 25, line 27.—*Read* (3) the

„ 26, line 5.—*For* hold *read* held

„ 30, foot-note 1, line 7.—*Read* Chyō (Chō) ḍagaṅga

„ 33, foot-note 3, line 10.—*For* lkie *read* like

„ 39, para. 4.—*Add note*—'Lōkārṇavadēva, mentioned in the last stanza of the record, seems to have been a feudatory or viceroy of the Gaṅga king and the real donor of the grant. He probably belonged to the Tumburu dynasty apparently claiming descent from the Gandharva of that name.'

„ 40, line 30.—*Read* 488)."[5]

Page 40, line 31.—*Read* Pūrṇimānta

„ 41. foot-note 6.—*Omit.*

„ 41, foot-note 7.—*Read* puñja

„ 42, foot-note 5, line 6 et passim.—*Read* Ḍamana

„ 44, foot-note 2.—*Read* Vol. II

„ 46, line 30.—*Read* Muñja, 974-96

„ 46, foot-note 2, line 9.—*Read* 438)

„ 51, line 8.—*Read* the Abhona plates[3] of Śaṅkaragaṇa

„ 59, line 1*et passim.*—*For* Abbottabad *read* Abottabad

„ 60, para. 2.—*Add note.*—'Huvishka's coins actually represent two divinities on some and three on the others. It seems therefore that Skanda-kumāra was regarded as a single god.'

„ 60, foot-note 2, line 11.—*Read* Kharōshṭhī

„ 66, foot-note 1, line 1.—*Read* Aśvamēdha to Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa ;

„ 83, line 1.—*For* fouud *read* found

„ 84, line 10.—*Add note*—'For the antiquities on the Kuluhā or Kaulēśvarī hill, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 90 ff.'

„ 92, foot-note 3.—Read *pramātaḥ* |

„ 93, line 1.—*For* Godabari *read* Godavari

„ 93, line 19.—*For* Ghōḍagaṅga *read* Chōḍagaṅga

„ 93, line 21.—*For* inscriptions *read* inscription

„ 93, line 31.—*For* vishya *read* vishaya

„ 93, line 34.—*For* maṇḍla *read* maṇḍala

„ 94, line 2.—*Read* Narayanapuram

„ 113, foot-note 2, line 4.—*For* One *read* One set

„ 117, foot-note 6, line 2.—*For* vikramānām=idam *read* vikramāṇām=anyatama-yōgād=avāpya mahīm=anuśāsatām=pravṛittakam=idaṁ

„ 121, para. 2.—*Add note*—'On the basis of a report from the Superintendent of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, the Chhoti Sadri inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1929-30, p. 187.'

„ 123, line 35.—*For* apperr *read* appear

„ 124, foot-note 10.—*Read* mya ; cf.

„ 126, line 3.—*For* vatsarāṇām *read* vatsarāṇāṁ(nām)

„ 130, line 16.—*For* fame *read* merit

Page 131, last para.—*Add note*—'Varāhamihira, who is supposed to have died in 583 A. D., mentions an *Āvantika-nṛipa* (king of the Avanti country, i.e. West Malwa) named *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, 86, 2; cf. V. V. Mirashi in *Nava Bhārata* [Marathi], August 1957, pp. 1 ff.). The *vardhana*-ending names of Dravyavardhana, Ādityavardhana (king of Daśapura according to the Mandasor inscription of about the close of the fifth century) and Vishṇuvardhana (i.e. Yaśōdharman of Daśapura, 532 A.D.) appear to suggest that they belonged to a later branch of the Aulikara family of Daśapura (Mandasor). It seems therefore that Aulikara rule was not extirpated from Daśapura by the Hūṇas, but that the Aulikaras transferred their allegiance for the time being from the Guptas to the Hūṇas. In such a case, Gauri of the Mānavāyani clan, ruling over the Chhoti Sadri area, would appear to have been a feudatory of Aulikara Ādityavardhana.

,, 152, text, line 6.—*Read* ||[1] [4*]

,, 152. foot-note 1, lines 2-3.—*Read* mah-āmbu-vāhaṁ

,, 170, lines 6 ff.—*Add note*—'Some of the *āchāras* are mentioned in the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgaśakti and Tējōvarman. Cf. lines 32 ff.—*Samagiri-vāstavyānāṁ va ijāṁ chandr-ārkka-kālikaṁ śulkam=ādī(dē)yaṁ samasta-rājyē n=āsti* [|*] *aparaṁ cha aputra-dhanaṁ nnā(n=ā)sti* [|*] *umbara-bhēda[ḥ] rāja-purushāṇām=āvāsakō jēmakaś=cha ētannāsti(n=āsti)* [|*] *kumārī-sāhasē rūpakāṇām=ashṭ-ōttara-śataṁ(tam)* | *saṁgrahaṇē dvātriṁśati(śad)-rūpakāḥ karṇṇa-trōḍanikāyāṁ shōḍaśa rūpakāḥ śira-sphōṭanē chatvāri rūpakāḥ bhārikāyāṁ vaṇik-putrasy=āshṭ-ōttara-śataṁ rūpakāṇāṁ naṅgē gṛihītasya yach=ch=āshṭau shōḍaśa vā nagara-mahallakā vichārya vadaṁtē tadētadēva-(tād=ēva) pramāṇaṁ(ṇam* |) (above, Vol. XXV, p. 237). A record of Śaka 973 (1050 A. D.) from Sūḍi, Dharwar District, registers the *śāsana-maryyāde* granted to the eight Seṭṭis (merchants) and eighty households of the village. According to it, the shops and households were granted immunity from all imposts, including fixed land-rent for two *srāhes* (years); thereafter they were to be charged with usual dues (*sarv-āya*). The rules regarding the eight Seṭṭis were not to apply to the country, nor those of the country to the eight Seṭṭis. The guilt of a father should not affect the son, nor the guilt of a son his father. If a shop-keeper would strike a thief, robber, burglar, enemy or an evil-minded person in the verandah near the screen of the shop, there should be neither guilt nor fine; but, if he would strike them elsewhere, he would be fined 6 gold *gadyāṇas* (ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 77 ff.).'

,, 170, foot-note 2.—*Add note*—'Prof. D. D. Kosambi suggests to me, "If the document is believed to define the merchants' privileges and taxes, it is obvious that the *āchāras* fall into consecutive groups; e.g., Nos. 53-59 which refer to the customs duty on trade goods. In that case, *vahitra* in No. 53 need not be a boat, but any large carrier. Nos. 54-56 do not refer to boat loads of buffaloes, etc., but loads carried by these animals. In this connection, *Dhārmika* can only be a supertax charged by the king in the name of religion. It would follow that the *varsha-paryushitā vaṇijaḥ* exempted from the *prāvēśya* (immigration tax) would be those who had taken up residence in the area in question for the rainy season only and not for a whole year. The implication is that trade was stopped during the rains. In Nos. 6, 7, 9 and 31, *chhala* seems to mean, as in Marathi, harassment or persecution or, in the present context, also prosecution.'

Page 176, last line.—*Add note*—'The word *vahitra* occurs in a similar passage in the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgaśakti. Cf. lines 35-36.—*sārttha-vahitrēshu pravēśē nirgamē cha pratyēkaṁ rūpakaḥ dēvasya yātr-ōtsavē dātavyaṁ(vyaḥ)* (above, Vol. XXV, p. 232).'

,, 185, line 23.—*For* languag *read* language

,, 187, foot-note 14.—*For* pādu *read* pāda

,, 190, line 5.—*For* Khajī *read* Khaljī

,, 203. text, line 6.—*Read* gh [ṛi] ta

,, 207, foot-note 5.—*For* dui *read* dvi

,, 236, text, line 11.—*Read* Śiunābha

,, 236, foot-note 18.—*Read* Śivanābha

,, 249, foot-note 4.—*Add note*—'See above, pp. 95 ff.'

,, 299, text, line 18.—*Read* vàśī | [1]

,, 300, text, line 50.—*Read* siṅhā (siṁhā) sanaṁ

,, 302, text, line 72.—*Read* svairi (r=a) yaṁ

,, 302, text, line 80.—*Read* ārādhya [ṁ*]

,, 302, text, line 82.—*Read* s=ābhud=bharttur=m mahī·

,, 303, text, line 92.—*Read* charitēn=ā°

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—DHULEV PLATE OF MAHARAJA BHETTI ; YEAR 73

(*1 Plate*)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

This plate was in the possession of Mr. Kalulal Ardavi, a Brāhmaṇa of Dhulēv (also called Ṛishabhadēva) about 40 miles south of Udaipur in Rajputana. According to his account, it was found at Kalyāṇpur, about 4 miles south-east of Dhulēv. It has been briefly noticed by the late M. M. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum for 1932-33*. Pandit A. K. Vyas, Superintendent, Archæology and Museum, Udaipur, invited my attention to its date at the Jaipur Session of the Indian History Congress held in December 1951, and kindly supplied me with an excellent photograph of it for decipherment and study. I found the record of considerable importance in view of the recent controversy regarding the Harsha era. I therefore edit it here with the kind permission of Pandit Vyas.

This is a **single copper-plate**, measuring 12½" broad and 3½" high, and is inscribed on one side only. It weighs 26½ *tolas*. There was apparently no seal discovered with it ; at least there is no indication of one having been soldered to it. The inscription consists of seven lines, inscribed breadthwise, of which the last appears to have been added subsequently. The record is in a good state of preservation. The average size of the letters is ·2". The **characters** are of the North-Indian Alphabet and resemble in a general way those of the Udaipur inscription of Aparājita dated V. 718.[1] Worthy of note are the curves of some letters and signs which are ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters we may note the initial *ū* in *Ūbbaraka*, l. 3 ; *k* which appears looped in some cases (cf. *Dutakō*, l. 5) and unlooped in others (cf. *-kuṭumbi-*, l. 1) ; the lingual *ḍ* which occurs in *Bhaṭṭivaḍasya*, l. 6 ; *n* which is generally looped as in *Bhaṭṭināga*, l. 2, but, in some cases, unlooped as in *anumatiḥ*, l. 3. *Y* is generally as in the Udaipur inscription, but the curve of its left member is turned inside, not outside as in that inscription ; see *bōdhayaty=astu*, ll. 1-2. Superscript *r* generally appears above the line (cf. *varsha-*, l. 4), but in *-nimittyartha*, l. 2, it is formed on the line.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for one imprecatory and benedictive verse, the whole record is in prose. The wrong form *karshāpayataḥ* in place of *karshayataḥ* in l. 3 and the use of the instrumental case in stating the date deserve notice. The **orthography** shows the use of the medial *ṛi* for *ri* in *tṛi-saptatibhiḥ*, l. 5, the reduplication of the consonant preceding and following *r* (see *Chandrāttrēya*, l. 2 and *sarvvān*, l. 1) and of that following an *anusvāra* in *paripaṁtthanā*, l. 3 and *saṁvvatsarē*, l. 5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* **Bhētti** of **Kishkindhā.** It purports to record the consent of *Mahārāja* Bhētti to the gift of the *agrahāra* village **Ūbbaraka** to the Brāhmaṇa **Bhaṭṭināga** of the Chandrātrēya *gōtra* and Vājasanēya (*śākhā*)[2] for the religious

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29 ff. For similar characters, see also the Vasantgadh inscription of Varmalāta ; ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 187 ff.

[2] The inscription mentions *Vāda(ja)sanēya* as a *gōtra*, but *gōtra* there is evidently a mistake for *śākhā*.

merit of *Mahārāja* **Bappadatti,** who may have been the king's father.[1] The order is communicated to the king's *Āyuktakas, Viniyuktakas, Chāṭas, Bhaṭas, Kuṭumbins, Mahattaras* and *Drāṅgikas.* The record is dated in the **Āśvayuja saṁvatsara** and in the **73rd year** (expressed in words) **since the foundation of the kingdom** (*rājya-pratipatti*). The *Dūtaka* was **Yajñadēva** and the scribe, Sāmbabhaṭa. After the mention of these, the record contains the **sign-manuals** of *Mahārāja* **Bhētti** and **Bhaṭṭivaḍa,** without specification of the latter's rank. Ordinarily a record closes with the sign-manual of the reigning king, but here we have the additional statement **that at the** camp of **Tumbatālī,** the *Dūtaka* **Karkabhaṭa** was appointed by the *Sāmanta* **Bhartṛivaḍḍa.** Again, the last line which seems to have been added at a later date records the consent of the *Sāmanta* **Bhartṛipadra** and mentions another *Dūtaka*, viz., *Sāmanta* **Bhavvihita.**

The inscription thus records the consent of two princes *Mahārāja* Bhētti and *Sāmanta* Bhartṛipadra and mentions three *Dūtakas*, Yajñadēva, Karkabhaṭa and Bhavvihita. The first of these was appointed by *Mahārāja* Bhētti, the second by *Sāmanta* Bhartṛivaḍḍa, and the third by *Sāmanta* Bhartṛipadra. The need for appointing three *Dūtakas* is not clear. Perhaps Bhaṭṭivaḍa, Bhartṛivaḍḍa and Bhartṛipadra are identical, the first two being Prakritised forms of the third name which is in Sanskrit. If this conjecture is correct, it would seem that *Mahārāja* Bhētti first appointed his *Dūtaka* Yajñadatta as the Executor of the grant. As the donated village lay in the territory of his *Sāmanta,* the latter's sign-manual also was added at the end. The *Sāmanta* appointed his own *Dūtaka* while camping at Tumbatālī. The grant seems to have remained unexecuted for some time. Therefore, the consent of the *Sāmanta* was again recorded and the name of another *Dūtaka* was mentioned at the end. This seems to be the only plausible explanation of the intriguing mention of two *Sāmantas* and three *Dūtakas* in the present inscription.

Let us next turn to the date of the record. M. M. Ojha referred the date 73 of the present inscription to the Harsha era and took it as equivalent to 679 A. C.[2] Very few dates of the Harsha era contain such particulars as the month, fortnight, *tithi* and week-day or *nakshatra.* The present inscription also does not contain such details as would have enabled us to calculate its date. There is, however, one important datum which affords some basis for verification. The seventy-third year when the grant was made is named **Āśvayuja-saṁvatsara.** This is evidently a year of the **twelve-year cycle of Jupiter.** If the year 73 was of the Harsha era, it would correspond to 679-80 A. C. But the year of Jupiter's twelve-year cycle corresponding to 679-80 A. C. was Jyēshṭha, not Āśvayuja as required. So the date does not appear to be of the Harsha era.

There is one other statement in the present grant which also indicates that the year was not of the Harsha era. The 73rd year when the grant was made is said to have been reckoned from 'the acquisition of the kingdom (*rājya-pratipatti*)'. This is not likely to be a regnal year of *Mahārāja* Bhētti himself; for a reign of such length is improbable, though not altogether impossible. The date is evidently of some era which marked the foundation of the kingdom by an ancestor of Bhētti whose name unfortunately has not been recorded. His descendants seem to have continued the reckoning started by him and dated their records according to it.

Judging by the palæography of the present record, the era to which the year 73 refers must have originated some time in the seventh century A. C. The question, therefore, arises, 'Have we any evidence of such an era having been current in Rajputana in that age?' In this connection we may notice the following two inscriptions of the Bhāṭika era, to which Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently drawn our attention :—

1 Jaisalmer Vishṇu temple inscription[3]—Vikrama Saṁvat 1494 =Bhāṭika Saṁvat 812, Māgha śu. di. 6, Śukravāra, Aśvinī *nakshatra.*

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[1] [See p. 7 below.—Ed.]

[2] *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum* for 1932-33, p. 2.

[3] Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions,* No. 775.

'This date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 31st January 1438 A. C., when the *tithi* Māgha śu. di. 6 ended 15 h. 50 m. and the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. This date shows that the epoch of the Bhāṭika era is 624-25 A. C.

2 Jaisalmer Śiva temple inscription[1]—Vikrama Saṁvat 1673 =Śaka Saṁvat 1538 =Bhāṭika Saṁvat 993, with the Uttarāyaṇa occurring in Mārgaśīrsha.

This date also is perfectly regular ; for in 1616 A.C., corresponding to V.S. 1673, the Uttarāyaṇa occurred on the *amāvāsyā* of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrsha, the corresponding Christian date being the 28th December 1616 A.C. This date shows that the epoch of the Bhāṭika era is 623-24 A.C.

There is thus the difference of one year between the two epochs. The discrepancy can be reconciled by supposing that the latter date is recorded in a current year, and the former, in an expired year.

These two dates show that the Bhāṭika era was started in 624-25 A.C., and that it continued in use in Rajputana till the 17th century A.C.

Let us next see whether the year 73 of the Dhulēv plate refers to this Bhāṭika era. If the year was of this era, the Āśvayuja saṁvatsara must have been current in the neighbourhood of (623+73=) 696 A.C. And it is noteworthy that the year Āśvayuja was actually current in 695 A.C. according to the mean-sign system. There is still a difference of one year to be accounted for ; but it may be due to some confusion regarding current and expired years such as is noticed occasionally in the dates of other eras also.[2]

It seems probable, therefore, that the Dhulēv copper-plate grant is dated in the **Bhāṭika era.** Its name *Bhāṭika* can also be easily accounted for. If it was started by an ancestor of Bhētti, as seems probable, he may have borne a similar name[3] which, in the course of seven or eight centuries, may have been changed to *Bhāṭika.* It is not surprising that the name was not mentioned in connection with its early dates, for the same is noticed in the case of several other eras also.[4]

The dates of some other inscriptions found in Rajputana and the adjoining country such as the Kot (former Bharatpur State) inscription (year 48), the Tasa-i (former Alwar State) inscription (year 182) and the Udaipur Museum inscription (year 207), which are usually referred to the Harsha era,[5] may also be of the Bhāṭika era. These inscriptions have been only briefly noticed, and their facsimiles have not been published. It is not, therefore, known whether any of them contain any data useful for verification. Besides, there is no definite evidence that the Harsha era spread to Rajputana.[6] An era generally spreads with the extension of political power, but we have no literary, epigraphic or other evidence indicating that Harsha's suzerainty or political influence extended to Rajputana and the neighbouring countries.[7] On the other hand, we have the definite statements in the two inscriptions at Jaisalmer as well as some verifiable data in the present inscription which clearly show that the Bhāṭika era was started in Mēwāḍ in the first quarter of the seventh century A.C. If the aforementioned records from the former Bharatpur

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[1] Ibid., No. 962.

[2] See, *e.g.*, similar dates of the Kalachuri and Śaka eras. *ABORI.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 35 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 265.

[3] If he was the grandfather of Bhētti he may have borne the same name as the latter. In India grandsons are often named after their grandfather.

[4] The name of the Kalachuri era is, for instance, noticed for the first time in a record of the 12th century A.C. The current names of the Vikrama and Śālivāhana eras are first noticed in the records of the 10th and the 13th century respectively.

[5] G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 161.

[6] The Hund inscription also seems to be dated in the Bhāṭika era. For the correct readings and verification of the two dates mentioned in it, see my article entitled 'The Harsha and Bhāṭika Eras' in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 191 ff.

[7] See R. S. Tripathi's *History of Kanauj*, pp. 118 ff.

and Alwar States are also dated in the Bhāṭika era as they seem to be, it would not be wrong to infer that there was a great empire flourishing in Rajputana and the neighbouring territory in the seventh century A.C.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, no place-name like **Kishkindhā** is noticeable in the vicinity of Dhulēv. About four miles south-east of Dhulēv there are extensive ruins of an ancient town near the modern village of Kalyāṇpur where the present plate is said to have been found. These ruins may mark the site of ancient Kishkindhā. **Ūbbaraka,** the *agrahāra* village, may be modern Umbarī, about a mile to the north-west of Kalyāṇpur.[1] **Tumbatālī** cannot be traced in the neighbourhood.

TEXT[2]

1 ओं[3] नमः ॥ स्वस्ति किष्किद्धां[4] । महाराजभेत्तिः [कुशली] सर्व्वानेव [स्वानायुक्तक]विनियुक्तकच(चा)टभटकुटुम्बिमहत्तरद्राङ्गिकां(कान्) बोधयत्य-

2 [स्तु] वो विदितं यथा मया महाराजबप्पदत्तिः तस्यैव पुण्याप्यायननिमित्त्यर्थं[5] भट्टिनागब्राह्मणाय चन्द्रात्त्रेयसगोत्रायः[6] वादसनेय-

3 सगोत्राय[7] [ऊ]ब्बरकग्रामाग्राहारे अनुमतिः दत्ता [।*] अस्य कृषतः कर्षापयतो[8] वा परिपंत्थना[9] न करणीया ग्रामे वासिभिश्च समुचि-

4 [त]भागहिरण्यदेयोपनयः कायः(र्यः) [।*] भवति चात्र श्लोकः [।*] षष्ठि[10] वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] अ(आ)च्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च

5 तान्येव नरके वसे[त्*] ॥ राज्यप्रतिमत्तावषैः तृसप्ततिभिः[11] अश्वयुजसंव्वत्सरेः[12] [।*] दु(दू)तको यज्ञदेवः ॥ लिखितंञ्च(च) साम्बभटेनः[13] [।*]

6 महाराजभेत्तिस्वहस्तो[ः][14] । भट्टिवडस्य स्वहस्तः ॥ [15]तुम्बतालीनिवेशे सामन्तभतृ(र्तृ)-वड्डसकाशा[त्*] दु(दू)तकः कक्कभटः ॥

7 श्रीसामन्तभर्तृपट्टस्यानुमतिः [।*] दूतकोत्त्र सामन्तभव्विहितः [।*]

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[1] For the identification of the places I am obliged to Pandit A. K. Vyas, Superintendent, Udaipur Museum.

[2] From a photograph of the plate, supplied by Pandit A. K. Vyas.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read किष्किन्धायाः. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[5] Read महाराजबप्पदत्तेः पुण्याप्यायननिमित्तम्. [See p. 7 below.—Ed.]

[6] This *visarga* is superfluous.

[7] Read वाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणे.

[8] Read कर्षयतो.

[9] Read परिपन्थना.

[10] Read षष्टिं.

[11] Read राज्यप्रतिपत्तिवर्षे त्रिसप्ततितमे.

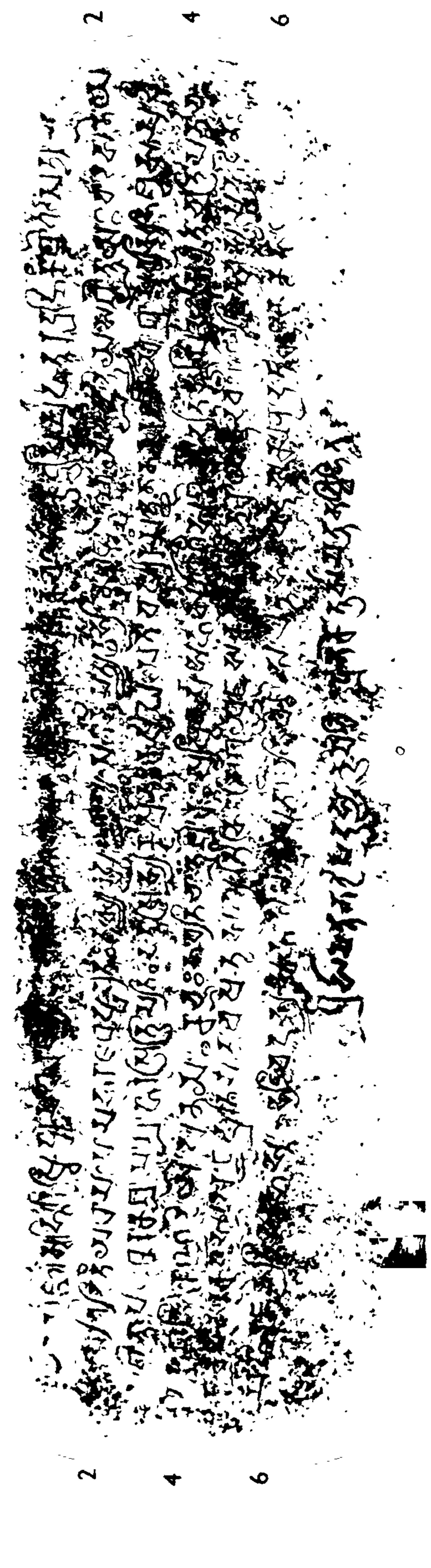
[12] Read आश्वयुजसंवत्सरे. Th ore and that after साम्बभटेन may have been intended as a sign of punctuation.

[13] See n. 12, above.

[14] Read स्वहस्तः.

[15] This may be read as अम्बताली also, but the medial vowel of the first *akshara* may have been intended to be *u* as in *dūtakaḥ* further in this line. [The *aksharas* in question are *tra* and *dra*.—D.C.S.]

DHULEV PLATE OF MAHARAJA BHETTI; YEAR 73



SCALE: SEVEN-EIGHTHS

No. 2—NOTE ON THE DHULEV PLATE OF MAHARAJA BHETTI

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Professor V. V. Mirashi has edited the above inscription in the foregoing pages. We find it difficult to agree with many of the Professor's suggestions based on the evidence of the record as interpreted by him. In the present note we are inclined to examine primarily a group of five suggestions offered by Prof. Mirashi in this connection.

The first of these suggestions is that the era to which the date of the Dhulēv plate, viz., year 73, has to be referred " marked the foundation of the kingdom by an ancestor of Bhētti " who issued the charter. According to the second suggestion, which is based on the first, the said ancestor of the issuer of the plate was the latter's grandfather who also bore the name *Bhētti*. The third suggestion, based on the second, is that *Bhāṭika*, the name of an era, the epoch of which falls in 623-24 or 624-25 A. C. and to which the Professor is inclined to refer the year 73 of the inscription under review, is a later modification of the name of Bhētti who was the grandfather of the issuer of the Dhulēv plate and founded the era in question. According to the fourth suggestion, which seeks to justify the foundation of an era as laid down in the third, the dynasty, to which the founder of the Bhāṭika era and his grandson who issued the Dhulēv plate belonged, ruled over " a great empire flourishing in Rajputana and the neighbouring territory in the seventh century A. C. " The fifth suggestion, apparently meant to defend the fourth, is that Rājasthān was outside the sphere of influence of the great Harshavardhana (606-47 A.C.), and therefore the era used in the Dhulēv plate cannot be the Harsha era of 606 A.D.

In our opinion, the first of the above group of five suggestions, which is really the basis of the remaining four, rests on a misunderstanding of the evidence of the Dhulēv plate. Consequently the other suggestions, based as they are on a shaky foundation, are even more unjustified. The date portion of the Dhulēv plate in line 5 of the inscription reads : *rājya-pratimattā-vashaiḥ tṛi-saptatibhiḥ Aśvayuja-saṁvvatsarēḥ* which has been amended by Prof. Mirashi as *rājya-pratipatti-varshē trisaptatitamē Āśvayuja-saṁvatsarē.* According to the Professor, " the 73rd year when the grant was made is said to have been reckoned from 'the acquisition of the kingdom' (*rājya-pratipatti*) ". He thinks, as noted above, that the era, to which the year has to be referred, " marked the foundation of the kingdom by an ancestor of Bhētti ". Thus the " acquisition of the kingdom " is referred to the founder of the royal family to which *Mahārāja* Bhētti, issuer of the charter, belonged. In our opinion, the passage speaks of *Mahārāja* Bhētti's accession to the throne and has nothing to do with any of his ancestors.

As to the foundation of an era in ancient India, we have elsewhere[1] shown how an early era appears to have been nothing more than the regnal reckoning of an independent king (who was not bound to use the regnal date of a suzerain) continued by his successors and how the years of an era were often referred to exactly as regnal years. The Gupta era was founded by an ancestor of Chandragupta II (376-414 A.C.). This is clear from the Mathura inscription[2] of that monarch, the date portion of which reads : *Śrī-Chandraguptasya vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē paṁchamē 5 kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁvatsarē ēkashashṭhē* (*°shashṭitamē*) 61, " in the year five —5— of the victorious reign of the illustrious Chandragupta, in the year sixtyone —61— according to the era ". Here both the regnal year of the king and the year of the Gupta era are used side by side. But generally the year of the regnal reckoning was omitted while the year of the era was used as if it were a regnal year. Thus the Gadhwa inscription[3] of the time of the same Gupta emperor has the date : *śrī-*

[1] *Vikrama Volume*, edited by R. K. Mookerjee, Gwalior, 1948, pp. 564-65.

[2] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 270 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 271-55.

[3] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1261. See also *śrī-Kumāraguptasy=ābhivarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē sha-ṇṇavatē* (*vatitamē*) (ibid., No. 1263), *śrī-Kumāragupta-rājya-saṁvatsarē 98* (ibid., No. 1264), etc., etc. Note further *śrī-Śāntikaradēva-rājya-saṁvat 93* (ibid., No. 2042), etc.

Chandragupta-rājya-saṁvatsarē 88, " in the year 88 of the reign of the illustrious Chandragupta ". By this we have not to understand that the inscription in question was incised in the eightyeighth regnal year of Chandragupta II but that it was engraved in the eightyeighth year of the Gupta era which fell in the reign of the said Gupta monarch. Just as in this case the year 88 of the Gupta era is represented as the *rājya-saṁvatsara* (i.e., a year of the reign) of Chandragupta II, in the Dhulēv plate the year 73 of an era is stated to have been the *rājya-pratipatti-varsha* (i.e., the year of the acquisition of kingdom, the year of accession to the throne, the first regnal year) of *Mahārāja* Bhētti, issuer of the charter. Of course the Dhulēv plate does not clearly state : *śrī-Bhētti-rājya-pratipatti-varshē trisaptatitamē* ; but we have numerous instances of dates without specific reference to the king. Thus the Udayagiri inscription[1] of the time of Chandragupta II simply gives the date in the words : *Saṁvatsarē 82*, while the Sānchi inscription[2] of the same reign merely has : *Saṁ 93*. As indicated by the Gadhwa inscription referred to above, the contracted dates of these two records were expected to stand respectively for *śrī-Chandragupta-rājya-saṁvatsarē 82* and *śrī-Chandragupta-rājya-saṁvatsarē 93*.

We believe that the Dhulēv plate is dated in the year 73 of some era, the year corresponding to the first regnal year of *Mahārāja* Bhētti who issued the charter. This fact, however, does not prove that the era in question was founded by one of Bhētti's ancestors. The records of certain kings of Kauśāmbī (modern Kosam near Allahabad) " are characterised by the use of an era which seems to be no other than Kanishka's reckoning, i.e., the Śaka era of A.D. 78, introduced in the locality during the rule of Kanishka I ".[3] But the language, in which the dates are quoted in the inscriptions, reminds us of the dates of the Gupta records referred to above, e.g., *śrī-Bhadramagha-ghasya saṁvatsarē 86*,[4] *śrī-Bhīmavarmmaṇaḥ saṁvat 139*,[5] etc. The era of 248-49 A.C. is believed by scholars, including Prof. Mirashi, to have started from the accession of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna.[6] But the year 245 of this era is quoted in an inscription of the Traikūṭakas as : *Traikūṭānāṁ pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śata-dvayē pañchachatvāriṁśaduttarē*,[7] although even Prof. Mirashi has not taken this passage to indicate that the era in question was founded by the Traikūṭakas. The years of the era of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga were originally introduced by the expression *pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara*[8], but later often by the expression *Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara*.[9] In a record of the Kadamba feudatories of the Gaṅgas, however, the era is introduced by the passage *Gaṅga-Kadamba-vaṁśa-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara*.[10] This does not mean that the Kadambas had anything to do with the foundation of the Gaṅga era.

As we have shown, the Dhulēv plate was issued by *Mahārāja* Bhētti in the year of his accession, i.e., his first regnal year, corresponding to the year 73 of an era, and there is nothing to suggest that this era was founded by one of his ancestors. That the charter was issued soon after Bhētti's accession is also indicated by another passage of the Dhulēv plate, although it has been misunderstood by Prof. Mirashi. In line 2 of the record we have the passage : *mahārāja-bappa-dattiḥ tasy-aiva puṇy-āpyāyana-nimittyarthaṁ* which has been amended by the Professor as *Mahārāja-Bappadattēḥ puṇy-āpyāyana-nimittaṁ*. He thinks that the grant was made by Bhētti " for the

[1] Ibid., No. 1260.

[2] Ibid., No. 1262.

[3] *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II), p. 176 ; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 365.

[4] *Select Inscriptions*, loc. cit.

[5] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1277.

[6] Cf. *ABORI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1 ff. ; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 222.

[7] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1202. See *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 566ff.

[8] Ibid., Nos. 1471 ff., 2045 ff.

[9] Ibid., Nos. 1480, 1482, etc.

[10] Ibid., No. 2053.

religious merit of *Mahārāja* Bappadatti, who may have been the king's father". But in this interpretation the expression *tasy=aiva* is totally ignored. There can be little doubt that the intended reading of the passage is *mahārāja-bappa-dattau tasy=aiva puṇy-āpyāyana-nimittaṁ* which has to be read with *Ūbbarakagrām-āgrahārē* in the following line. Here *bappa* means 'father' and *datti*, 'a gift'. The expression *tasy=aiva* stands for *bappasy=aiva*. The village in question was apparently granted by *Mahārāja* Bhētti's father who was also a *Mahārāja*, although his personal name is not mentioned in the record. Bhētti had to ratify the grant made by his father for the religious merit of the latter obviously because the original donor had died before the execution of the deed. A similar case is offered by the Hirahaḍagalli plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, which record the ratification of a grant previously made by the king's *mahārāja-bappa-svāmin*.[1] Epigraphic passages like *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-pād-ānudhyāta, paramadaivata-bappabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-pād-ānudhyāta*, etc.,[2] show that the word *bappa* in these cases has to be taken in the sense of 'father' and not in that of a personal name[3].

The above comments will show that Prof. Mirashi's first suggestion regarding the foundation of the era by an ancestor of *Mahārāja* Bhētti is, to say the least, inconclusive. The other suggestions, based on this one, do not therefore require elaborate refutation. The second suggestion that the founder of the era in question was another Bhētti who was the grandfather of the issuer of the Dhulēv plate may be passed over without comments. The third suggestion that *Bhāṭika* is a later modification of *Bhētti* can hardly be seriously considered as it is a philological speculation of little value. The contention that the year 73 of the Dhulēv plate is to be referred to the Bhāṭika era, known only from two Jaisalmer inscriptions of 1438 and 1616 A.C., is unsatisfactory not only because Dhulēv is far away from Jaisalmer but also because there is no evidence regarding the prevalence of the Bhāṭika era before the fifteenth century A.C. The Bhāṭika era may have been a solar modification of the Hijrī like the Faslī, Bengali and other Sāls of a later date.[4]

The fourth suggestion of Prof. Mirashi that the dynasty represented by the issuer of the Dhulēv plate ruled over "a great empire" goes clearly against the known facts of Indian history and epigraphy. The very nature of the document under review as well as its issuer's humble title shows beyond doubt that Mahārāja Bhētti was not an imperial ruler. Hiuen-tsang's account and epigraphic records discovered in Rājasthān do not indicate the possibility of the existence in that area, about the seventh century A.C., of a great empire with which Bhētti can be reasonably associated. Whether Harshavardhana succeeded in extending his political influence over the whole of Rājasthān need not be discussed in this connection. Suffice it to say that his paternal kingdom comprised the Eastern Panjab together with the contiguous areas of Rājasthān, that he succeeded in making himself master of the erstwhile Maukhari dominions in the U. P. and Bihār and that he led an expedition against the Maitraka king of Valabhī ruling over Kathiawar and the adjoining regions, who was subdued and became one of Harsha's subordinate allies. Dhulēv lying about 45 miles to the south of Udaipur was apparently not far away from the dominions of the Maitraka king.[5] It is therefore more probable that the Dhulēv area was not outside the sphere of Harshavardhana's influence at least during the years when he was leading an expedition against Kathiawar. Prof. Mirashi's calculations do not appear to preclude the possibility of the Harsha era being used in the Dhulēv plate.[6]

[1] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 438.
[2] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 186, note.
[3] See *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 183 ff.
[4] For the general belief about the origin of the Bhāṭika era, see G. H. Ojha, *Prāchīna-lipi-mālā*, p. 178. For the negligible difference between the commencement of the Bhāṭika era (623-24 A. C.) and that of the Hijra (622-23 A. C.) see the explanation of Prof. Mirashi himself; above, p. 3 and note 2. Cf. *JASL*, 1951, pp. 79 ff.
[5] Śilāditya of the Samoli (old Udaipur State, Rājasthān) inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 12) may actually be Harshavardhana.
[6] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 342 ff.

No. 3—PALDI INSCRIPTION OF GUHILA ARISIMHA; V. S. 1173

(*1 Plate*)

AKSHAYA KEERTY VYAS, UDAIPUR

The inscription was noticed by the late Pt. G. H. Ojhā in the *Annual Report, Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1916. He attributes it to the reign of Guhila Vijayasiṁha, a copper-plate grant of whose reign he discovered in the possession of a resident of the village of Kadmāl,[1] a few miles north-west of Udaipur. But he does not appear to have attempted to see whether the fragments of the inscribed lintels discovered by him would make a complete record. This is responsible for the grave error in its attribution, which has been accepted by almost all subsequent writers on the subject. It will be seen, as we proceed further, that the epigraph really pertains to the reign of **Arisiṁha** (son of Vijayasiṁha) who was the ruling prince in V. S. 1173 (1116 A.C.).

It is an every day experience of archaeologists to find ignorant folk indulging in treating important relics of the past without the slightest concern, whether they be epigraphs, sculptures or architectural remains, and our record presents a glaring illustration of this type of treatment. It was originally engraved on the inner faces of the three lintels spanning the open porch of a small shrine dedicated to Kārttikasvāmin (according to Ojhā), situated a bit obliquely in front of the Vāmēśvara Śiva temple near the village of **Pālḍī**, about five miles north of Udaipur. The two side lintels are still *in situ*; but the central one, evidently longer in size, was not found in its original place when I visited the site a few years ago. As a matter of fact, it had already been broken into two pieces long ago, and the fragments had been put to different uses by the ignorant people. The smaller or the right side piece was shaped like a crude bracket chiselling away a portion of the inscription, to support a beam of the Nandi pavilion opposite the main Śiva temple; and the bigger or the left side fragment was used for carving out *satī* figures in relief on its lower face, scratching away the lower part of the last line of the inscription. It was this latter piece containing the name of Vijayasiṁha, which was found out by Ojhā, while the former one which contained the name of his son Arisiṁha, he could not trace, though it also lay half-hidden in the structure of the pavilion near at hand. This is how the mistake crept in, which led to another mistake of assigning the Kadmāl plates to the reign of Vijayasiṁha by shifting its genuine date to about two and a half decades later, in the light of the date of the present epigraph supposed to belong to his reign. Ojhā also thought that all these inscribed pieces of stone were possibly brought from Āhār and reset where they have been found; but, in view of their dimensions, they appear to have formed part of the original structure in which they were found, in spite of the fact that they record the construction of the bigger temple dedicated to Śiva.

It is a brief record which does not admit of any special remark as regards its **palaeography** and **orthography**. It is written in Nāgarī characters. *Śirō-mātrās* and *pṛishṭha-mātrās* are both used to denote medial *ai*, *ō* and *au*. *Y* and *p*, though generally different in shape, have at places become almost identical; cf. *maulōpachaya* (line 2), *yō vijaya-* (line 3). Nasal sounds are represented both by *anusvāra* and class consonants; e.g., *[Bha]gavāñ=jagad-ēka-va(ba)ṁdhur=* (line 8). *V* is used in lieu of *b* in a few cases. Consonants following *r* are generally reduplicated.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the whole composition is in verse excepting the adoration to Śiva in a small sentence at the very outset, and the portion relating to the date, author, scribe, engraver and others, towards the end, which are in prose. There are in all twenty-four verses in different metres, none of which is numbered.

The inscription opens with a symbol followed by salutation to Śiva. The lustre of Śaṁbhu, i.e., Śiva, is praised in verse 1. Verse 2 describes in a poetic way the well-known royal family of **Guhila**. The manner in which Guhila is mentioned here proves him to be the real progenitor of

[1] Ojhā, *Rājputānē kā Itihāsa*, Fasc. II, pp. 445-46.

the family as against Bāpā of later inscriptions, and this is supported by other older records like the Āṭapura inscription[1] of Śaktikumāra of V. S. 1034 (977 A. C.) and Kadmāl plates of Guhila Vijayasiṁha, which are being published in this journal. From verse 3 begins the **genealogical account** proper, which, though brief covering only three generations, is important inasmuch as it gives a correct succession of the three princes Vairisiṁha, Vijayasiṁha and Arisiṁha, amidst whom there now remains no room for any interpolation. We know from verse 147[2] of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. C.) that Vijayasiṁha's son and successor was Vairasiṁha (i.e., Vairisiṁha), and it was after him that Arasiṁha (i.e., Arisiṁha) appeared. But the epigraph on hand, dealing as it does with only three generations, appears to represent the correct genealogy of the dynasty during that period. Moreover, the author of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, who did not even know the name of Vijayasiṁha whom he mentions only in vague terms as *narēndra*, is presumably liable to make a mistake regarding his successor. This is how the name Vairasiṁha, falling between Vijayasiṁha (the *narēndra*) and Arasiṁha in that record, now appears to be an unauthentic interpolation.

No information of any historical value is to be found in the description of the three successive rulers mentioned in this epigraph. **Vairisiṁha**, the first on the list here, is described in verses 3-4. Then comes **Vijayasiṁha**, his son, whose account also covers two stanzas (verses 5-6). Unfortunately, portions of the slab containing these two verses are damaged, so that satisfactory comprehension of their original import has now become impossible. Verse 6, however, aims at describing him at war with a multitude of other powerful princes, wherein he proved himself irresistible ; but the manner of the description is more poetic than historical, and it is difficult to ascertain as to which historical event the author here intends to refer to. Similarly verses 7-8 make mention of **Arisiṁha**, son of Vijayasiṁha, whose martial and other qualities have likewise been described in a general way. Verse 9 proclaims him as the ruling prince of Mēdapāṭa, i.e., Mewār, at the time of the record.

Then, in verses 10-11, follows the description of **Śiva** incarnating himself on the earth at **Kāyāvarōhaṇa** in Bhṛigukachchha (Broach District of Gujarāt). This incarnation evidently refers to **Lakulīśa**, who was the founder of the Pāśupata doctrine of Śaivism, and temples dedicated to whom have been discovered in various places. His monastic order was upheld after him by his worthy disciples, **Kuśika** and others, who were initiated into the Pāśupata philosophy by Lakulīśa himself (verse 12). Thereafter the monastic succession passed to many a similar sage, who led a pious and austere life (verses 13-15). Verses 16-22 give a list of teachers succeeding one after the other. It contains six such names with **Khaṇḍēśvara** at the top, who is said to have been the head preceptor (*guru*).[3] He was succeeded by **Janakarāśi, Trilōchanarāśi, Vasantarāśi, Valkala** and **Śivabhakti.** Śivabhakti was the senior disciple of Valkala. All these were saints of extra-ordinary philosophical and spiritual attainments. Verse 23 records the **object** of the inscription, which is the construction of a temple of Śiva jointly by Valkala and his seniormost pupil Śivabhakti. This structure seems to be the bigger Śiva temple on the site, now popularly known as the shrine of Vāmēśvara, situated opposite the smaller shrine dedicated to Kārttikasvāmin, to which the slabs containing the inscription now belong. In verse 24, long life for the Śiva temple has been prayed for.

The installation of the god Śiva and the consecration of the temple took place **on Sunday, the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the Vikrama year 1173.** This date corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May, 1116 A. C., taking the Indian month to be *pūrṇimānta*. *Navamī* commenced on that day at ·12.

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[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 311 and 325.

[3] [The verse seems to say that the Śaiva teachers belonged to a sect called Guṇakhaṇḍēśvara.—D. C. S.]

Paṁḍita **Śūdraga** was the author of the inscription which was written on the stone slabs by *Paṁḍita* **Hariśchaṁdra**, the scribe. The engraving was done by the mason **Kēsarin.** The installation and the sanctifying ceremony were conducted by the learned astrologer **Yaśōdēva.** *Rājaputra* **Salakhaṇarā**, son of Ūpalarā of the Sōlaṁki race, was the officer in charge of all arrangements concerned.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1, 5, 9, 11, 13-16, 18 and 21-24 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Sragdharā* ; verses 3, 6, and 8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 4, a variety of *Mātrāsamaka* ; verses 7 and 17 *Āryā* ; verse 10 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 12 and 20 *Gīti* ; and verse 19 *Upēndravajrā*.]

First Lintel

1 ॐ[2] ।। ॐ नमः शिवाय ।। वंदे तच्छांभवं ज्योतिर्जगज्या(ज्ज्या)योद्भुत-
प्र[भ]म(म्) । नमतां दुःखजातावि(नि) य[स्मि]न्निन्धनतां ययुः ।। [१*]
वंशोस्त्यस्मिञ्जगति विदितो

2 हारिविस्तारिशाखः प्राज्यैः पत्रै[र्गु]हिलनृपतेरा[श्रि]तोत्तापहारी । गाढो मौलोपच-
यततिभिश्छिद्रहीन[स्सु]वृत्तो रन्य(म्य)च्छायो द्विरसनकुलैर्म्मुक्तदूर-

3 प्रसङ्गः ।। [२*] एकस्मादजनि क्षितीश[ति]लको मूलं यशःशाखिनः स्थानं यो
विजयश्रियां गुणनिधिः सद्विक्रमस्याकरः । कंदः कीर्त्तिलतातते[र्ण्ण](र्न)यपदं

4 [तप्तो(प्त)[3]]प्रतापैकभूः पात्रं पुण्यकद[म्ब]कस्य मतिमाञ्छ्रीवैरिसिंहो नृपः ।। [३*]
पशुपतिरिव कृतरिपुपुरदाहो दनुकुलरिपुरिव कृतसुरपक्षः । सुरप-

5 तिरिव कृतसदवनलो[भो] रतिपतिरिव च सुरुचिरशरीरः ।। [४*]

Second Lintel[4]

6 तस्माद्विजयसिं[हा]ख्यो भूपतिर्भूपतेः शुचिः । स्वकारणगु[णा] × × × × × ×
(न्वि*[5])[तो]जनि ।। [५*] — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡
[घ]टाटोपं वहद्भि[र्न्नृ](पैः*) — — — ◡ [वि]राजिसैन्यनिव[हैः] — — ◡
संवर्धिभिः । म[त्तेभै]रिव केसरीसरभसं रेकोप्यनेकै[स्त]था सोढो[6] — [द्रु]त-
भूरि[वि ◡ ◡ ◡ —[7] सिंह]द्वितीयोरिभिः ।। [६*] श्रीमानरिसिं-

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[1] From ink estampages.

[2] Indicated by a symbol.

[3] *Visarga* mistakenly engraved after this [°*ptō(pta)*] has later on been cancelled. [The reading seems to be *tasmin*.—D. C. S.]

[4] Some letters between the left and right portions of this lintel are completely lost in all the lines.

[5] Here as well as in some other cases in the following lines, round brackets and star indicate that the letters are damaged beyond recognition and have been restored conjecturally.

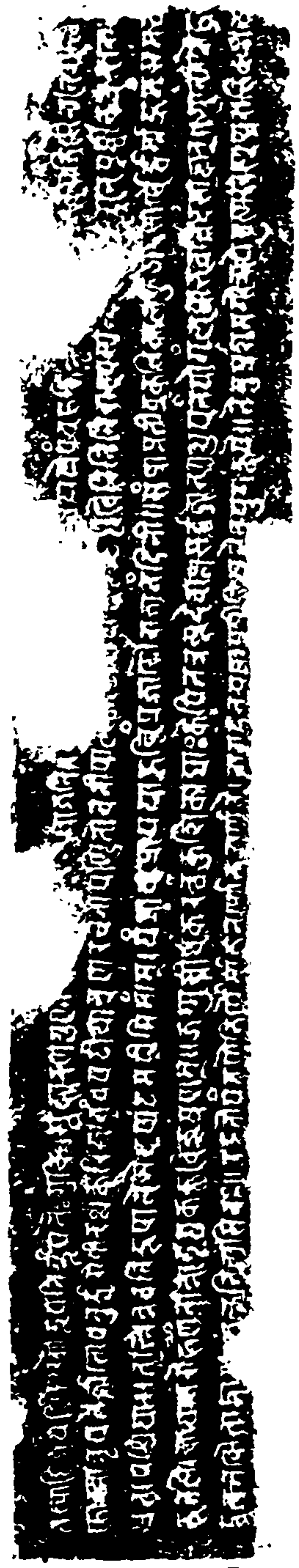
[6] [Possibly *sōḍhō=tyadbhuta*.—D. C. S.]

[7] [The missing syllables may be conjecturally restored as *krama-guṇaḥ*. —Ed.]

First Lintel



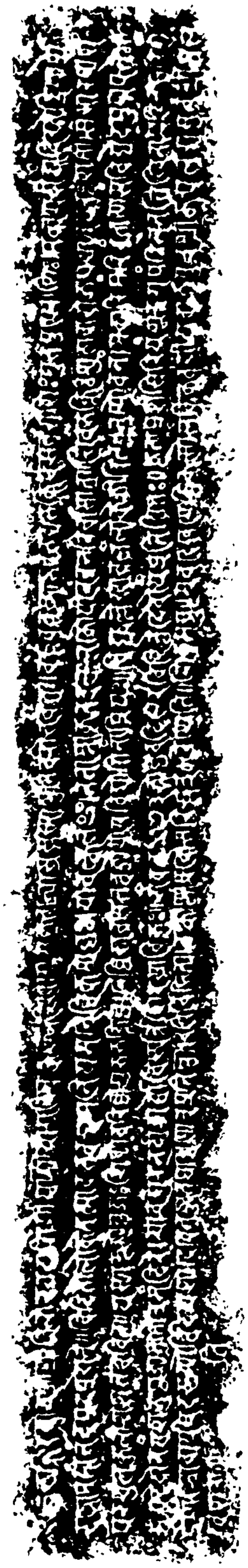
Second Lintel: Left Portion



Second Lintel: Right Portion



Third Lintel



SCALE: FOUR-FIFTEENTHS

7 हो[स्मा]न्नृपतेर्ज्जातो धनुर्द्धरो वीरः । क्षुरिकाबंधपटीयान्रणरचनापण्डितलोचनी-
पा[लः ॥] [७*] — — — ◡ ◡ [दृप्त]वैरितिमिराण्यस्य[त्य](धो निः*)-
[स्व]ने पृथ्वीं च(चा)त्र तनोर्(त पाल*)यति च क्षोणीभृतो भानुवत् ।
राज्याखण्डितमण्डलः प्रतिदिनं प्रक्लान्तदोषाकरः सद्वंश्यो(श्यो)दयशैलशेखर-
मणि[श्च]ण्ड-

8 प्रतापश्रिया ॥ [८*] तस्मिन्नवति भूपाले मेदपाटमहीमिमां(माम्) । यं प्रा[प्य]
प्राप या वृद्धिं[1] प्रजा सौराज्यनंदिनी ॥ [९*] संप्राप्ततीव्रकलिकालकुठा[र]-
सार्थेर्द्धर्म्मद्रुमं समभ[भ](क्त्परित*)[2]प्यमानं(नम्) । तद्रक्षणाय [भ]गवाञ्जगदेक-
वं(बं)धुर्द्देवो दिवोवतरति [स्म] शिवः स्वमूर्त्या ॥ [१०*] अतस्तदा[दि]देवस्य
प्र[थि]तं धाम

9 भूतले । काया[व]रोहणं नाम्ना भृ[गु]कच्छविभूषणम् ॥ [११*] जग्मुस्तीर्थकरत्वं
कुशिकाद्याः केपि तत्र सू(भू)देवाः । सर्व्वज्ञगतपाशुपतं योगं लध्वा(ब्ध्वा)
भवच्छिदं सा[क्षा]त् ॥ [१२*] ज्ञानां(ना)ग्नौ हु(तकल्माषा ब्र*)ह्मभूतुल्यतेजस[ः ।]
संसारसा[ग]रोत्तीर्ण्णा मुनयो ये महोदयाः ॥ [१३*] व(ब)भूवुर्व्व(र्ब्ब)हवस्ते[भ्यो]
वंद्या[ः स]द्गोच[रा] अमी । भस्मो-

10 द्धलनधौताङ्गा(स्तरु*)[मू]लनि[वा]सिनः ॥ [१४*] उ[द्धृ]तोयं तपोभिर्यै[र्म्मज्जन्व][3]र्णो
भ[वा]र्णवे । वाराह(हे)न यथा [पृथ्वी विषने(षाणे)न] युगक्षये ॥ [१५*]
तेषु प्रशमगोत्रा ये [गुरु[4]ख][5]ण्डेश्वराभिधाः । × × × × × × ×
ते तपस्तेजोभिरावृताः ॥ [१६*] भवति स्म ज[नक]राशिस्तन्मुनिवरल[ब्ध]योगदीक्षो
यः । भवकर्म्मकरटिसिंहो व्रतनख[र]ः

Third Lintel

11 [भ[6]]क्तिदं[ष्ट्रो य]ः ॥ [१७*] [श्रीत्रि]लो[चनराशि]र्यो योगी योग[वि]चक्षणः ।
शिवागमकृताभ्यासस्तस्मान्मुनिवरोभवत् ॥ [१८*] व(ब)भूव तस्माद्भवभव्यभक्ति-
वसंतराशिः शुभपुण्यराशिः ॥(।) र(अ)वाप्य दीक्षां [वि]रतेंद्रियार्थो

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1 Both the syllables constituting this word *vriddhim* appear to be inaccurately engraved. [The reading seems to be *hrishtim*.—D. C. S.]

2 [Better *samavalōkya tu ta°*.—D. C. S.]

3 The lower parts of some of the letters between *majjan* and *vishāṇēna* have been chiselled away for carving out *sati* figures in relief.

4 The following two *daṇḍas* constituting a superfluous mark of punctuation seem to have been cancelled later on. [The reading appears to be *Guṇa°*.—D. C. S.]

5 There appears to be a superfluous sign for *jihvāmūlīya* engraved above *kha*

6 This letter is preceded by two symbols.

12 दक्षां महानंद[पद]प्रदो(दा)नें ॥ [१९*] विदितो लोके तस्मादभव[द्यम]नियमनैष्ठिक-
श्रेष्ठः । यो वल्कल इति नाम्ना कृतवल्कलकौपीनवननिवासात् ॥ [२०*]
शिवभक्तिः शुभाचारो जपध्यात(न)परः शमी । संसारपाश-

13 परशुलकुलीशेशतत्व(त्त्व)वि[त्] ॥ [२१*] यस्याभूज्ज्येष्ठजः शिष्यो वरिष्ठो
गुरुभक्तितु(तः)[1] । नैष्ठिकाचारतत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञो योगविद्योगिनां प्रियः ॥ [२२*]
विद्युल्लेखाचलं लोके जीवितं धनयौवनं(नम्) । अकारि मंदिरं ताभ्यां
संविद्येदमुमापतेः ॥ [२३*]

14 [अस्तु] देवो नवं शंभु[:*] पुज्यधा(ध्या)तोत्र मंदिरे । यावत्सुरनदीं शर्व्वो
बिभर्त्ति शिरसा विभुः ॥ [२४*] संवत् ११७३ ज्येष्ठ वदि ९ रविदिने
देवोयं प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ कृता प्रशस्तिरियं शू[द्र]गपंडितेन लिखिता पंडित-
हरिश्चं-

15 द्रेण । आचार्यपदस्थज्योति[2]र्व्विद(द्)यशोदेवेन ज्ञातशास्त्रेणात्र प्रतिष्ठाविधिर्विहिता ।
[उ]त्कीर्ण्णा च केसरिसूत्रधारेणेति ॥ शिवमस्तु ॥ अत्र देवे गोष्ठि[ष्ठ]क[:*]
सौलंकिकवंशीयवा(रा)जपुत्रश्रीऊपलरासुतश्रीसल-

16 खणरा ॥

No. 4—TIPPALURU INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA II; YEAR 1

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

The subjoined inscription[3] was copied by me in the year 1937-38 at **Tippalūru** in the Kamalapuram *taluk* of the Cuddapah District. It is engraved on a red granite stone that was lying in a field on the road side about a mile to the west of the village. The stone has since been removed for safe custody to the village *chāvaḍi*. The inscription is edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

Tippalūru contains some early vestiges of archaeological interest besides the record under review. A pile of dressed granite stones along with some mutilated sculptures among them is all that is left of a temple of Śiva with the image of Nandi still lying in front of it under a banyan tree in the centre of the village. Among these broken sculptures is one of Sūrya, still intact with his seven steeds depicted at the base. Of greater interest than the image is a massive red stone pillar measuring almost ten feet in length, two feet square at the bottom tapering to about a foot square at the top and bearing an inscription, noteworthy for its palaeographic

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1 [The reading seems to be *bhaktishu*.—D. C. S.]

2 This *ti* has been engraved below the letter *jyō*.

3 *Annual Report on S.I.E.* for the year 1937-38, No. 254.

and linguistic features, on one of its faces.[1] Another inscription equally interesting, although belonging to a much later period, describes this village as an *agrahāra* granted to the eight renowned poets (*ashṭa-diggaja-kavīśvarulu*) by king Kṛishṇadēvarāya[2] of Vijayanagara.

The **language** of the inscription is **Telugu** written in the Telugu-Kannaḍa **script** which is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., 8th century A.C. However, some noteworthy features in its palaeography serve as important clues to arrive at a more precise date for the record which does not otherwise furnish any details in this regard barring the regnal year of the king. A careful comparison of the forms of individual letters of this record with those of the Turimeḷḷa and the Dimmaguḍi epigraphs, both of Vikramāditya I[3], reveals the following facts : (1) the Dravidian *ṛ* in our record has taken its later from already observed in the Dimmaguḍi inscription whereas it still retains its earlier four-chambered form in the Turimeḷḷa record, (2) *m* shows a more developed stage in its formation in this record than in that of Dimmaguḍi, (3) *j* (lines 4, 5, 7, 10 and 23) occurs consistently throughout the record in its later form, a feature that is absent in the other two records. The engraver seems to have inadvertently fallen into the old style in carving this letter in line 5, but probably corrected his mistake by adding the loop at the top of the old *j* thereby leaving a permanent evidence marking the **transitional period when the later form of this letter came to be used** ; but the older form had not yet been given up or forgotten and (4) the subscript *ṛ* has no longer the vertical stroke or dent within it in its lower half but only a horizontal bar. On these counts therefore this record may reasonably be assigned to a date later than either the Turimeḷḷa or the Dimmaguḍi inscription which I have ascribed to Vikramāditya I. In other words, **the Tippalūru record is to be assigned to Vikramāditya II and it belongs to the first year of his reign.**

The inscription shows some peculiar **orthographical** and **linguistic** features. The use of the sonant *dh* in place of the surd *th* in *pridhivī* (line 7) and of the wrong class nasal *ṅ* in place of *ṁ* in *saṅva°* (line 8) may be noted. Attention may also be drawn to the words *ēḷu* (line 11), *pāḷa* (line 10) and *gaḷā nṛēni* (line 26) with the cerebral *ḷ*. In *vachchuvāṉṛu* (line 26) and *yuktuṉṛagu* (line 31), the use of *ṉ* in the ligatures *ṉṛa* and *ṉṛu* is of particular interest. It is a common feature in early Telugu records that this ligature occurs invariably with the dental *n* as in *Rēgonṛa*, *Koḷchukonṛa*,[4] *Tānṛikonṛa*,[4] *Kanṛēṛa*,[7] *ḷachchinavānṛu*,[8] *samyuktunṛugu*,[8] *vachchuvānṛu*,[9] *jaṁpinavānṛu*,[9] *Satyādityunṛu*,[10] *Puṇyakumārunṛu*,[11] etc. In the first four words denoting place names, the components *°konṛa*, *Tānṛi* and *°kanṛu* show the persistence of the earlier forms common to the Dravidian group of languages which are prevalent in Tamil even to day. The change of the superscript from *n* to *ṉ* found in the ligature under discussion perhaps marks a stage in its development from its early form *nṛ* to its later form *ṉḍ*. The suffixes *°vānṛu* and *°yuktunṛu* are obviously in singular in contrast with the plural suffix *°vāru* in *jūchinavāru* in lines 24-25 which has for its subject several individuals whose names are enumerated in lines 22-24. The term *gulichina* in *gulichinavāru* (line 19) in the operative part of the record seems to stand for *kolichina* meaning 'measured', and *kulopiñchina* (i.e., *kolipiñchina*) is the causal form of *kolichina*.

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[1] Ibid., No. 283 page 79 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, plate opp. p. 229, inscription F and p. 233.
[2] *Annual Report on S.I.E.* for 1937-38, No. 282.
[3] See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 161 and plate.
[4] Above, Vol. IV, p. 196, text, line 21.
[5] Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 100, text, line 22.
[6] Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 328.
[7] Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 260, text, line 13.
[8] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 230, text, lines 6 and 7.
[9] Ibid., p. 236, I. text lines 17-18 and 20.
[10] Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 345, text, line 7.
[11] Ibid., p. 231, E. text, line 1.

The object of the record is to register a gift of (land as) *pannasa* at Maṟṟalūru by Aṇṇārāpuli-Vāmbuḷu to Īśvara, a Brāhmaṇa (*pāṟa*) of Vēṅgi (and a resident) of Tārumunṟi, during the **first regnal year of Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Pṛithivīvallabha** when **Pōrmukharāma** was governing the territory as far as the limits of the Penna on behalf of the **Bāṇa** king.

The record is important on several counts. It is the earliest known among the lithic records of Vikramāditya II and perhaps the only one so far known of this king in the Telugu country.[1] The fact that it gives the regnal year of the king marks it out from his other lithic records which omit this detail. These apart, the mention of Pōrmukharāma raises some interesting issues. Who could this Pōrmukharāma be ? The Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription[2] and the copper-plate grants[3] (the Mālēpāḍu plates and the Dommara-Nandyāla plates) of the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Puṇyakumāra attribute this epithet to him. The latter, viz., the copper-plate grants, in delineating the genealogy of this chief, mention his father Mahēndravarman as the one who acquired the title Chōḷa-Mahārāja and describe him as the lord of the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa (countries). Besides, he bore the epithets *Muditaśilākshara* and *Navarāma*, the first in imitation of the Pallava *birudas* and the other similar to *Pōrmukharāma* which was one of the epithets borne by his son Puṇyakumāra. From the account given of them in the copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions, Puṇyakumāra's predecessors appear to have been powerful chiefs who wielded great authority. Perhaps as vassals of the Pallavas, they adopted names and epithets such as Siṁhavishṇu, Mahēndravarman, *Guṇamudita*, *Madamudita*, etc., similar to those of their overlords. Among them Erikal-Muturāju Puṇyakumāra, an early member of this family who was ruling over Rēnāḍu and who appears to have been a contemporary of Chāḷukya Vikramāditya I, in addition to adopting certain epithets in imitation of the Pallava titles, took fancy also to have his inscription engraved in the style of those of the Pallava sovereigns.[4] His later namesake Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra bore the epithets *Mārdava-chitta* and *Madanavilāsa*, again in imitation of the Pallava titles. Thus from the time of

[1] The Annavaram-Agrahāram inscription in the Darsi Division of the Nellore District may also be ascribed to this king on account of its more developed script, but the inscription is not dated ; see *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1933-34, part II, plate opp. page 29.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 234.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 342 ; Vol. XXVII, p. 267.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 233, Inscription F in plate opp. p. 229. According to Mr. M. Venkataramayya, however, this Puṇyakumāra and his namesake of the copper-plate charaters and lithic records are one and the same (ibid. pp. 220 f.). If palaeography permits the dating of a record to a period fairly within narrow limits of say, a quarter of a century, and historical considerations do not militate against such a dating, then it is difficult to assign to the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription and the allied records (the copper-plate charters) the same date as that assigned to the Tippalūru pillar inscription. The palaeography of the latter is certainly far more archaic than that of the other records. Among the records of these chiefs published in this journal, the Kalamaḷḷa, Erragudipāḍu, Veldurti and the Tippalūru epigraphs (op. cit., Inscriptions A, B, E and F) have been assigned to different periods ranging from the last quarter of the 6th century to the first half of the 7th century A. C. mainly on palaeographical considerations. Allowing a fair margin for the slight variations in the style of the script due to the various factors involved in the process of engraving on stone, it may be observed by a careful compraison of their palaeography, especially of the test letters *j*, *d*, *h* and *r* that all these records may be assigned more or less to the same period within a range of about 25 years, the difference in palaeography between the earliest and the latest of them being just as much as that between the Turimeḷḷa and the Dimmaguḍi inscriptions of Vikramāditya I (see, above, Vol. XXIX, p. 163, plate). It appears to me that the Kalamaḷḷa inscription of Erikal-Muturāju Dhanañjaya may not be far removed in point of time from that of the Tippalūru pillar inscription of Erikal-Muturāju Puṇyakumāra. The provenance, the period and the title Erikal-Muturāju assumed by Dhanañjaya and Puṇyakumāra in these two records being identical, can it be that the two chiefs too were one and the same ? Dhanañjaya was, according to the copper-plate grants, succeeded by his son Mahēndravarman who acquired the title of Chōḷa-Mahārāja. The Urutūru and the Indukūru records (op. cit., pp. 228 ff., inscriptions C and D) may well have belonged to this chief. That neither the copper-plate charters nor any of the lithic records of this family attribute the surname Puṇyakumāra to Dhanañjaya is indeed inexplicable.

Erikal-Muturāju Puṇyakumāra of the Tippalūru pillar inscription down to that of Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra of the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription and the copper-plate grants, the Telugu-Chōḷas seem to have been powerful chiefs under the influence of the Pallavas. In the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription Puṇyakumāra assumes, in addition to the characteristic title 'Chōḷa-Mahārāja' of his family, the epithet *Pṛithvīvallabha*, probably in imitation of the Western Chāḷukya kings who bore this as a distinct appellation. To revert to the point under discussion, it would be difficult, under the circumstances, to suggest the identity of Pōrmukharāma of our record with Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra of the Telugu-Chōḷa family notwithstanding the similarities in the palaeographical features of these records and in the epithets *Pōrmukharāma* and *Navarāma* of the members of this family with the name Pōrmukharāma of the chief of our record. The identity is rendered all the more difficult as Pōrmukharāma of our record figures as ruling a territory on behalf of a Bāṇa king (*Bāṇarājula-pāḷa*).[1] For, the Bāṇas who were a comparatively less powerful family than the Telugu-Chōḷas, were themselves subordinate to the Chāḷukyas not only at the period of the record under discussion but also during the reign of Vijayāditya, the predecessor of Vikramāditya II.[2] The Turamara-vishaya where they flourished bordered on Rēnāḍu over which the Telugu-Chōḷas ruled. However, in the absence of further substantial evidence Pōrmukharāma of our record cannot be identified with the Telugu-Chōḷa Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra.

As for the places mentioned in the inscription, Dārumunṟi or Tārumunṟi seems to be referred to, judging from the context, as the native village of Īśvara, the Brāhmaṇa of Vēṅgi. The mention of this very village in the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription seems to point to its location in Rēnāḍu rather than in Vēṅgi. I am, however, unable to identify it. The name Maṟṟalūru, the village where the gift (lands) lay and the present Moṟṟāyapalle, an *ināṁ* village in the Proddatur *taluk* of the Cuddapah District, sound alike but their identity is doubtful as the latter lies far to the north of the Pennā, beyond the limits of the donor's territory. The name Muḍibiyam mentioned in the imprecatory portion of the inscription obviously stands for Muḍivēmu-Agrahāra which is referred to in copper-plate grants of the Eastern-Chāḷukyas as the birth-place of Vishṇuvardhana, the son of Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā, a legendary ancestor of the Chāḷukyas.[3] The mention of it along with Vāraṇāsi shows that it was held as sacred as the other. It has been identified with the modern village Pedda-Muḍiyam in the Jammalamadugu *taluk* of the Cuddapah District.

TEXT

First Side

1 Svasti [||*] Śrīma[t*]

2 **Vikramāditya-Satyā-**

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[1] In the term *Bāṇarājula-pāḷa*, the word *pāḷa* has been understood in the sense of 'on behalf of'. In an inscription of the Chāḷukya king Kīrttivarman II (No. 418 of 1940-41) which I am editing in this journal, the suffix *pāla* occurs in this very sense in the sentence which runs : ' Paramēśvara-Bhaṭaraḷaḷvāri *pāḷa* Bāṇarāju. . .lgi pattugān=ēḷa vāri *pāḷa* ', etc.

[2] *SII*, Vol. X, No. 23 ; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 243. The subjugation of the Bāṇas by the Chāḷukyas even at an earlier period is hinted at on the supposition that the epithet Ereyitiaḍigaḷ occurring in a Chāḷukya record at Peddavaḍugūru in the Gooty *taluk* of the Anantapur District (*SII*, Vol. IX, pt I, p. 26 No. 46) stood for Ereya, asur name of Pulakēśin II, and by the mention in the record of an unnamed Bāṇa king. In this connection attention may be drawn to an inscription of a Perbāṇa chief in the Telugu-Chōḷa territory at Chilamakūru, Kamalapuram *taluk*, Cuddapah District (No. 403 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. : *SII*, Vol., X, App. II, pp. lvii-lviii, No. 617). It may, however, be noted that a distinction seems to have been indicated between Perbāṇa and Bāṇa in an inscription of Chāḷukya Kīrttivarman (II) at Koṟṟapāḍu, Cuddapah District (No. 418 of the *Annual Report on S.I.E.* for 1940-41). In this record Perbāṇādhirāja figures as the subordinate of Bāṇarāja.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, page 340, f.n. 5 ; *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. X. . 41

3 **śraya-śrī-Prithivīva-**
4 **llabha-Mahārājā-**
5 **dhirāja**[1]**-Paramē-**
6 **śvara-Bhaṭāraḷaku** pri-
7 dhi(thi)virājya[ṁ]bu **pra[tha]-**
8 **ma saṅva(ṁva)tsara[ṁ]bu** prava-
9 rttilla śrī-**Pō**[2]**[r*]mukharāmuḷ**=Vā-
10 ṇarājula pāḷu Penna-mari-
11 yāda ēḷuchu Aṇṇā[rā]-
12 puli-Vāṁbuḷu Dārumunṛi

Second Side

13 Vēṁgi-pāṛa Ī-
14 śvaru[3]nāku Maṛṛa-
15 lūra bannāsa pra-
16 sādā(da)ñ-chēsi ichchiri [|*]
17 Amḷutalāḷu Che[ṁ]gā[4]-
18 lu Ko[ṛu]kālu Pa[rkku]ḷugu Chō[ṛla]kālu[5]
19 gulichinavāru [|*] Sapu-
20 rushuru[nṛē]
21 kulopiñchinavāru [|*]
22 Tiṁgaveḷḷi-pāṛu Paḷu-
23 gu-bāṛu Vārāṇṭa-pā-
24 ṛu Jāya-pāṛu jūchi-
25 navāru [|*] Dēniki vakra[ṁbu]-
26 vachchuvāṇṛu gaḷānṛē-
27 ni Muḍibi[yaṁ]bu

Third Side

28 Vāraṇāsiyu la-
29 [chi]navanṛ=agu pa-
30 ñcha-mahapa(pā)taka-
31 saṁyu[ñu[6]]ktunṛ=agu [||*]

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[1] *Jā* was first written and then corrected into *ja*.

[2] Although this letter looks like *hē*, apparently it stands for *pō*.

[3] In addition to the medial *u* sign, the letter *r* has a sign of length attached to its top, probably by mistake. The letter occurs with the same signs in line 25.

[4] A small fissure in stone which runs across these two letters somewhat obliterates them and makes the reading doubtful.

[5] The letters *Chōrlakālu* are engraved in continuation of the line on the third face of the stone.

[6] The letter *ñu* is redundant.

TIPPALURU INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA II; YEAR 1



SCALE: ONE-FIFTH

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-16) Hail! During the **first year of the reign** of the illustrious **Vikramāditya-Satyā-śraya-Śrī-Pṛithivīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Bhaṭāra,** when **Pōrmu-kharāma** was ruling over the territory upto the limits of the Pennā on behalf of the Bāṇarāja, Aṇṇārāpuli-Vāṁbuḷu granted a *pannasa* at Maṟṟalūru to Īśvara, the Vēṅgi Brāhmaṇa of Tārumunṟi.

(Lines 17-25) Amḷutalāḷu, Cheṁgālu, Ko[ṟu]kālu and Pārkkaḷugu-Chōṟlakālu were the persons who measured (*the gift land*). Sapurushuru[nṟu](?) caused the measurement (*of the gift land*). Tiṁgaveḷḷi-pāṟu, Paḷugu-bāṟu, Vārāṇṭa-pāṟu and Jāya-pāṟu were the witnesses.[1]

(Lines 25-31) Imprecatory.

No. 5—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF ANANGABHIMA III ; ANKA YEAR 34

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In an intersting article entitled " Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa ",[2] published half a century ago, the late Mr. M. M. Chakravarti noticed some inscriptions on the walls of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa), which were ascribed by him to the Gaṅga monarchs Anaṅgabhīma II (c. 1190-98 A.C.) or Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.C.). About fifteen years ago, I had an opportunity to examine the impressions of three of these records which were edited by me elsewhere.[3] One of these three inscriptions is incised " on the south jamb of the porch " of the temple. Chakravarti assigned it to Anaṅgabhīma III as he read the following passage in lines 1-4 : *Rājarāja-tunuja-Anaṅga-Bhīma-vīra. . . .rājasya sāmrājy-ābhishēka-chaturtha-saṁvatsarē.* It was, however, shown by me that the record actually belongs either to the Gaṅga ruler Narasiṁha I or more probably to the Sōmavaṁśī king Vīravarakēsarin and that the passage in question really reads : *Rājarāja-tanuj-ātmajasya. . . . Vīravara-Kēsari-dharādhipasya*[4]. . . . *sāmrājy-ābhishēka-chaturtha-saṁvatsarē.* The second inscription, engraved on the same jamb, was ascribed by Chakravarti to the fourth regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma II and the following passage

[1] The rendering of these lines into English is tentative, the uncommon names and the archaic nature of the language making it difficult to construe the precise meaning of this passage. The suffixes °*kālu* in Cheṁgālu, Korukālu and Chōṟlakālu, suggested to be the Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit *pāda* (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 224) indicate these words as proper names of persons.

[2] *JASB*, Vol. LXXII, 1903, 97-147.

[3] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 122-25 ; Vol. VI, pp. 71-73, 73-76. See Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 118, No. 1 ; p. 115, No. 2 ; p. 118, No. 3. The first of the three inscriptions was edited by me jointly with the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh.

[4] This is the clear reading suggested by the facsimile of the inscription published in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III. Another impression of the record has recently appeared in *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, No. 4, Plate 53, and the name of the king has been read on its basis as Vīranarakēsarin, taken to be identical with Ganga Narasiṁha I (*op. cit.*, pp. 301 ff.). In this facsimile the lower end of the left curve of the disputed letter does not touch the bottom of the right vertical and suggests the reading of the letter to be *na*. A few impressions of the epigraph, preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, appear to support this new reading. It appears therefore that the impression of the inscription published by me in *Ind. Cult.* was defective. On a re-examination of the record with the help of these impressions I now find that neither of the two published transcripts of the inscription is fully free from errors. It may be pointed out in this connection that the name of the *vishaya* mentioned here is neither Chakralamvota nor Chakralamvora. It is Kalamvora as known now from several other inscriptions.

was read by him in lines 1-4 : *śrīmad-Aniyaṅka-Bhīmadēvasya pravardhamāna Purushōttama sōm-bhāṅkē(?) chatustimattamē aṅke.* But I pointed out that the record actually reads *chatustiṁ(striṁ)-ma(śa)ttamē aṅkē* undoubtedly referring to the 34th Aṅka year or 28th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III and *Purushōttama-sāmbhrā(mrā)jyē* pointing to the fact that the said Gaṅga monarch considered himself a servant of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī, who was regarded by him as the real lord of the Gaṅga dominions. According to the usually accepted beginning of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III, suggested by Chakravarti himself, the date of the epigraph falls in 1238-39 A.C. The third inscription is a damaged record engraved " on the north jamb of the porch " Chakravarti assigned the epigraph to Anaṅgabhīma III and read in lines 2-5 : *jayati sakala-varṇa-jan-ālaṅkṛita-rāja-śrī-Bhīmadēv-ābda.... tṛitīyāyē Guru-vārē Magha-nakshatrē.* But I suggested the reading of the passage in question as *sa(su)kama(rma)-baddha-jan-ālaṁkṛita-rāja(jya)-śrī-Bhīmadēvābdē [trayō]....[prati]padi Guru-vārē Magha-nakshatrē.*[1] Thus the date seems to be either the Aṅka year *trayōdaśa*, i.e., 13, or *trayōviṁśa*, i.e., 23.

Recently I had the opportunity of examining the impressions of another Liṅgarāja temple inscription noticed by Chakravarti.[2] I edit the record in the following pages with the help of these impressions which are preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. This inscription is incised " on the south jamb of the porch ". It covers a space of about 17 inches in length and 16½ inches in height. There are altogether 13 lines of writing. The **characters** employed are Gauḍīya and the **language** of the record in Sanskrit. Some influence of the local language is traceable in the language and **orthography** of the inscrpition.

Chakravarti read the following passage in lines 2-4 : *śrīmad-Aniṅka-Bhīmadēvasya pravard-dhamāna-sāmrājyē chatusitāttamē aṅkē Makara-svēkādaśi(śī)-Śukra-vārē.* As in the case of *chatustimattamē* (sic. *chatustiṁmattamē* for *chatustriṁśattamē*) occurring in another record of the same place, the expression *chatusitāttamē* has been interpreted by Chakravarti as the fourth Aṅka year and the record has been assigned to Anaṅgabhīma II. He calculated the date to correspond to the 15th January 1193 A.C. But I find that there are several inaccuracies in Chakravarti's reading of the passage quoted above. The inscription actually reads : *chatusinsattamē* the reading intended being undoubtedly *chatustriṁśattamē.* Thus the thirty-fourth Aṅka year, i.e., the 28th actual regnal year, of a Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma is referred to. The length of the reign makes it certain that the king is no other than **Anaṅgabhīma III.** As indicated above, the **date** of this record, like another at the same place reviewed by me above, would fall in 1238-39 A.C. according to Chakravarti's suggestion regarding the beginning of this king's reign. Another important point is that what has been read by Chakravarti as *Makara-svēkādaśi(śī)-Śukravārē* is clearly *Makara-śuk[l]a-pañchami(mī)-Guruvārē.* The date of the inscription in question is thus Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Makara in 1238-39 A.C. The date intended may be **Thursday, the 13th January, 1939 A.C.,** although *śukla-pañchamī* actually ended on the previous day.

The epigraph records the grant of five *vāṭikās* of land situated in the villages of **Tarallakshmī** and **Sāgaṛapaṭimā** by Gōvinda-sēnāpati,[3] son of Gaṛēā-sēnādhyaksha. Gōvinda-sēnāpati, apparently an officer (*sēnāpati* or general) of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III, is stated to have conducted *jīrṇōddhāra* (repairs) of the *maṇḍapa* of the god Bhagavat Kīrtivāsas (Kṛittivāsa or Śiva), i.e., the deity worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. The deity is described as *jagadīśvara,* " the lord of the world ". Gōvinda-sēnāpati thus appears to have been a devotee

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[1] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, p. 76. This inscription is being re-edited in the pages of this journal from better impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 115, No. 1.

[3] A Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra*, named Gōvinda, was an officer of Anaṅgabhīma II according to verse 8 of the Chāṭēśvara temple inscription (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 126). He seems to be a different person.

of the god Śiva. The land was granted for making provision for sweeping the *maṇḍapa* thrice a day, white-washing its walls once a year and repairing the roof once in every twelve years. Of the five *vāṭikās* of land, two were allotted to the *kumbhakāra* (potter) for repairing the roof, two to the *chūrṇakāra* (lime-washer) for white-washing and one to the sweeper. The names of the recipients of the grants are not mentioned. It is stated that the *maṇḍapa* was used for performing *parv-ōtsava* (festivals on auspicious days), *mah-ōtsava* (the great festival, probably meaning the Śivarātri) and ceremonies such as marriage.

The most interesting feature of the inscription is that it describes the Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III as *Bhagavat* (line 2). The king was a staunch devotee of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha (Vishṇu) of Purī. Thus the epithet *Bhagavat* applied to him by one of his Śaiva officers appears to be significant. This shows that the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III was regarded by his subjects as a saint. As we have pointed out elsewhere,[1] this king, according to a tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñjī*,[2] became a ruler of the *Rāuta* (feudatory, from Sanskrit *Rājaputra*) class after dedicating all his possessions (including the kingdom) in the god's favour (*e nagara-Kaṭake thāi śrī-Purushottama-śrī-Jagannātha-devaṅku samasta samarpi Rāuta-paṇe thāānti*). The same work also says how from that time the Gaṅga kings did not enjoy formal coronation at the time of accession as the god was considered the ruler of the country (*rājā 2 ṅka abhisheka na hele; Oḍishā-rājya-rajā śrī-Jagannātha-mahāprabhu emanta kahi abhisheka nohile*). It has also been shown by me[3] that Anaṅgabhīma III and his successors called themselves *Rāuta*, that Anaṅgabhīma's kingdom is referred to in one of his Bhubaneswar inscriptions as *Purushōttama-sāmrājya* (i.e., the empire belonging to Purushōttama-Jagannātha) and that in some records of Bhānu II (c. 1305-27 A.C.), great-great-grandson of Anaṅgabhīma III, the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha is mentioned as his overlord. The fact that the present Mahārājās of Purī, who are modern representatives of the medieval imperial rulers of Orissa, consider themselves servants of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī no doubt shows the continuity of the custom first introduced by Anaṅgabhīma III by dedicating his kingdom to the god.

It is necessary in this connection to consider certain suggestions first offered by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya[4] and recently reiterated by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam.[5] Our attention is drawn to the Śrīraṅgam inscription[6] of the ninth regnal year of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (who ascended the throne in 1216 A.C.), according to which the temple managers colluded with the *Oṭṭar* to the detriment of the income of the temple, as well as to the two inscriptions[7] incised, one in continuation of the other, on the west wall of the rock near the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple at Kāñchīpuram. The first of these two inscriptions is dated in the year 19[8] of the reign of Anantavarma-Rāhutadēva, Wednesday, Mīna-sudi Pañchamī, Rēvatī, and records the grant of the village of Uḍaiyakāmam in Antarudra-vishaya by Sōmaladēvī-mahādēvī for daily worship and offerings to the god. It also describes king Anantavarma-Rāhuttarāya (probably the Mahādēvī's husband) as belonging

[1] *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 48-49.

[2] Ed. A. B. Mahanti, Cuttack, 1940, pp. 26-27.

[3] *JKHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 251-53.

[4] *Bhārati*, Vol. XXII, 1945, February (pp. 161 ff.), June (pp. 541 ff.) and July (pp. 57 ff.). Mr. M. Venkataramayya kindly explained the article (in Telugu) to me.

[5] *List of Papers and Summaries* (Indian History Congress), Gwalior, 1952, pp. 30-31.

[6] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 500.

[7] *ARSIE*, 1919-20, p. 22 (Nos. 444-45 of 1919). The two records were engraved at the same time by the same person sometime after the grants (recorded in them) had been made. Cf. my paper on the Bhubaneswar inscriptions of Rāghava to be published in this journal.

[8] The notice in *ARSIE*, *loc. cit.*, gives the impression that the regnal year is given in the record without mentioning the name of the king to whom it belongs. But an examination of the impressions of the epigraph in question shows that Sōmaladēvī made the said grant in the 19th year of the reign of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman-Rāhuttarāya (Anaṅgabhīma III).

to the Gaṅga family and gives him a number of *birudas*. The donatrix[1] is said to have been staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī. The second inscription, written in continuation of the previous one, is dated in the twentieth regnal year of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III (1216-46 A.C.), Monday, Āḍi 12, Saptamī, Aśvati,[2] and records the gift of 128 cows and 4 bulls by Kaliṅgēśvara Aniyaṅkabhīmadēva Rāhutta (i.e., Anaṅgabhīma III Rāuta) for four perpetual lamps in the temple. It is suggested that the Śrīraṅgam inscription points to the conquest of the Tamil country as far south as the Tanjore-Tiruchirappalli region by the Oṭṭas, who are taken to be the same as the Oḍḍiyas or Oriyas, about 1224 A.C. and to the consequent "dislocation in temple worship at Śrīraṅgam". The above contention is sought to be supported by the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions which are believed to prove the presence of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III Rāhuttarāya *alias* Anantavarman[3], together with his queen Sōmaladēvī, at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī taken to be the same as Kāñchīpuram.

Now the above interpretation of the Śrīraṅgam and Kāñchīpuram inscriptions is open to several objections. In the first place, if the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III Anantavarman's conquests really extended as far as Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli in the south and if he was present in that connection at Kāñchīpuram, the Kāñchīpuram inscription (No. 445 of 1919 referred to above) must have been dated in his own reckoning and certainly not in that of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III. The dating of this inscription shows beyond doubt that the acknowledged king of the area including Kāñchīpuram was the Chōḷa monarch and not the Gaṅga emperor.[4] Secondly, as indicated above, Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III was a saintly Vaishṇava, so much so that even one of his Śaiva officers mentioned him as *Bhagavat*. It is therefore impossible to believe that, when he was himself present in the Tamil country, there could have been dislocation in the worship at the Śrīraṅgam temple which is one of the greatest Vaishṇava shrines renowned throughout India. Thirdly, Mr. Venkatasubba Ayyar seems to be right in taking the word *Oṭṭar* occurring in the Śrīraṅgam inscription to mean " those who have undertaken to do a thing or given an agreement (to the temple) " and in suggesting that it does not stand for the Oḍḍas (Oriyas).[5] There seems therefore to be no reference to a confusion caused by a foreign invasion in the Śrīraṅgam inscription.[6] Fourthly, if it is believed that the Gaṅga king conquered the Tamil country before 1225 A.C. and was holding

[1] Careful examination of the impressions of the inscription shows that it was Sōmaladēvī who was staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi (Abhinava-Vārāṇasī) while making the grant in question (*Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsiyil irundu*).

[2] Āḍi 12, Saptamī, Aśvati (Aśvinī) in the twentieth regnal year of Rājarāja III would correspond to the 8th July 1235 A.C. But the week-day was Sunday and not Monday as given in the record.

[3] Inscriptions show that most of the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, if not all of them, assumed *Anantavarman* as a secondary name. See *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1333-34 for Kāmārṇava ; Nos. 1330-31, 1336, 1340-41 for Rāghava ; Nos. 1270, 1329 for Rājarāja II ; Nos. 1273, 1317 for Rājarāja III ; Nos. 1283, 1290 for Anangabhīma III ; Nos. 1272, 1291 for Narasimha I ; No. 1151, and *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 928, 941, 957, 982, 1118, 1140 for Narasiṁha II ; Vol. VI, Nos. 1000, 1002 for Bhānu II.

[4] Both Dr. Venkataramanayya and Dr. Mahalingam appear to be conscious of this difficulty ; but their attempts to explain it away are quite unconvincing. Dr. Venkataramanayya speaks in this connection only about No. 444 of 1919. in which the name of the Chōḷa king finds no mention, and totally ignores No. 445 of 1919 which is dated in the 20th regnal year of Chōḷa Rājarāja III. Dr. Mahalingam on the other hand says, " Probably this visit of the Ganga king with his wife to Kāñchī had no political significance. Obviously they undertook only a pilgrimage tour to the city ". It is no doubt impossible to reconcile this view with the theory regarding " a Gaṅga invasion of the Tamil country as far as Śrīraṅgam near modern Trichinopoly by Anangabhīma in the early years of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III ".

[5] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 193, note 4.

[6] Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, who has carefully examained the Śrīraṅgam inscription, is also convinced that it contains no reference to the Oriyas. But even if the word *Oṭṭar* is taken in the sense of the Oriyas, their presence at Śrīraṅgam should better be explained in a different way especially in view of the fact that the date of the Śrīraṅgam inscription is considerably earlier than those of the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions. It is difficult to believe that the Oriyas were ousted from Śrīraṅgam by 1225 A.C. but were holding Kāñchīpuram as late as 1230 A.C.

the Kāñchīpuram region about 1230 A.C. in spite of his loss of the Śrīraṅgam area five years earlier, he must have occupied parts of that country for a considerable period of time. Under the circumstances, the silence of his court poet who composed the stanzas dealing with his achievements in regard to this spectacular success becomes inexplicable. The verses in question are quoted in Anaṅgabhīma's own Nagarī plates[1] of 1230-31 A.C. as well as in the charters[2] of his successors. Fifthly, the evidence of the Nagarī plates clearly shows that the year 1230 A.C. was passed by Anaṅgabhīma III in his capital and its vicinity.[3] It is impossible to believe that he could have led an expedition against the Tamil land, about one thousand miles away, in the neighbourhood of that year.

But the most serious error in the consideration of the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions seems to be the identification of Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, where the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma (actually, the donatrix Sōmaladēvī) is said to have been stationed, with Kāñchīpuram. It is well known from the Nagarī plates[4] of Anaṅgabhīma III that he had his capital at Vārāṇasī, Abhinava-Vārāṇasī or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, which is the same as modern Cuttack on the Mahānadī in Orissa. It should be pointed out that there are numerous Vārāṇasīs in different parts of India ; but Cuttack seems to be the only Vārāṇasī with the word *abhinava* prefixed to it. We know that the Gaṅgas originally had their capital at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhaliṅgam near Śrīkākuḷam) ; but, sometime after the overthrow of the Sōmavaṁśīs of Orissa by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga about the beginning of the twelfth century A.C., they transferred their headquarters to Cuttack. Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka or Cuttack is mentioned as the Gaṅga capital not only in the above grant of Anaṅgabhīma III but also in the records of his successors.[5] The Muslim historians who have described Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh's expedition against the kingdom of Jājnagar (i.e., the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa) in *circa* 1360 A.C. during the reign of Gaṅga Bhānu III (*circa* 1352-78 A.C.) mention the same city on the river Mahānadī as Banārasī (i.e., Vārāṇasī).[6] It is not known as to who amongst Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga's descendants transferred the capital from Kaliṅganagara to Cuttack. But the *Mādalā Pāñjī*[7] states that Anaṅgabhīma, who dedicated his kingdom to Purushōttama-Jagannātha, lived at Chaudvāra-kaṭaka on the Māhanadī, while his younger brother and successor, also called Anaṅgabhīma, transferred his residence from Chaudvāra-kaṭaka to Vāṇarāśī(Vārāṇasī)-kaṭaka, a city built by him at the site of a village called Vāravāṭi (in Kodiṇḍā Daṇḍapāṭa) on the other (i.e., southern) bank of the Mahānadī. The evidence of the Nagarī plates, coupled with that of the confused tradition of the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, however, suggests that it was Anaṅgabhīma III who was the builder of the new capital city called Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka. The correct interpretation of the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions seems to be that the Gaṅga queen Sōmaladēvī made a grant in favour of a Vaishṇava shrine at Kāñchīpuram while she was staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī (i.e., the present Cuttack) which was her husband's capital. Making grants *in absentia* in favour of

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff. (verses 72-80).

[2] *JASB*, Vol. LXV, Part I, pp. 248-9 (verses 72-80), etc.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-46.

[4] Ibid., p. 256, text-lines 123 ff.

[5] See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1122, 1125 , *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1069, etc. The city is mentioned in numerous other records. See *SII*, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 708, 711, 722, 756, 792, 801, 808, 851, 586, 918, 958-60, 1003, 1022, 1041, 1045, 1051, 1079, 1083, 1089, 1096, 1104, 1105, 1107, 1119-20, 1135, etc.

[6] See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 491. For the celebrity enjoyed by Cuttack Banaras during the Mughal period, see Jarrett and Sarkar, *Ain-i-Akbari* (translation), Vol. II, p. 316, note 2.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 27 : *e-uttāre Ana gabhīmadevaṅka sāna-bhāi Bhīma-parirāeṅku Bhīmanagara-daṇḍapāṭuṁ āṇi rajā kale. e dutī Anaṅgabhīmadeva hoile. e-rajā nagara-Chaudvāre Kaṭake vije kari thānti. emantare eka-dinare rajāe vije kari dāsi Mahānadī pāra hoi e-nadīru dakshiṇa-tīre dekhile Kodiṇḍā-daṅḍapāṭara Vāravāṭi-grāmare Viśveśvaradevaṅkara sanidhe śāmala-pakshiki vaga māri vasi achhi. Ehā dekhi rajāe vaḍa āścharya pāi śubha-yoga-dinare e-Vāravāṭi-grāmare śubha dei naara tolāi Kaṭaka kari e-Kaṭaka nāma Vāṇarāśī-Kaṭaka voli nāma dei nagara-Chaudvāra-Kaṭaka chhāḍi āsi Kaṭaka kari rahile.*

religious establishments is not unknown in Indian epigraphy. Thus an inscription[1] in the Siṁhāchalam temple in the Visakhapatnam District records a grant made in its favour by Tallamādēvī, queen of Gaṅga Bhānu IV, when she was herself staying at Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka (*Vāraṇasī-kaṭakānuṁḍi*) which is the same as Abhinava-Vārāṇasī of Sōmaladēvī's record. The village of Uḍaiyakāmam or Udayakāma was no doubt situated in her own *jāgīr* in her husband's dominions.[2] The mention of the Gaṅga king's regnal reckoning in dating Sōmaladēvī's record appears to be due to the fact that it was drafted at the Gaṅga capital.[3] The grant of Anaṅgabhīma III in favour of the Kāñchīpuram temple was apparently made similarly *in absentia*. But the partiality shown by the Gaṅga queen and her husband to a Vaishṇava shrine in the Tamil country may suggest that she was related to the Chōḷa royal house.[4] It will thus be seen from the above discussion that there is hardly any proof in favour of the suggestions that the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III was for a time stationed at Kāñchī together with his queen Sōmaladēvī and that he conquered the Tamil country as far as the Tanjore-Tiruchirappalli region in the south.[5]

The inscription under discussion mentions two villages, viz., **Tarallakshmī** and **Sāgarapaṭīmā** which were the subject of the grant made by Gōvinda, a general of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III. The exact situation of the villages is not mentioned in the record and it is difficult to locate them.

TEXT[6]

1 Siddham[7] Svasti [||*] Prōddhata-hētivāhi-dhvānta-dhansi[8]-dyutijyamāna-dainya-jaladhī(dhi)-

2 nimagna-di(dī)n-ānātha-śaraṇ-aika-taraṇēr=bhagavataḥ śrīmad-**Ani[ya*]ṅkabhīma**-

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[1] *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1067.

[2] There are other instances of similar grants. Mr. P. B. Desai draws my attention to No. 154 of *SII*, Vol. XI (Part ii, pp. 192ff.) which registers the gift of the village of Kanakāpura in Kundūr 500 (Dharwar District) for burning incense in the temple of Sōmanāthadēva of the Saurāshṭra *vishaya* (Kathiawar) by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jayakēśidēva, at the time of his marriage, under the direction of his father-in-law and overlord Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.C.). As pointed out to me by Mr. P. Acharya, the Antarudra *vishaya*, in which the village granted by Sōmaladēvī was situated, is mentioned in the Chaurasi plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakara II and has been identified with the modern Antarodha Pargana in the Sadar Subdivision of the Puri District of Orissa (Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 8).

[3] There are many inscriptions in temples like those at Siṁhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam, which are big *praśastis*. These were apparently not composed on the spot but were carried by the donors with the intention of engraving them in the temples after having made the donations desired.

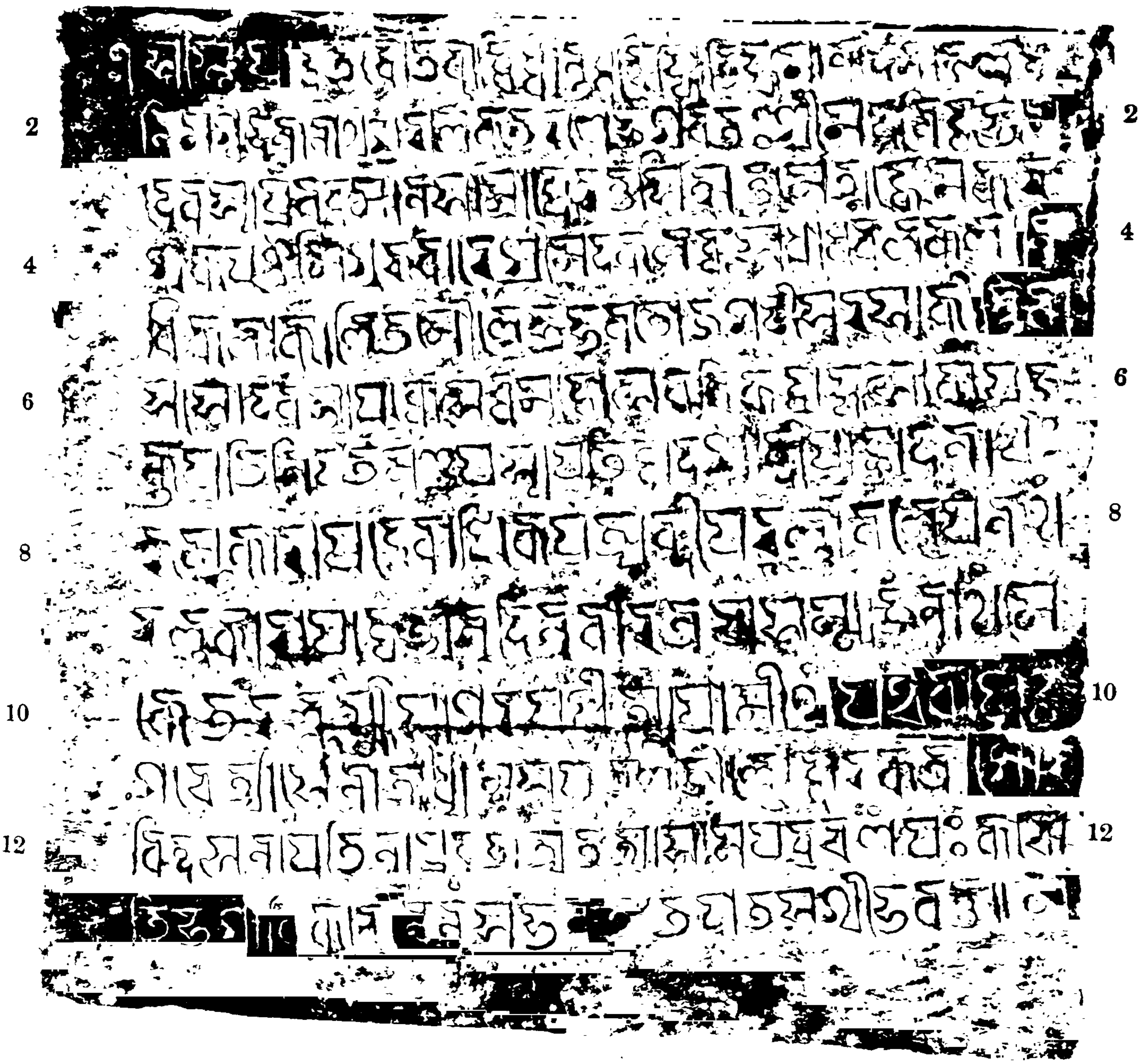
[4] It may be conjectured that Sōmaladēvī was a sister or daughter of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III. But her name (exhibiting some Kannaḍa influence) in that case may suggest that she was born of a Kannaḍa princess.

[5] Even if it may be believed that Anaṅgabhīma III was actually present at Kāñchīpuram on the occasion of his own grant (No. 445 of 1919), it should better be explained in a different way. He might have visited the temple as a pilgrim. Such instances are not unknown in the inscriptions of South India. Mr. M. Venkataramayya draws my attention to *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 428, and No. 29 of 1908. The first of these two records registers a gift of land made in favour of the god at Jambukēśvaram (Tiruchirappalli District) by Jākhadēvī, queen of *Rāhuta* Jājaladēva, son of Bhīmadēva of the Saubhāṇa (Chauhān) *kula*. The other inscription is a Gāhaḍavāla record of 1110-11 A.C., which was found in the temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram in the same district (*ARSIE*, 1908, Part II, p. 65). In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to believe that the Chauhāns or the Gāhaḍavālas invaded the Tamil country. The grants in question must have been made either *in absentia* or in the course of tours of pilgrimage.

[6] From impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

[7] Expressed by symbol.

[8] Read *dhvaṁsi*-.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD

3 **dēvasya** prava[r*]ddhamāna-sāmrājyē **chatusinsattamē**[1] **Aṅkē Makara-**

4 **śuk[la]-pañchami(mī)-Guru-vārē** Śrimad-akalaṅka-s[u]dhā-dhavala-kalāni-

5 dhi-kalā-kā(ka)lita-maulēr-bhabha(ga)vatō jagad-īsva(śva)rasya Kīrttivā-

6 sasō[2] dēvasya parvvōtsarvva(va)-mahōtsava-vivāh-ādy-utsv-ōpaja(yu)-

7 kta-pratiniyata-maṇḍapasya prati-dvādaś-āvdī(bdī)y-āchchhādan-ā(r]thaṁ

8 kumbhakārāya dvē vāṭikē praty-avdī(bdī)ya-chūrṇṇ-āvalēpan-ā[r*]thaṁ

9 ch[ū]rṇṇakārāya dvē anudinaṁ vāra-traya-sammājaṁ(rja)n-ā[r*]thaṁ[3] mē-

10 kē **Tarallakshmī-Sāgarapaṭimā**-grāmīthaṁ(ya)-pañcha-vāṭyaḥ

11 Garēā-sēnā[4]-adhyakshas[y]a p[u]tr[ē*]ṇa jīrṇṇ-ōddhāra-ka[r]trā Gō-[5]

12 vinda-s[ē*]nāpatinā pradatā(ttā) ata āsām=apaharaṇaṁ yaḥ karō-

13 ti bha[ṁ]g[6]-ādhik[ā]rī na(nū)naṁ sa bhavat[ā]ta[7] dāta(tā) sukhī bhavatu ||o|

No. 6—MUSUNIKA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN III ; GANGA YEAR 306

(I Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

The copper-plates containing this grant are said to have been found by a cultivator while ploughing a field at Shalantri,[8] a village fifteen miles west of Chicacole in the Srikakulam (Chicacole) District of the Andhra State. They have been published with facsimiles by Mr. Manda Narasimham in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XVIII (Silver Jubilee Volume), pp. 115 ff. As the published facsimile is not quite clear and Mr. Narasimham's transcript of the text also is not quite satisfactory, I re-edit the record here from excellent ink impressions, kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The **copper-plates** are three in number, each measuring 7·3″ broad and 3·2″ high. The first and the third plate are inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both the sides. When discovered, the plates were held together by a ring which carried the usual Gaṅga **seal,** containing the emblem of a couchant bull. The plates together with the ring weigh 119 *tolas*, and the ring only, 35 *tolas*. The writing on the first plate and on the first side of the second has suffered a little from verdigris, but the damaged letters can be read without much difficulty. The remaining two inscribed sides are in a good state of preservation.

The record consists of 30 lines, the first and the third plate having 8 lines each, and the second 7 lines on either side. The **characters** are of the later Kaliṅga alphabet, noticed in the records

[1] Read *chatustrimśattamē.*

[2] Better read *Kṛittivāsadēvasya.*

[3] Read °*rtham=ēkā.*

[4] Read *sēn-ādhyakshasya.* The rule of *Sandhi* has been neglected here.

[5] There appear to be traces of a superfluous *vi* after this *akshara.*

[6] The word *bhanga* may mean here 'ruin, downfall, destruction, defeat, discomfiture, humiliation, paralysis', etc.

[7] Read *bhavatāt* |

[8] *JAHRS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 115. I have not, however, been able to trace this village on the Degree Map 65 N.

of the Gaṅga kings from the Gaṅga year 195 onwards.[1] The earlier grants of these kings are written in the beautiful box-headed characters of the Central Indian alphabet, well-known from the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, the Kings of Śarabhapura, the Early Sōmavaṁśis, and others. The alphabet seems to have been changed towards the end of the reign of the Gaṅga king Dēvēndravarman I. The earlier records of his reign such as the Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga year 183, the Parlakimedi plates of the Gaṅga year 184 and the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga year 192 are written in the box-headed characters. In the Siddhantam plates of the Gaṅga year 195, we find the new script for the first time. The box-heads of letters yield place to straight horizontal strokes. There is a greater mixture of northern and southern forms and the letters become more cursive. This later Kaliṅga alphabet has been used in the present grant.[2] In the present grant as in other inscriptions written in this later Kaliṅga script, we find the same letters expressed by varying signs. Attention may, for instance, be drawn to the following :— Initial *u* appears with a horizontal stroke at the top in *udaka-*, l. 18 and without it in *utkirṇṇa*, l. 30 ; superscript *ṅ* has different forms used side by side in the words *-kalaṅkō* and *Gaṅg-āmala-*, in l. 6 ; *ch* has a rectangle on the left in *Mahēndr-āchala-*, l. 2, while it closely resembles *v* in other places as in *cha*, l. 19 ; *j* appears with a curve turned to the left at the top in *Bhāradvāja-*, l. 17, and without it in *jaya-*, l. 7 ; the superscript *ñ* resembles *ṇ* as in *mañjarī-*, l. 8 ; *ṭ* has a notch at the top in *-kuṭumvina-*, l. 14, but not in *-bhaṭṭa-*, l. 18 ; *t* has generally no loop, but the looped form also occurs sporadically as in *-ātmanaḥ*, l. 16 and *Aditya-*, l. 18 ; *dh* has a notch in the curve on the left in some cases (cf. *dhvasta-*, l. 9), but not in others (cf. *dhārō-*, l. 6); the two curves of *bh* generally appear separated as in *Bhāradvāja-*, l. 17, but they are joined in some places as in *puny-ābhivṛidhayē*, l. 16 ; *y* has a notch at the bottom of the left limb as in *Gāṅgēya-*, ll. 28-29, but is without it in some other cases as in *vijaya-*, ll. 1-2 ; in its subscript form the letter generally appears without the notch as in *pratishṭhitasya*, l. 3, but see its shape in *punyābhivṛidhayē*, ll. 16-17 ; similarly *v* also has a notch in *-bhuvana-*, l. 3, but is without it in *viditam=* and *vō*, both in l. 14 ; the superscript *ś* is cursive in *śri-*, l. 11 ; and the final *t* is shown with a curve at the bottom in *yāvat*, l. 20. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the entire record is in prose with the exception of two benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 26-28. The grant is somewhat carelessly written. The grammatical mistakes are corrected in the subjoined transcript and in the notes appended to it. As regards **orthographical** peculiarities, we may note that a consonant is sometimes reduplicated after *r* as in *Gōkarṇṇa-*, ll. 4-5 ; *v* is throughout used for *b* ; the guttural nasal takes the place of *anusvāra* before *ś* in *-nistriṅśa-*, l. 6, *vāṅśa-*, l. 22 and in *tṛitīy-ōṅśa*, l. 26 ; the palatal *ś* is used for the lingual *sh* in *śaḍ-ōchhritiḥ* and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *sata-*, both in l. 29 ; finally, *chha* takes the place of the ligature *tsa* in *-samvachhara* in l. 29.

The plates refer themselves to the reign of the Gaṅga king, *Mahārāja* **Dēvēndravarman**, the son of *Mahārājādhirāja* **Rājēndravarman**. They were issued from **Kaliṅganagara** and record his grant of the village **Musunika**[3] situated near **Sidhathā**[4] in the territorial division of **Varāhavartanī**, on the occasion of a **solar eclipse**. The grant is dated at the end in the **year 306** (expressed in words) of the **Gāṅgēya kingdom**, i.e., of the Gaṅga era. While stating the boundaries of the donated village the following neighbouring villages are mentioned, viz., **Mukurumbaka, Aralaka, Yavayaṭika** and **Yāmivāṭaka**. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa

[1] Bühler says that the change in the characters occurred about the Gn. year 183 (*Indian Palaeography*, English tr., p. 69), but in the Parlakimedi and Tekkali plates issued later in the Gn. years 184 and 192 the box-headed characters have been used.

[2] The Tekkali plates of Dēvēndravarman III are not written in the Nāgarī characters as stated by Mr. Narasimham. Their characters are of the same type as those of the present grant.

[3] The village-name occurs as *Musunikā* in l. 13, but as *Musunika* elsewhere.

[4] The text is uncertain in this part. I suggest the emendation *Sidhathā-sambandhini* on the analogy of *Lōhadhaṅgara-sambandhini* in ll. 14-15 of the Indian Museum plates, dated Gn. 308.

Ādityavishṇuśarman, the son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and, at the time of the grant, was residing at **Nagara.** A third part of the village was given to his brother Bhānuśarman. The grant was written by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Sarvachandra and was engraved on the plates by the *Akshaśālin* Khaṇḍimalla.

The date of the grant does not admit of calculation in the absence of such details as the month, fortnight, week-day or *nakshatra* ; but the mention of the solar eclipse in line 17 gives some basis for verification. The grant does not, of course, state in which lunar month the eclipse occurred, nor does it explicitly connect the Gaṅga year 306 with it. Supposing that it occurred in that year, we get some data which we can verify. I have shown elsewhere,[1] from an examination of all available Gaṅga dates which contain any verifiable details, that the Gaṅga era commenced on Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the Śaka year 420 (the 14th March 498 A.C.). According to this epoch, the current Gaṅga year 306 corresponds to the Śaka year 725. In this year there was a solar eclipse in the month of *amānta* Vaiśākha, on the 25th April 803 A.C. There was no eclipse in the Śaka year 726 corresponding to the expired Gaṅga year 306. This is, therefore, one of the few dates of the Gaṅga era which cite a current year.

The introductory part of the present grant contains merely conventional praise. In fact the *praśasti* of the Gaṅga rulers had become stereotyped long before and was being repeated in connection with the name of each successive Gaṅga king, sometimes with the addition or omission of a laudatory expression here and there which contained no historical information. It is not, therefore, possible to identify any early Gaṅga king on the basis of the introductory *praśasti* in his grant. The year 306 of the Gaṅga era in which the present grant was recorded shows, however, that Dēvēndravarman who made it was the third king of that name, who was the son of Rājēndravarman I.

Besides the present grant we have the following four records of the reign of Dēvēndravarman III :—(1) the undated Bangalore plates[2] recording the grant of the village Sidhatā in the *vishaya* (territorial division) of Varāhavartanī on the occasion of an *ayana-saṅkrānti* ; (2) the undated Chicacole plates[3] registering the gift of the village Viriṇṭika in the Pushkariṇī-*vishaya* ; (3) The Indian Museum plates[4] dated Gn. 308, mentioning the gift of the village Purujvana in the territorial division of Bakudravakōṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Māgha ; and (4) the Tekkali plates[5] dated Gn. 310, recording the grant of the village Niyinō in the territorial division of [Rū]-pavartanī. All these grants were issued from Kaliṅganagara. The introductory parts of all of them are identical except for the addition or deletion of an expression containing conventional praise.[6]

In the present grant Rājēndravarman I receives the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* while his son, the reigning king Dēvēndravarman III, is mentioned with the lower one of *Mahārāja*. This does not, however, indicate that the Gaṅga kingdom became smaller in the reign of the latter or that he owed allegiance to some other power. The drafters of the grants of this king do not appear to have been very careful in the use of these titles ; for we find that in the Chicacole plates Rājēndravarman is called *Mahārāja*, and Dēvēndravarman, *Mahārājādhirāja*. Again, in the Tekkali

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326 ff. ; Vol. XXVII, p. 192 ; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 ff.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Bn. 140.

[3] *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 185 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff. For the reading of the date, see ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

[5] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311 ff.

[6] In the present grant the expression *sita-kumuda-kund-ēndv-avadāta-dig-dēśa-vinirgata-yaśāḥ* which occurs in the Tekkali plates (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 312) has been omitted. Similarly the expression *dhvast-ārāti-kul-āchalō* which occurs in the present as well as the Tekkali grant finds no place in the Indian Museum plates. Again, the epithet *parama-māhēśvara* is not mentioned in the present grant in the description of Dēvēndravarman as it is in the Indian Museum plates.

plates both of them receive the same title *Mahārāja*, while in the Indian Museum plates, Rā jēndravarman alone has the title of *Mahārāja*, Dēvēndravarman's name being mentioned with the simple honorific prefix *śrī*.

The scribe Sarvachandra and the engraver Khaṇḍimalla are both known from several other grants of Dēvēndravarman III. At the time of the present grant Sarvachandra hold the high office of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* or the Chief Minister for peace and war. In the Chicacole plates he is called merely *Sāmanta*, while in the later Tekkali and Indian Museum plates he is called *Rahasya* or Private Secretary. *Akshaśālin* Khaṇḍimalla, who is mentioned as the engraver, is sometimes called *Sāmanta*.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Kaliṅganagara** from where the plates were issued has already been identified with Mukhaliṅgam in the Srikakulam District.[1] **Nagara** where the donee was residing is probably the same as Kaliṅganagara. As Mr. G. V. Ramamurti has shown, the Gaṅga capital Kaliṅganagara is mentioned in the Telugu inscriptions at Mukhaliṅgam as *Nagara*. There is still a place called Nagarakaṭakam, about two miles to the south of Mukhaliṅgam, which probably marks the site of the ancient capital. The territorial division of **Varāhavartanī** in which the donated village was situated is known from as many as five other grants, viz., the Achyutapuram plates[2] of Gn. 87, the Chicacole plates[3] of Gn. 128, the Siddhāntam plates[4] of Gn. 195, the Chicacole plates[5] of Gn. [2]51 and the Bangalore plates.[6] In three of these, viz., the two sets of Chicacole plates dated Gn. 128 and [2]51 and the Bangalore plates, it is called a *vishaya*, which shows that it was roughly of the same size as a modern district. It has not yet been definitely identified ; but most of the grants mentioning this division were found either at Chicacole or not very far from it. Again, Siddhārthaka, which is mentioned in the Achyutapuram and Siddhāntam plates as situated in Varāhavartanī,[7] is probably identical with modern Siddhāntam, which lies about three miles south of Nagarakaṭakam near the right bank of the Vaṁśadharā. The *vishaya* of Varāhavartanī seems, therefore, to have comprised the territory round modern Chicacole. Northward it extended beyond Siddhāntam and probably contained the royal capital Kaliṅganagara also. **Musunika**, the village donated by the present charter, has been identified with Musunūru.[8] **Sidhathā**, which was in its vicinity, is probably identical with the village Sidhatā mentioned in the Bangalore plates. The close similarly in their names together with the description that both of them were situated in the same territorial division of Varāhavartanī leaves no doubt about their identification. Perhaps they are not different from Siddhārthaka, which also was situated in the same *vishaya*. In that case they may be identified with modern Siddhāntam, which, as stated above, lies only about three miles south of Nagarakaṭakam. I am unable to identify the other villages mentioned in the present grant.

TEXT[9]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[10] [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] अमरपुरानुकारिण[: स]र्वर्तुसुखरमणीयाद्वि-

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 187 ff.

[2] Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121.

[4] Above, Vol. XIII, p. 214.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Bn. 140.

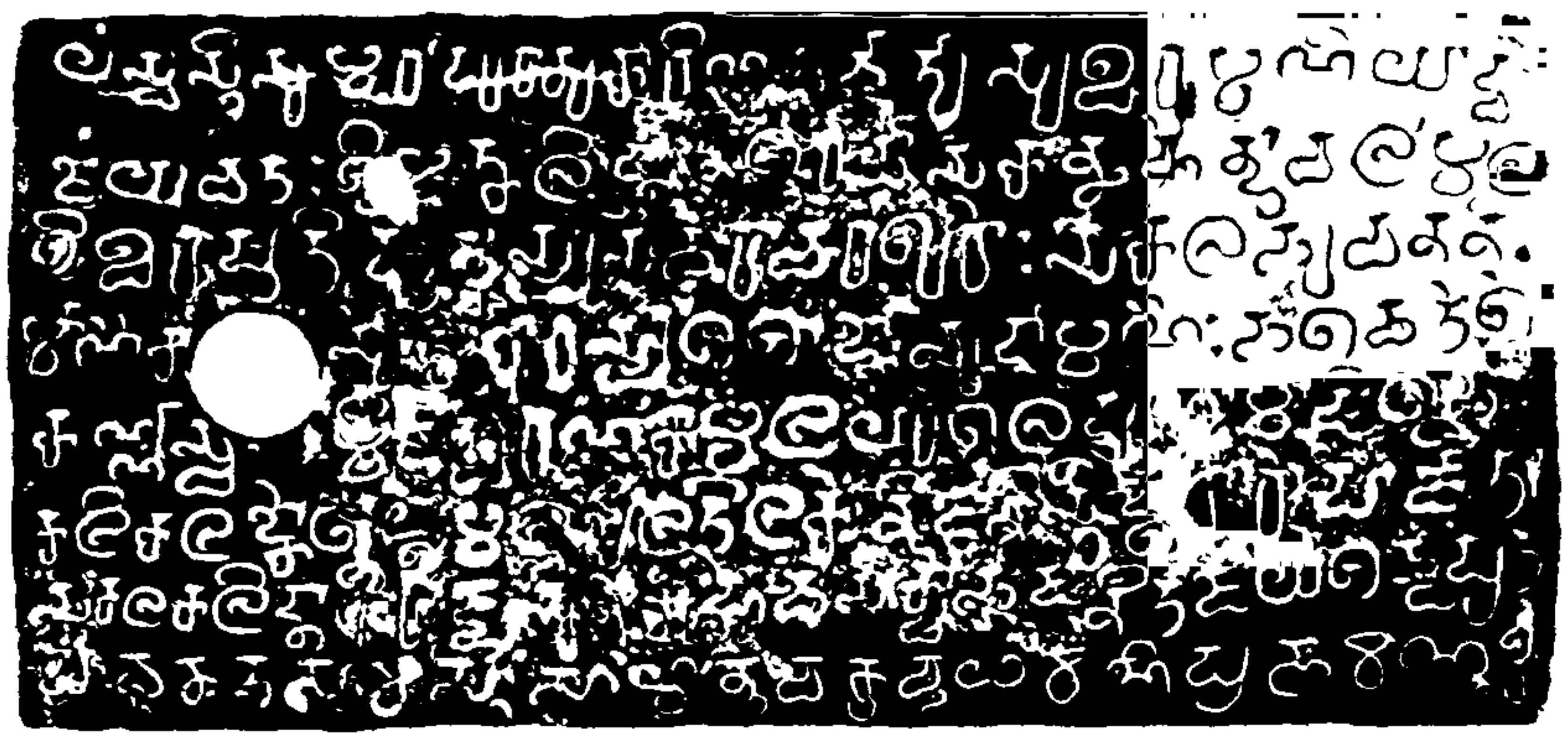
[7] Above, Vol. III, p. 128 ; Vol. XIII, p. 214.

[8] Mr. Narasimham has not given details about its location and I have not been able to trace it on the Degree Map 65 N.

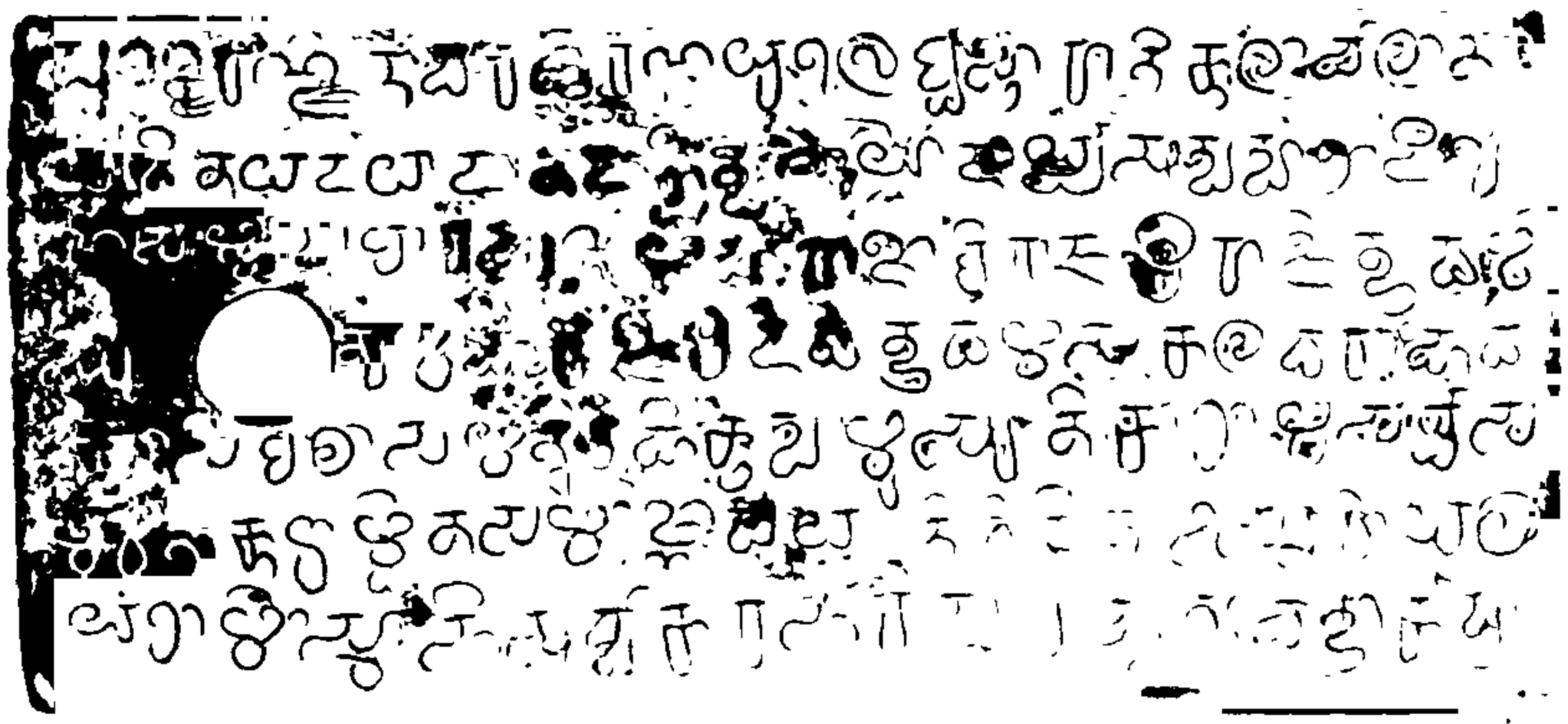
[9] From ink impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[10] Expressed by a symbol.

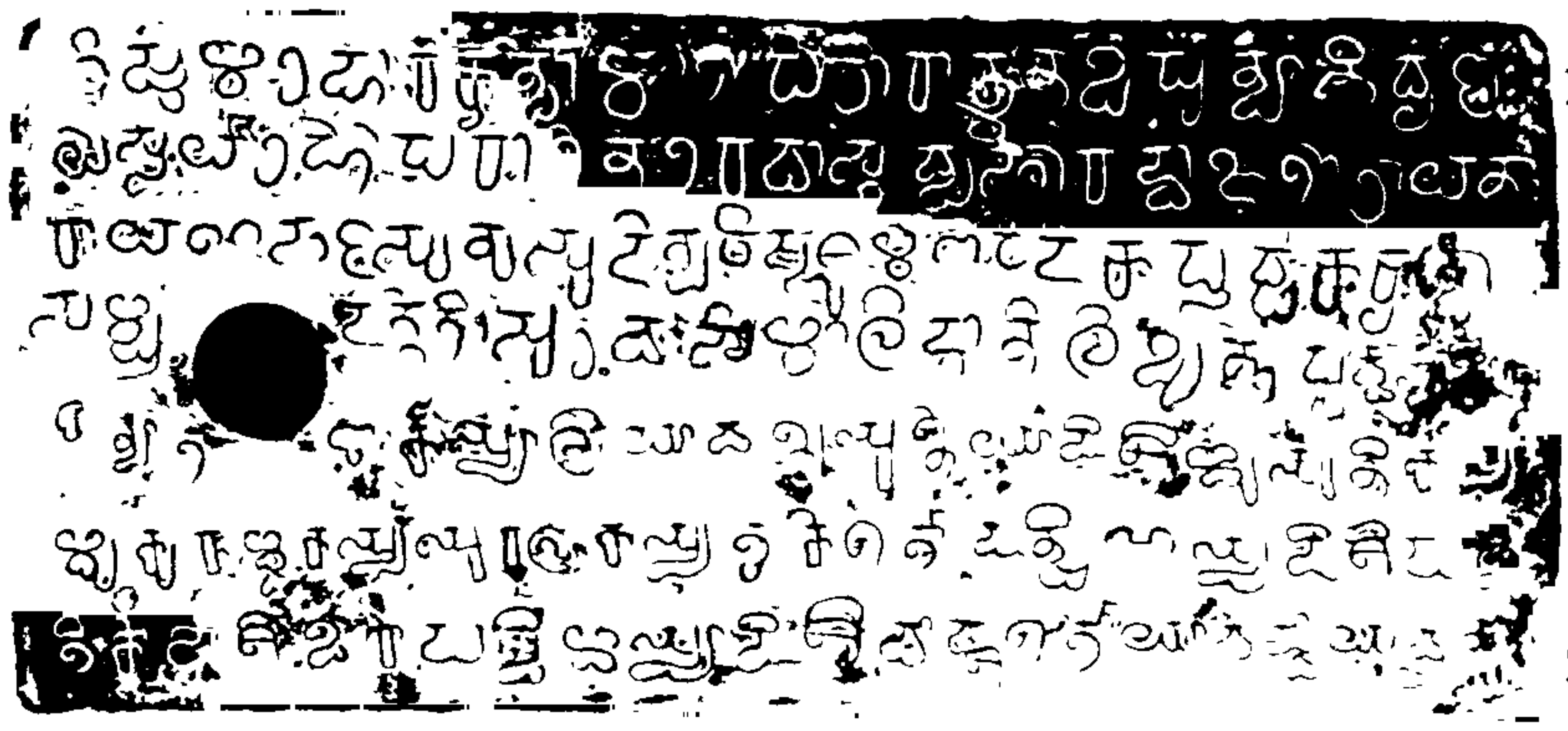
i.



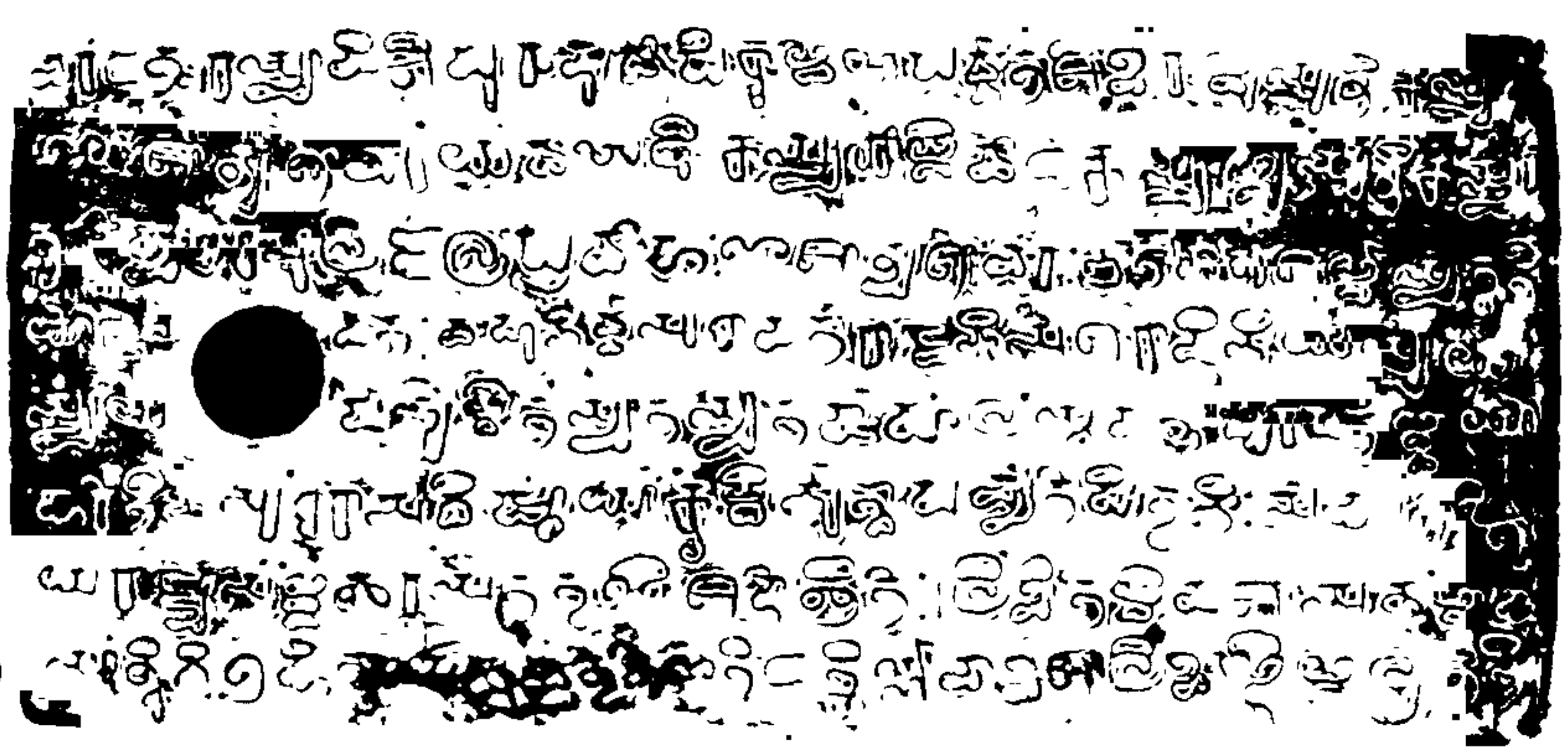
ii,a.



ii,b.



iii.



SCALE : ONE-FIFTEENTH.

2 जयवतः श्रि(श्री)मत्कलिङ्गनगरवासकान्महेन्द्राचलामल-

3 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-

4 र्म्माणैकसु(सू)[त्र]धारस्य शशा[ङ्क]चूडामणेः भगवतो गो-

5 कर्ण्णस्व[ा]मि[न]श्चरणकमलयुगल[प्र]णामाद्विगत-

6 कलिकलङ्को गङ्गामल[कु]लतिलको निजनिम्त्रिङ्श[1]धारोपार्जित-

7 सकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्य[ः] [अ]ने[का]हवसंक्षोभजनितजयशब्द(ब्दः) प्रत[ा]-

8 पावनतसमस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडा(डा)मणिप्रभामञ्जरी-

Second Plate : First Side

9 पुञ्जरञ्जितवर[च]रणयुगल(लो) ध्वस्तारातिकुलाचलो न-

10 यविनयदयादानदाक्षिन्य(ण्य)शौर्यौदार्य्यसत्यत्यागादिगु-

11 णसम्पदाधार[भू]तो महाराजाधिराजश्रि(श्री)राजेन्द्रवर्म-

12 सु(सू)नुम[हा]राज[श्री]देवेन्द्रवर्म(र्मा) सकल[2]वराहव-

13 र्तन्या(न्यां) सिधथामसन्धिनं[3] हिकृतय[4] मुसुनिका(क)ग्राम(मे) सर्व्वस-

14 मवेता कुटुम्बिन[5] समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथा-

15 यं ग्रामोस्माभि[ः*] सर्व्वकरभरै[ः*] परिहृत्याचन्द्रार्कप्र-

Second Plate ; Second Side

16 तिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)भिवृध(द्ध)-

17 ये सूर्यग्रहोपरागे नगरवास्तव्यभारद्वाजगोत्राय ना-

18 रायणभट्टसुनुअदित्य[6]विष्णुशर्मणे उदकपूर्वक(कं) कृत्वा

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[1] Read -निस्त्रिंश-.

[2] This adjective appears superfluous. It is not prefixed to वराहवर्तनी in any other grant.

[3] Read सिधथासम्बन्धिनि

[4] These three *aksharas* are superfluous.

[5] Read सर्वसमवेतान् कुटुम्बिनः.

[6] Read -सूनवादित्य-.

19 सम्प्रदत्तेति[1]। अत्र च सि(सी)मालिङ्गानि लिख्यन्ते [।*] पूर्व्व[स्यां दिशि]

20 धन्यातटार्क(क)स्यालि(लिं) यावत् । अग्नेयां[2] दिशि मुसुनिकस्य

21 मुकुरुम्व(म्ब)कस्य अरलकस्य त्रके[3] गर्ता । दक्षिणस्य(स्यां) दिशि प(पा)[र्व्वं]-

22 तिकौ द्वौ शिखरौ [।*] पश्चिमस्या(स्यां) दिशि वाङ्शगर्ता[4] यावद्वायव्यगो-

Third Plate

23 चर(रः।) उत्तरस्या(स्यां) दिशि पुरुदुवापीक्रमेण पर्व्वतशिखर(रं) मुसुनिकस्य

24 इशान्यगोचरं[5][।*] यवयटिकस्य यामिवाटकस्य मुसुनिकस्य

25 त्रके[6] न्यग्रोध आलिजलप्रवाहः इशान्यगोचरः[7][।*] भ्राता भानुशर्मस्य[8] तृती-

26 योङश(योंशः) प्रदतः(त्तः)[।*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दता(त्ता) राजभि[ः*] सगरादिभि[ः।*] यस्य य-

27 स्य यदा भु(भू)मित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फं(फ)लं(लम्)[9][॥१॥*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो

28 हरेति(त) वसुंधरा[म्।*] स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भु(र्भू)त्वा पच्यते पितृभिः सह ।[।२॥*] गाङ्गे-

29 यराज्यसम्वछर सततृणि शडोछ्रितिः[10] । लिखिं(खि)तमिद(दं) शासनं माहा-

30 सांन्धिविग्रहिकसव्वचन्देने इति[11][।*] उत्किर्ण्णं चाखशालिखण्डिमल्लेनेति[12] ।

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[1] Read सम्प्रदत्त इति ।

[2] Read आग्नेय्यां.

[3] Read त्रिकस्य. The pit (गर्ता) seems to have marked the boundaries of the three adjoining villages.

[4] Read वांशगर्ता.

[5] Read ऐशानीगोचरः.

[6] Read त्रिकस्य. See note 3 above.

[7] Read ऐशानीगोचरः.

[8] Read भ्रातुर्भानुशर्मणः.

[9] Metre of this and the next verse : *Anushṭubh*.

[10] Read -राज्यसंवत्सरशतत्रये षडुत्तरे ।

[11] Read महासान्धिविग्रहिकसर्व्वचन्द्रेणेति.

[12] Read उत्कीर्ण्णं चाक्षशालिखण्डिमल्लेनेति ।

No. 7—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTIONS OF ANANTAVARMAN CHODAGANGA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The mighty Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. C.) of Kaliṅganagara near modern Śrīkākuḷam (Chicacole) was successively followed on the Gaṅga throne by no less than four of his sons, viz., (1) Kāmārṇava (*circa* 1147-56 A. C.), (2) Rāghava (*circa* 1156-70 A. C.), Rājarāja II (*circa* 1170-90 A. C.) and Anaṅgabhīma II (*circa* 1190-96 A. C.). Although Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga is stated to have conquered Utkala, founded the great temple of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha at Purī and levied tribute from the whole east coast land up to the Bhāgīrathī (Ganges),[1] no record of himself or his immediate successors was formerly known to have come from any place in Orissa. For a long time therefore three Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa) inscriptions of the time of Anaṅgabhīma II were regarded as the earliest Gaṅga inscriptions in Orissa, although they would necessarily belong to an age nearly a century after the conquest of coastal Orissa by Chōḍagaṅga about the beginning of the twelfth century. One of the three records is the Ananta-Vāsudēva temple (Bhubaneswar) inscription[2] of Svapnēśvara, husband of a sister of Anaṅgabhīma II, while the remaining two[3] were stated to be incised on the south jamb of the great Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. But, as we have shown elsewhere[4], the said two Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions belong not to the reign of Anaṅgabhīma II but to that of his grandson Anaṅgabhīma III whose accession is usually assigned to 1211 A. C.

As, in the Vizagapatam plates, Chōḍagaṅga is stated to have "placed the fallen lord of Utkala in his kingdom in the eastern region", R. D. Banerji observes. "It is interesting to note that no inscriptions of this king have yet been discovered in the Puri, Cuttack and Balasore Districts of Northern Orissa. This perhaps proves that some local king was still ruling over Northern Orissa, who had been reinstated by Anantavarman, as stated in his inscriptions."[5] But he ignores the fact that, according to the Kendupatna plates, Gaṅgēśvara (Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga) by "defeating the king of Utkala......obtained a Lakshmī-like kingdom" and that this undoubtedly points to the subsequent annexation of Utkala by the Gaṅga king.[6] Recently we had reports of the existence of a few inscriptions of Chōḍagaṅga's reign in the Puri-Cuttack region. One of these was traced at Alagum near Puri and has already been published in the pages of this journal.[7]

It is a matter of regret that the numerous inscriptions in the great Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar have not been properly studied so far. Recently, I had an opportunity of examining the impressions of a large number of the Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions, which are lying in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. Among them I was very glad to find several records belonging to the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga together with a few bearing

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[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 241 f.
[2] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 198 ff.
[3] *JASB*, 1903, p. 115.
[4] See above, p. 18.
[5] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 250.
[6] Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 469.
[7] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44 ff.

dates falling in the reigns of his sons. Unfortunately most of these epigraphs are **badly damaged.** Two of the inscriptions of Chōḍagaṅga's reign are edited in the following pages.[1]

Of the two epigraphs under study, No. 1 is engraved on the east wall inside the third entrance of the Liṅgarāja temple and No. 2 on the south wall inside the same entrance. Inscription No. 1 is written in eight lines; but a number of letters at the end of all the lines are completely peeled off. It is difficult to determine the actual number of letters thus lost. This fragmentary epigraph covers a space measuring 27 inches by 13 inches. The space covered by Inscription No 2, consisting of nine lines of writing, measures about 28 inches by 19 inches. This record is fortunately not fragmentary; but the state of the preservation of the letters is not quite satisfactory.

The **characters** of both the inscriptions are Gauḍīya. Inscription No. 2 offers an instance, rather rare in medieval Orissan epigraphy, of the carefulness of the engraver of a document. In line 9, the engraver had at first incised *mahiyata*° and, after having noticed the mistake, engraved *hī* below *hi* to indicate that the intended reading of the expression is *mahīyata*°. Nothing in the **palaeography** of the inscriptions deserves special mention with the exception of a single point. This is raised by the peculiar form of the numeral *3* occurring in line 1 of Inscription No. 1. This form of *3* is not usually found in medieval Orissan records, although it may be an earlier variety of the later Bengali form of the numeral. The **language** of the two inscriptions is Sanskrit. Little calls for special mention in regard to their **orthography**. But it may be pointed out that Inscription No. 1 is couched in a poetic style of prose composition and that it actually begins with some passages in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

Both the records under review are **dated.** Inscription No. 1 bears the date both in the Śaka era as well as in the regnal reckoning of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The Śaka year is given in words as *ṛitu-rāma-kh-ēndu*, i.e., the seasons (6), the Rāmas (3), the sky (o) and the moon (1), which would make, according to the principle *aṅkānāṁ vāmatō gatiḥ*, the Śaka year 1036 (1114-15 A.C.). The regnal year of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga is written in the inscription in two figures of which the second is clearly *7* while the first one has a peculiar shape. As, however, the said Gaṅga king was crowned in Śaka 999,[2] the Śaka year 1036 corresponds to his 37th regnal year. This shows that the first of the two figures, with which the regnal year is written in the record under discussion, is *3*. The astronomical details of the date, even if they were quoted in the inscription, cannot be traced in its extant portion. Inscription No. 2 bears the date: Wednesday, Vishuvasaṅkrānti, Vaiśākha-badi 1, in the 62nd regnal year of Anantavarman (Chōḍagaṅga). The said year of Chōḍagaṅga's reign seems to have corresponded to Śaka 1060; but the details of the date point to the 24th March, 1137 A.C., falling in Śaka 1059 (i.e., Śaka 1060 current).

The fragmentary nature of Inscription No. 1 stands in the way of fully understanding its import. It seems to record the grant of a perpetual lamp, containing one hundred wicks and fed by 24 *karaṅkas* of oil, in favour of the god Kīrttivāsa (Kṛittivāsa or Śiva worshipped

[1] After the preparation of this paper, I received a copy of the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2 (July 1952), in which (pp. 1 ff.) the first of the two inscriptions edited here by me has been published with an inaccurate transcript. There are impressions of another interesting Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. The record was found incised "in a room to the left of the third entrance (inside)" of the Liṅgarāja temple. It is fragmentary and contains only five lines written in a cursive form of the Gauḍiya script. The first two and half lines read as follows:

1 Svasti śrī Chyō(Chō)ḍagangadēvasya pravarddha-

2 māna-vijaya-rājyē Saṁva 67 Śrāhi

3 Milvārddhigrāma............

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1099.

in the Liṅgarāja temple). *Karaṅka* means a small pot usually made of the cocoanut-shell and is often used in measuring liquids. It appears that the said perpetual lamp was placed in a structure constructed in the Liṅgarāja temple compound by the Gaṅga monarch Chōḍagaṅgaka (Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga). Line 7 contains the name of a *Dēvakarmin* (possibly meaning 'a priest') beginning with *Śrī-Rāma*; but whether this person was the donor of the grant referred to above cannot be determined with certainty, although this may not be impossible. The name Gautama occurs in a damaged passage in line 8. Whether, however, this is the name of a person or that of the donee's *gōtra* is uncertain. An interesting epithet of the Gaṅga king Chōḍagaṅga occurring in line 4 calls him *Śiva-pūjā-vidhān-aika-hṛidaya*. We have seen elsewhere[1] how Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga was, like his ancestors, a staunch Śaiva in the early years of his reign, how after his conquest of Utkala about the beginning of the twelfth century he called himself both a Śaiva and a Vaishṇava for sometime, and how in the later years of his reign he dropped the claim to have been a Śaiva and called himself only a Vaishṇava. The Gaṅga king is known to have been gradually inclining towards the worship of Vishṇu (in the form of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī) before Śaka 1036 (1114-15 A.C.), the date of the record under review. One of the two sets of his Korni plates,[2] dated Śaka 1034 (1112 A. C.), refers to his conquest of Utkala and mentions him as both *parama-Māhēśvara* and *parama-Vaishṇava*.

Inscription No. 2 records the grant of a perpetual lamp in favour of the god Kīrttivāsas (Kṛittivāsas) by a person named Vīrāṇḍi who was the son of Māṅgāṇḍi, resident of Āllataḍāgrāma in the Kaliṅga *vishaya* (district). For making provision for the said perpetual lamp, the donor, who seems to have been a resident of the Brāhmaṇa *khaṇḍa* (habitation) in a locality called Tōrannirākura within the Kalamvōra *vishaya*, granted five *māḍhas* of gold with the cognizance of the following persons: (1) Sāmu Kavirāja (probably 'a physician'), (2) Kākva, (3) Maṇḍalika, (4) Dēvadhara, (5) Kēśava, (6) Piṇvāmī, (7) Āditya and (8) Sulabhakara.

Inscription No. 1, which is fragmentary, does not contain any **geographical** name in its extant portion. But line 6 of the record begins with the letters *sa-pāṭakē*, although the beginning of the name of this locality is lost at the end of the previous line of the inscription. Inscription No. 2 mentions the following geographical names: (1) Kaliṅga *vishaya*, (2) Āllataḍā-grāma in Kaliṅga *vishaya*, (3) Kalamvōra *vishaya*, and (4) Tōrannirākura in the Kalamvōra *vishaya*. Of this, the district called Kaliṅga *vishaya* seems to have been the region round the city of Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Śrīkākuḷam) which was the capital of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. Kalamvōra *vishaya* is mentioned in another Bhubaneswar (Liṅgarāja temple) inscription of the time of Chōḍagaṅga's son Rāghava.[3]

TEXT[4]

Inscription No. 1; Śaka 1036, Regnal Year 37

1 Siddham[5] Samvat[6] 37 Śākāvdē(bdē) ṛitu-rāma-kh-ēndu-gaṇi[tē].......

2 śṛiṅgāra-śaurya-śālinā sampūrṇṇa-śara-śasadhara[7]-kara-nikara-vika[sa]....

3 prava(ba)la-mahīpāla-pa[ksha]-dvaya-gīyamāna-vṛi(bṛi)[ha]..

[1] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 139-40.

[2] *JAHRS*, Vol. I, p. 106.

[3] See our paper entitled "Bhubaneswar Inscriptions of Rāghava; Śaka 1070" to be published in this journal.

[4] From impressions.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read *Saṁvat.*

[7] Read *śarach-chhaśadhara.*

4 ja[1]-śrī-Chōḍagaṅgakēna Śiva-pūjā-vidhān-aikahṛida[yēna]....

5 gavataḥ(tē)[2] śrī-Kīrttivāsa[3]-bhaṭṭārakāya vina(ni)[r]mmita-sa[rva]....

6 sa-pāṭakē[4] taila-chatuvvinsati-[5]karaṅk-[ākshayi]tāṁ na paripālya. ....

7 bhagavatē śrī-Kīrttivāsāya[6] sahaja-sukṛiti-va(ba)ddha-dēvaka[r*]mmi-śrī-Rāma....

8 tāṁ śata-va[r*]tti-śaṁ(saṁ)khyātām=akarōd=ā-chandr-ārka-tārāya Gauta[ma].......

Inscription No. 2; Regnal Year 62.

1 Siddham[7] svasti [|*] śrīmad-Anantavarmadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē

2 dvāsa(sha)shṭi-samva(saṁva)tsarē Vaiśākha-kṛishṇa-pratipadi Vu(Bu)dha-vārē

3 Viśu(shu)vati Kaliṅga-vi[sa(sha)]ya Āllataḍā-grāmē sthita-Māṅgā-

4 ṇḍi-putra-Vīrāṇḍi-nāmnā śrī-Kīrttivāsasē[8] dēvāya ā-cha-

5 ndr-ārkka-sthāpit-ākhaṇḍa-dīp-ārthē Kalamvōra-vishayē

6 Tōranniräkurē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-khaṇḍē Sāmu-kavirāja ēvaṁ

7 Kāk[v]a ēvaṁ Maṇḍalika ēvaṁ Dēvadhara-Kēśava-Piṇvāmy-Ā-

8 ditya-Sulabhakara(rā) ētēshāṁ gōcharē suvarṇṇa-māḍhā(ḍha)-paṁchakaṁ

9 da[tta]ṁ(ttam |) dīpa-dātā sa[r]va-lōkē mahīyata[9] iti [||*]

No. 8—PUSHPAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF YADAVA SINGHANA

(*1 Plate*)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, AGRA

The inscription[10] edited below is engraved on a slab now lying near the Trikūṭēśvara shrine in the compound of the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple situated on the southern bank of the river Pennār at **Pushpagiri**, a hamlet of Kōṭlūru, Cuddapah *taluk*, Andhra State. The lower part of the inscribed stone is broken and lost. The concluding part of the inscription is, therefore, not available, only seventeen lines of writing from the beginning being preserved. Nonetheless, the extant portion of the inscription is interesting and deserves publication. I edit the record with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

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[1] This is apparently the last letter of the expression *Mahārāja*, or less probably *Mahārājādhirāja*, the beginning of which is lost at the end of the previous line.

[2] The letter *bha* at the beginning of this expression is lost at the end of the previous line.

[3] Better read *Kritti°*.

[4] This is apparently the name of the locality where probably the donee lived or the gift land was situated. Or may it be Kṛittivāsa-pāṭaka referring to Bhubaneswar?

[5] Read *chaturvviṁśati-*.

[6] Better read *Kṛitti.°*

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

[8] Better read *Kritti°*. Note that the name is spelt both as *Kṛittivāsa* (cf. Inscription No. 1, line 7) and as *Kṛittivāsa*s (cf. this instance).

[9] As indicated above, originally *hi* had been engraved and later *hī* was incised below it to suggest the intended reading.

[10] This is registered as No. 410 of the *ARSIE* for the year 1938-9.

BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTIONS OF ANANTAVARMAN CHODAGANGA

No. 1



No. 2



SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

The **script** of the inscription is Kannaḍa and its **language**, except the opening lines which contain a verse in Sanskrit, is also Kannaḍa. The record is not dated but from the internal evidence afforded by it, the approximate date when it could have been set up is indicated in the sequel. The following **orthographical** peculiarities in the epigraph are noteworthy. The ligature *ṟpa* in the word *Puṟpagiri* (line 9) is an ancient Kannaḍa or Haḷe-Kannaḍa usage, instances of which are quoted by Kittel.[1] In another inscription[2] at the same place belonging to the reign of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III(?) the place is also spelt as *Puṟpagiri*. The Dravidian *ḷ* is used for the Sanskrit *l* in *niḷaya* (line 13). This shows that the engraver was influenced by the local pronunciation of Sanskrit words.

The inscription commences with the well-known Sanskrit verse, *Namas=tuṅga-śiraś-chumbi*, etc., embodying obeisance to god Śambhu. Thereafter, without referring itself to the reign of any ruler, it introduces Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka with a number of *birudas* like *Mahāpradhāna*, *Samastasēnādhipati*, *Bāhattaraniyōgādhipati*, *Anēkadēśādhipati*, *Paśchimarāya-Bhōjadēva-diśāpaṭṭa* and *Nāyakanārāyaṇa*[3] and describes him as the 'right arm' of Pratāpachakravarti Siṅgaṇadēva (*Śrīmatu-Pratāpachakravarti-Siṅgaṇadēva-dakshiṇabhujādaṇḍa*). The generalissimo is stated to have made some provision for the worship and offerings to god Vaidyanāthadēva of Pushpagiri. The nature of the provision or the object granted is not clear as the portion indicating it is illegible. As the engraver seems to have written on an erasure the letters are very indistinct.

Pushpagiri is stated in the record as being situated at the southern entrance (*dakshiṇa-dvāra-pradēśadalli*) of Śrīparvata, i.e., Śrīśailam, the holy abode of god Śiva on the crest of the Nallamalais in the Kurnool District. Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka is further stated to have raised a *maṭha* called Lakshmīnilaya after his own name and to have made provision for perpetual free-feeding (*avāri-satrava naḍasuv-ant-āgi*).

The record is important as it enables us to determine the extent and nature of the Yādava penetration into the south in the time of Siṅghaṇa whose general Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka figures as the donor in the record. It also throws some light on the career of this general. This military commander who is described in the epigraph as the right arm of the Yādava ruler seems to have had a long and distinguished career as the generalissimo of the Yādava forces. If he is identical with *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Lakshmīdēva who figures in two inscriptions of the reign of Jaitugi II of dates A.C. 1196[4] and 1197[5], it would appear that he also served this Yādava ruler who was the

[1] See Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, p. 998. It may be suggested that the *ṟ* in *puṟpa* is the *upadhmānīya* sign for the *visarga* before *p* since the word *pushpa* (Skt.) might have been pronounced as *puhpa* by the Kannaḍa speaking people under the influence of the Prakrit form *puppha*.

[2] *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 69.

[3] In the *ARSIE* for 1938-9, Part II, para 37, p. 84, where this inscription is discussed, that portion of the *praśasti* where the epithet *Nāyakanārāyaṇa* occurs has been split up as *Śrīmatu-Pratāpachakravarti-Siṅgaṇadēva-dakshiṇabhujādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Nārāyaṇa-Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka* and the general is given the double name of Nārāyaṇa-Lakshmīdēva. Dr. Fleet also refers to him as Nārāyaṇa-Lakshmīdēva-daṇḍanāyaka (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 523) but does not indicate any particular record as the source of his information. Such a splitting of the words of the *praśasti* is not correct. The compound should be separated as *Siṅgaṇadēva-dakshiṇabhujādaṇḍa*, *Nāyakanārāyaṇa* and *Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka* since the epithet *Dakshiṇabhujādaṇḍa* and *Nāyakanārāyaṇa* occur separately in the *praśasti* of some other generals also. For example, the epithet *Nāyakanārāyaṇa* is borne by Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi (*SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 332 and 346), Jannigadēva (ibid., No. 402) and Perumāṇḍi-Nāyaka (ibid., No. 400). This title may be compared with similar ones like *Rājanārāyaṇa*, and *Javanikanārāyaṇa* (ibid., No. 479). The appellation *dakshiṇabhujādaṇḍa* was borne by Jannigadēva and forms part of the compound *Gaṇapatidēva-dakshiṇa-bhujādaṇḍa*, his other title *Nāyakanārāyaṇa*, occurring further on in the same *praśasti* some other epithets intervening (*SII*, Vol. X, No. 402). Adidammulu, another Kākatīya general is called *Rudradēva-dakshiṇabhujādaṇḍa* in one inscription which also styles him as *Javanikanārāyaṇa* (*SII*, Vol. X, No. 479).

[4] Bombay-Karnatak inscriptions, No. 157 of 1933-34.

[5] Bombay-Karnatak inscriptions, No. 47 of 1937-38.

father and predecessor of Siṅghaṇa.[1] Our record, as noted already, gives him such distinguishing epithets as 'lord of many countries', and 'he who put to rout Bhōjadēva, the lord of the west' besides describing him by his official designations like *Mahāpradhāna*, *Samastasēnādhipati* and *Bāhattaraniyōgādhipati*. Fleet refers to an epigraph issued sometime in October, A.C. 1210 in which this general is called the *daṇḍanāyaka* of the *dakshiṇamahi*, i.e., the southern part of the kingdom.[2] That Siṅghaṇa had overrun and reduced a number of territories on or before December 19, 1210 A.C., is attested by a record[3] bearing this date found at Dēvarabeṭṭa in the Bellary District, which states that on the date specified 'he was ruling the country having subjugated the whole country and having obtained the kingdom' (*Siṅghaṇadēvan-ananta-bhūmiyaṁ sādhisi rājyamaṁ paḍedu pālisalu*). Some more inscriptions of his reign, dated a few years later, in April 1215 A.C., January, 1216 A.C. and 1227 A.C. have been found at Nīlūru,[4] Anantapur District, Gōraṇṭla[5] in the Kurnool District, and Kōḍumūrti[6] in the Tadpatri *taluk*, Anantapur District. These prove that the Yādava ruler was in possession of this southern region continuously from 1210 to at least 1227 A.C. The Gōraṇṭla record of 1216 A.C. actually refers to Lakshmīdēva Daṇḍanāyaka with the same string of *birudas* as is attached to his name in our Pushpagiri inscription, mentions also his victory over Bhōjadēva of the west, and in addition, specifies that he was administering the country after 'having conquered a number of territories by the might of his arm'. The victory over Bhōja of the west, credit for which is claimed by Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka both in the Gōraṇṭla inscription and in the Pushpagiri record, seems to have been an achievement of rather special importance, for, even the general's overlord, Siṅghaṇa is himself praised for this exploit. In an epigraph from Tiliwaḷḷi,[7] Dharwar District, Siṅghaṇa is described as 'a very king of the birds (Garuḍa) in putting to flight the serpent, the mighty Bhōja whose habitation was Pannāḷa'. Evidently both the ruler and his commander-in-chief were jointly

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[1] The Tiliwaḷḷi inscription of Siṅghaṇa dated Śaka 1160 (current), Hēmalambin (1237 A.C.) mentions Lakhmīdēva, a *hastisādhanika*, as serving under Siṅghaṇa on this date. (*Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. 28, p. 2, text-line 23.) No other details about him are given. A certain *Mahāpradhāna* Lashumidēva figures in a damaged inscription of Singhaṇa at Kolhapur of date 1237 A.C. (No. 353 of *ARIE* for 1945-6). It is quite likely that this official and *hastisādhanika* Lakhmīdēva may be one and the same as they are found serving Siṅghaṇa in the same year. If our Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka be identical with either of these it would appear that he had a long career from about 1196 to 1237 A.C. But the epithet *hastisādhanika* with which Lakhmīdēva of the Tiliwaḷḷi record is introduced and which is conspicuously absent among the titles of Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka would render the identification of these two rather doubtful. On the other hand it seems more likely that *hastisādhanika* Lakhmīdēva was a different person and perhaps identical with still another person of the same name who was the father of Jalhaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra* who wrote the *Sūktimuktāvalī* at the court of Yādava Kṛishṇa in Śaka 1179, i.e., 1257-8 A.C., since most of the ancestors of Jalhaṇa are described as holding the office of *karivāhinīśa* or *karibṛindanātha* under the Yādava kings successively from the time of Mailugi to that of Kṛishṇa. Jalhaṇa gives his pedigree as follows: in the lineage of Vatsa-muni was born Dādā who was a *karivṛindanātha*. He had four sons Mahīdhara, Jalha, Sāṁba and Gaṅgādhara who, by their joint skill, uplifted the kingdom of Maillugi. Gaṅgādhara's son was Janārdana, a *karivāhinīśa* who instructed Siṅghaṇa in *gajaśikshā*. Janārdana's son was Lakshmadēva who helped his overlord Kṛishṇa in firmly establishing his kingdom. Jalhaṇa was the son of Lakshmadēva. Although the title *karivāhinīśa*, is not applied to Lakshmadēva in this account given by Jalhaṇa, it is not unlikely that he also held that office. If so, it is equally likely that he is identical with *hastisādhanika* Lakhmīdēva of the Tiliwaḷḷi record. If this identification is substantiated by future discoveries, *hastisādhanika* Lakshmīdēva must have served Siṅghaṇa in or about 1237 A.C. according to the Tiliwaḷḷi record and also Kṛishṇa later on as Jalhaṇa states.

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 523.

[3] *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 364.

[4] Ibid., No. 365.

[5] No. 315 of the *ARSIE* for the year 1937-38.

[6] Recently copied by me in November, 1953.

[7] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524 and n.1; *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. 28, p. 1, text-line 10.

engaged in subduing Bhōja.[1] That this Paśchimarāya Bhōja was the Śilāhāra prince Bhōja II is well established.[2] The date when Bhōja II was defeated and the Śilāhāra kingdom subjugated was approximately fixed by Fleet as lying some time before 1217-18 A.C. on the evidence of a record of Siṅghaṇa found at Kolhapur dated in this year.[3] He notices another inscription of Siṅghaṇa of date 1213 A.C. at Khedrapur in Kolhapur territory.[4] Although it lies in the territory of the Śilāhāra chief, Fleet was apparently not prepared to presume that Bhōja was defeated before this date since the record does not mention the event. However, the date of the event can now be pushed back by at least two years from 1217-18 A.C. as the recently found Gōraṇṭla epigraph of January 25, 1216 A.C., noticed above, refers to the victory over Paśchimarāya-Bhōjadēva, i.e., Bhōja II, as the achievement of Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka, Siṅghaṇa's general.

Siṅghaṇa's occupation of the region south of the Tuṅghabhadrā, particularly the area now comprising the districts of Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool and Cuddapah, to which our Pushpagiri record and other inscriptions cited above bear testimony, does not seem to have been firmly established nor did it last long. It is well known that the Hoysaḷas continued to be masters of their own dominions south of the Tuṅgabhadrā and often beat back the Yādava invaders. Besides the Hoysaḷas, there was another powerful opponent of the Yādavas, viz., the Telugu-Chōḍa prince, Tikka I of Nellore, who is known from inscriptional and literary records to have defeated the Yādavas. Of Tikka's reign a large number of inscriptions have been found. They show that he ruled approximately from 1208 to 1239 A.C. Two of them at Kāñchī, dated Śaka 1153 (1231 A.D.)[5] and Śaka 1156 (1234 A.C.)[6] state that he was the cataclysmic fire to the ocean, viz., Kalyāṇapuri, that he destroyed the pride of the Sēvuṇas and inflicted ignominious punishments on them. The same exploit against the Sēvuṇas seems to be alluded to in the Telugu *Daśakumāra-charitramu*, a poetical work of the same period written by a pupil of Tikkana-Sōmayājin, named

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[1] It is interesting to note that there is still another who assumed the same *biruda* referring to the victory over Bhōja. He is Sārṅgapāṇidēva who describes himself as the son of Yādava Siṅghaṇa and assumes all the imperial titles of the Yādava kings in an inscription of his at Pānuṅgal in the Hyderabad State (*Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. 13, ins. no. 34). The record is dated Śaka 1189, Prabhava, i.e., 1267 A.C. In this epigraph he is credited with nearly all the victories which are found attributed to Siṅghaṇa in the Purushōttamapuri plates of Rāmachandra (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 202 and 209 : v. 4) and in the Tiliwaḷḷi stone inscription of Siṅghaṇa (No. 257 of the *An. Rep. on I.E.*, for the year 1945-6 : *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. 28, pp. 1-26). In fact the Pānungal record gives to Sārṅgapāṇidēva the same string of *birudas* iucluding the imperial titles of Siṅghaṇa as found in the Tiliwaḷḷi inscription. Possibly he just inherited the titles having had no part in the conquests of Siṅghaṇa. The record further describes him as administering the *sthala* of Pānuṅgallu in the reign of king Manuma-Rudradēva of the Kākatīya dynasty. That a person of so high an extraction should be holding such a small status is significant. A similarly worded *praśasti* occurs in a fragmentary stone inscription at Uddari in the Sorab *taluk* of the Shimoga District, Mysore, which opens with the date Śaka 1198 but the name of the chief to whom the epithets apply is lost in the missing piece of the inscribed slab. The date quoted in it would fall in the reign of Yādava Rāmachandra but the eulogy is that of Siṅghaṇa (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1929, pp. 142 ff. and plate XVII ; above, Vol. XXV, p. 202 and f.n. 1.).

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 203. It is known that Bhōja II was styled *Paśchimachakravartin* by his protégé Sōmadēva who wrote the work *Śabdārṇavachandrikā* in the colophon of which Bhōja is given this and many other paramount titles (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 549.) A chief called Paśchimarāya-Dāmōdara was an adversary of Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi, a subordinate of Kākatīya Gaṇapati mentioned in inscriptions of date 1250 A.C. and later (No. 283 of 1905 of the Mad. Epi. Coll.; *SII*, Vol. X, No. 332). His identity, however, has not been established.

[3] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 524 and 549.

[4] Ibid., p. 524.

[5] No. 446 of 1919 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[6] No. 34 of 1893 of the Mad. Ep. Coll., published in *SII*, Vol. IV, as No. 847. The relevant passage as published reads :

Urāṁsi varṇāvali-chitritāni kar-āṁbujāni truṭit-āṁgulīni |

yasmin parikrudhyati Sēvaṇānāṁ trāṇaṁ kshamēraṁ(m=aikaṁ) na tu hētaya[ḥ*] svāḥ [||v. 13*].

Kētana who says that Tikka 'destroyed the pride of the *Sēvuṇa-kaṭaka-sāmanta*'.[1] These historical allusions leave no doubt that the Sēvuṇa generals were defeated by Tikka I. The reference to Kalyāṇapuri, i.e., Kalyāṇa, the famous Chāḷukya capital which at this period was under the sway of Yādava Siṅghaṇa, as having been destroyed by Tikka I is rather puzzling as we have at present hardly any evidence to show that Tikka I went so far north. On the other hand, a campaign of his in the western direction is specifically alluded to. One of his inscriptions at Gaṅgapērūru near Siddhavaṭṭam, states that after having successfully carried out the conquest of the west (*paśchimadigvijayam-paṇṇi*) he made donations to the god at Siddhavaṭṭam.[2] It is not certain if this western campaign was directed against the Sēvuṇas or against some other power. Since, as stated already, there seems to be hardly any likelihood of Siṅghaṇa having held this part of the country after 1227 A.C. and as the earliest of Tikka's inscriptions crediting him with victory over the Sēvuṇas is dated Śaka 1153, i.e., 1231 A.C., the defeat of the Sēvuṇas might have occurred any time between these two dates. Similarly the date when the Pushpagiri record of the Sēvuṇa general was set up cannot be stated with any precision. Either it was written sometime between 1210 and 1227 A.C. when records of Siṅghaṇa are found in the neighbourhood, or it was set up between 1227 and 1231 A.C. during which Tikka I might have come into conflict with the Sēvuṇas.

Of the **places** and **localities** mentioned, Puṟpagiri, i.e., Pushpagiri, retains its name to the present day.[3] The inscription describes it as a hill lying at the foot of Śrīgiri and as situated in the vicinity of the southern gateway of Śrīparvata. Śrīgiri and Śrīparvata are evidently identical or, as the context suggests, the composer meant by Śrīgiri the entire range of the present Nallamalai hills at the apex of which stands the holy *kshētra* now called Śrīśailam which the writer perhaps specifies in a slightly different way as Śrīparvata. Siddhavaṭṭam which lies about 15 miles south-east of Pushpagiri, is usually referred to as the southern gateway of Śrīśailam. Some inscriptions[4] also state so. Our record says that Pushpagiri lay in the vicinity of the southern gateway while another inscription of the time of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa (III?) at Pushpagiri[5] refers to the village itself as the southern gateway (*Śrīparvata-dakshiṇadvāra-śrī-Puṟpagiri*). Evidently one main hill pathway leading to the Śrīśailam summit started from Siddhavaṭṭam and was joined at some distance further north by another proceeding from Pushpagiri or its vicinity. Perhaps on this

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[1] *Daśakumāracharitramu*, Canto i, v. 16. In the *Nirvachanōttararāmāyaṇamu* of Tikkana-Sōmayājin who wrote the work at the court of Manumasiddhi II, the father of Tikka I, there are several verses describing Tikka's achievements. One of them (Canto I, v. 33) states that when Lakumaya marched against Gurumulūru, he (Tikka) captured his horses in battle. Sri. M. Somasekhara Sarma Garu identifies Lakumaya with Lakshmīdeva-Daṇḍanāyaka of the inscription edited here. (*Kāṭamarājukatha*, Mad. Govt. Oriental Series, No. XCI, Introd. p. III.)

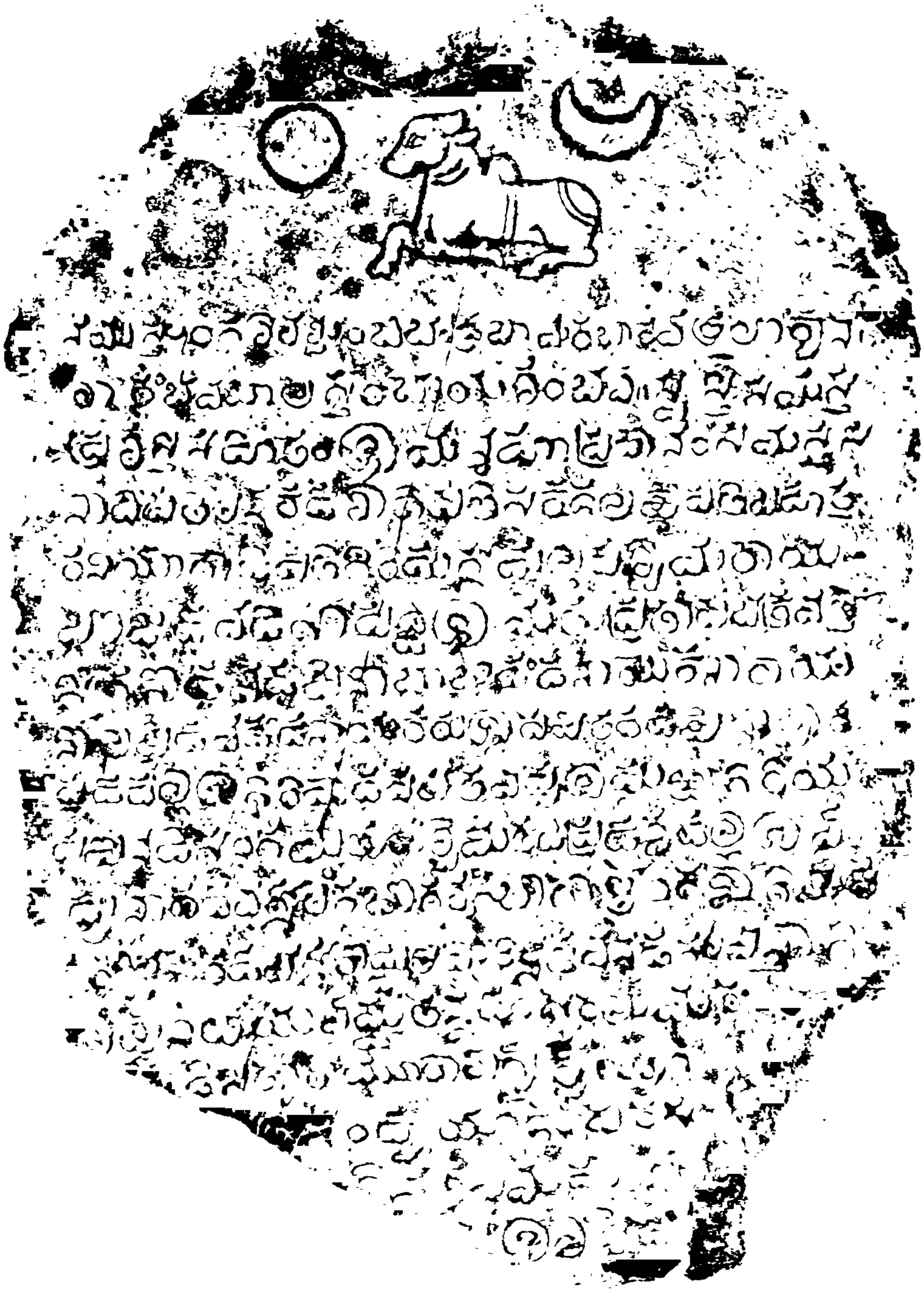
[2] *ARSIE*, No. 16 of 1939-40.

[3] An account of Pushpagiri and its temples is given in *PRASI*, S.C., 1912-13, p. 62 ; see also Pushpagiri *kaifiyat* in *Local Records* (No. 343, p. 163) preserved in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library. I am obliged to Mr. Subrahmanyam, Pandit, Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Madras, for having supplied me with the text of the Pushpagiri *kaifiyat* copied by him at the Mss. library.

[4] No. 353 of the *ARSIE* for 1938-39 ; No. 12 of the *ARSIE* for 1939-40 from Doṅgalasāni in the Cuddapah District specifies Tripurāntaka, Siddhavaṭa, Aṇampura and Māhēśvara as the four gateways of Śrīparvata. They are clearly the modern Tripurāntakam (Kurnool Dist.), Siddhavaṭṭam (Cuddapah Dist.), Alampuram (Hyderabad State) and Umā-Mahēśvaram (Mahbubnagar Dt., Hyderabad State) situted on the east, south, west and north of Śrīparvata. In my article on the Māchupalle inscription of the time of Sōmidēva-Mahārāja (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 119 and n. 2) I adverted to these gateways but stated wrongly that the northern gateway was Kāḷēśvaram (Hyderabad State) instead of Umā-Mahēśvaram (Mahbubnagar Dt., Hyderabad State). My attention was drawn to this error by Sri. M. Somasekhara Sarma Gāru to whom I am thankful for the correction. But, in the spurious Kollipaṟa plates of Arikēsarin (*Bhārati*, Vol. VII, part II, p. 315, text line 88) Ēlēśvaram is mentioned as situated at the northern gateway of Śrīparvata.

[5] *SII*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 69.

PUSHPAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF YADAVA SINGHANA



SCALE: THREE-SIXTEENTHS.

account both Siddhavaṭṭam and Pushpagiri were called southern gateways of Śrīśaila and considered holy. Our inscription states that the temple of Vaidyanātha at Pushpagiri was situated on the west bank of the confluence of five rivers. But today at this spot there flows only one river, viz., the Pennār.

TEXT[1]

1 Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē [|*] trailōkya-naga-
2 r-āraṁbha-mūlastaṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē || Svasti samasta-
3 praśasti-sahitaṁ śrīman-mahāpradhānaṁ samastasē-
4 nādhipati anēkadēśādhipati sakaḷalakshmīpati ba(bā)hatta-
5 raniyōgādhipati giridurggamalla paśchimarāya-
6 Bhōjadēvadisā(śā)paṭṭa śrīmatu-Pratāpachakravartti-
7 Siṁgaṇadēva-dakshiṇabhujādaṁḍa nāyakanārāya-
8 ṇa Lakshmīdēva-Daṁḍanāyakaru Śrīparvatada dakshiṇa-dvāra-
9 pradē[śa*]dalli Śrīgiri-pāda-parvatav=appa śri-Puṛpagiriya
10 pañcha-nadī-saṁgama[da][2] paśchima-taṭa-pradēśadalli śrī-Vai-
11 dyanāthadēvargge aṁga-bhōga-raṁga-bhōgārtthaṁgaḷ-āgi
12 ....[lū]raṁ[3] dēvargge koṭṭu avāri-satrava[4] naḍasuv-aut-āgi
13 Lakshmī-niḷayaveṁddu tanna hesaralu maṭhaṁ....
14 ....[mā]ḍisi tanna āyur-ārōgy-aiśvaryyā....
15 ....tri-saṁdhyeyoḷuṁ parasu....
16 ....va [śai]va-mahā[bhō]...
17 ....śrī-Lakshmīdē[va]....

(*The rest of the inscription is mutilated and lost*).

No. 9—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)

R. SUBRAHMANYAM, VISAKHAPATNAM

This is the second of the four sets of copper plates discovered at the village of **Andhavaram**, Srikakulam District, Andhra State.[5] The first of these charters belonging to the Māṭhara king

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[1] From impressions. The figures of the sun, seated bull and the crescent moon are engraved at the top.

[2] The engraver seems to have at first written here by mistake the letters *ṭaṭa* which he erased and wrote the letters *da* and *pa* over the erasure.

[3] Some letters at the end of line 11 and at the beginning of line 12 appear to have been written even an erasure.

[4] Originally *ne* seems to have been written and later corrected into *sa*.

[5] I am grateful to Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra for their valuable suggestions given to me while editing these plates.

Anantaśaktivarman has already been published in this journal.[1] The present set consists of three plates, each measuring about 7·3" by 2·4". The edges of the plates, though not raised into rims, have been fashioned thicker and flattened, so that the inscription is fairly well preserved. The plates are strung together by means of a ring, ·25" thick and 3·8" in diameter, the two ends of which are secured in an elliptical **seal** measuring 1·2" by 1", on the counter-sunk surface of which is cut in relief a seated bull, which is corroded. There is no legend or any other symbol on the seal. The ring was cut by me for taking impressions. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third plate have been left blank. Each inscribed side contains six lines of writing. The engraving is bold and elegant.

The **alphabet** belongs to the Southern script of about the 6th-7th centuries A. C. and bears close resemblance to that of the Chicacole[2] plates of Mahārāja Indravarman : Year 128, the Parlakimiḍi[3] plates of Rājasiṁha Indravarman : Year 91, and the Urajām plates of Indravarman : Year 97[4]. The **language** is Sanskrit and, except the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses (lines 15-19 and 21-23) and the verse (lines 23-24) in which the names of the *ājñapti* and the scribe are mentioned, the inscription is in prose. The **date** portion of the grant contains numerical symbols for *100, 30* and *3.*

The inscription opens with the usual *praśasti* of the early Gaṅgas and registers the command of Mahārāja Indravarman to the residents of the village **Tōṭavāṭaka,** situated in the Krōshṭukavartanī *vishaya*, that the said village, which was constituted into an *agrahāra* and exempted from all taxes, was given to the Brāhmaṇa residents of **Andōrakāgrahāra,** belonging to various *gōtras*, who were students of the *Ṛigvēda* (*Bahvṛicha charaṇa*), on the new moon day of Śrāvaṇa when there was a solar eclipse, so that merit, longevity and fame may accrue to his father and mother as also to himself.

The record is dated in the **augmenting years of the Tumburuvaṁśa,** and, curiously, the date mentioned in symbols does not agree with that given in words. While expressing the date in words as *śatē triṁśaty-adhikē* the engraver has given the numerical symbols for 100, 30 and 3.

The record is said to have been written by Prabhākara at the command of Lōkārṇavadēva who is described as "one who vanquished many foes" (*vijit-ānēka-vidvishaḥ*).

So far nearly thirty five inscriptions of the early Gaṅgas ranging in date between 39 G. E. and 528 G. E. have come to light. Of them, those belonging to Indravarman and issued from Kaliṅganagara are dated 87[5], 91[6], 128[7], 138[8] and 154[9] while a grant dated 137[10] was issued from Dantapura and mentions the name of the father of the donor to be Dānārṇava. The donor of the grant under review, *Mahārāja* Indravarman, should therefore be identical with one of the Indravarmans of the records cited above. The *praśasti* of this inscription is identical with the *praśasti* of the records of Indravarman dated 87 and 91 G. E., but differs from the *praśasti* of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman dated 128 G. E. Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, after a critical study[11] of all the

[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 175 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, plates facing pp. 120-1.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XIV. p. 134. [The lithograph of this charter has not been published. But Fleet says that its characters are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Chicacole plates.—Ed.]

[4] These plates of Indravarman dated 97 G. E. have been obtained from the Collector of Srikakulam and are being studied by me.

[5] *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 23 ff. and plate.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134 (no lithograph).

[7] Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff. and plate.

[8] Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 123 ff. and plate.

[9] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 308 ff. and plate.

[10] Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 361 ff and plate. While Sri Ramadas reads the date as 149, Prof. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 308) reads it as 137.

[11] *JAHRS*, Vol. XIII, Part ii, pp. 93 ff.

early Gaṅga charters, has observed that the preamble recorded in the later charters of early Gaṅga kings grew lengthier than that in the early ones. Subsequent to 91 G. E. new phrases and clauses denoting their regal glory were added to the preamble and this process of development of phraseology, he surmised, grew round three fundamental factors, namely, (1) the capital city of the early Gaṅgas, (2) their tutelary deity Gōkarṇasvāmin and (3) their own valour and glory. The principal seat of the Gaṅgas attained the dignity of a *vāsaka*, (cf. *Kaliṅganagara-vāsakāt, Dantapura-vāsakāt,* etc.) and the patron deity of the Gaṅgas, Lord Gōkarṇasvāmin, is described as the sole architect of the whole world, the lord of the movable and immovable creation, who has been firmly established on the holy summit of the Mahēndra mountain.

Of the records so far published, the Chicacole plates of Indravarman dated 128 G.E. are perhaps the earliest to mention Kaliṅganagara as a *vāsaka*. Basing on this Mr. Sarma has surmised that subsequent to 91 G. E. the new phrases were added to the *praśasti*.[1] The present Andhavaram plates of Indravarman though dated later than the Chicacole plates referred to above, record curiously the same *praśasti* as given in the earlier records dated 87 and 91 G. E. In fact it is identical with the *praśasti* found in the Narsiṅgapalli plates of Hastivarman : G. E. 79.[2] But for the difference in the name of the donee, the village granted and the date, the text of our inscription is practically identical with that of Indravarman's grant dated 91 G. E. In particular the imprecatory verse recorded in lines 21 and 22 is peculiar to these two records.

These plates furnish us with a new Gaṅga name—*Lōkārṇava*. Who is this Lōkārṇava at whose command the charter is said to have been written ? There is no clue in the plates to ascertain this point. We know of Eastern Gaṅga names like *Kāmārṇava*, *Raṇārṇava*, *Dānārṇava* and *Guṇārṇava*, but not Lōkārṇava. Though by its suffix *arṇava* it sounds like an Eastern Gaṅga name, no king with that name has been met with so far in the Eastern Gaṅga genealogy.[3]

As noted above, this grant of Indravarman is dated in the augmenting years of Tumburuvaṁśa (*Tumburu-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsarāṇām*). In all the grants of the early Eastern Gaṅgas so far discovered the years were stated to be merely the 'augmenting years' (*pravardhamāna-saṁvatsarāḥ*) presumably of the succession of the Eastern Gaṅga kings. From the time of Indravarman I and Sāmantavarman the phraseology adopted in quoting the date of the early Eastern Gaṅga kings who ruled from Kaliṅganagara remained the same (*pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarāḥ*) till the time of Anantavarman of 304 G. E. when for the first time the Gaṅga Era is specifically mentioned as *Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarāḥ*. Since no records between 254 and 304 G. E. have come to light the actual date of commencement of this particular phraseology in the early Gaṅga charters could not be ascertained. Basing on the phraseology supplied by the plates of Anantavarman, all the earlier grants so far discovered, though no specific reference to the *Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa* was made in them, have been presumed to have been dated in the Gaṅga era. Now the Andhavaram grant raises a doubt as to the correctness of the above presumption. Indravarman of this charter, as is evident from the *praśasti*, was no doubt a Gaṅga king. Since he dates his charter in the augmenting years of the Tumburu-vaṁśa, it seems probable that he was a subordinate of a king of that dynasty. Who are these Tumburus ? Were some of the Early Gaṅgas subordinates to this dynasty ? No information is forthcoming regarding this Tumburu-vaṁśa except a stray reference to the tribe of Tumburus in the *Harivaṁśa*[4], wherein they are mentioned along with Tushāras, as inhabitants of the Vindhyan forests. If the Andhavaram plates are to be taken as genuine, the above questions are to be solved by future researches. Still, since the

[1] Ibid., p. 20.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff. and plate.

[3] [Probably it is a *biruda* of Indravarman.—Ed.]

[4] *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa*, canto V, v. 20: *Yē ch=ānyē Vindhya-nilayās=Tushārās=Tumburās=tathā | adharma ruchayō yē cha viddhi tān=Vēnasaṁbhavān* ||

eulogy is all about the Early Gaṅgas, and the donor, Mahārāja Indravarman, is said to be the establisher of the spotless Gaṅga family, the years may be taken to be of the Gaṅga era till such time as the contrary is proved.

The **date** of the inscription is given in words as *Śatē triṁśaty-adhikē* and then in numerical symbols as *saṁvatsarāḥ 100 30 3.* The last number 'three' is represented by three horizontal strokes one over the other, but between the symbols representing 30 and 3 another horizontal stroke, though shorter in size, is also noticeable. After the date in numerical symbols comes the term *Śrāvaṇa-māsa.* It is possible to interpret the year as 133 if the numerical symbols are taken into account. Then the expression *Śatē triṁśaty-adhikē* should be changed to *Śatē trayas-triṁśaty-adhikē.* The omission of *trayas* before *triṁśat* may be, as suggested by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, a case of haplography due to the carelessness of the engraver.

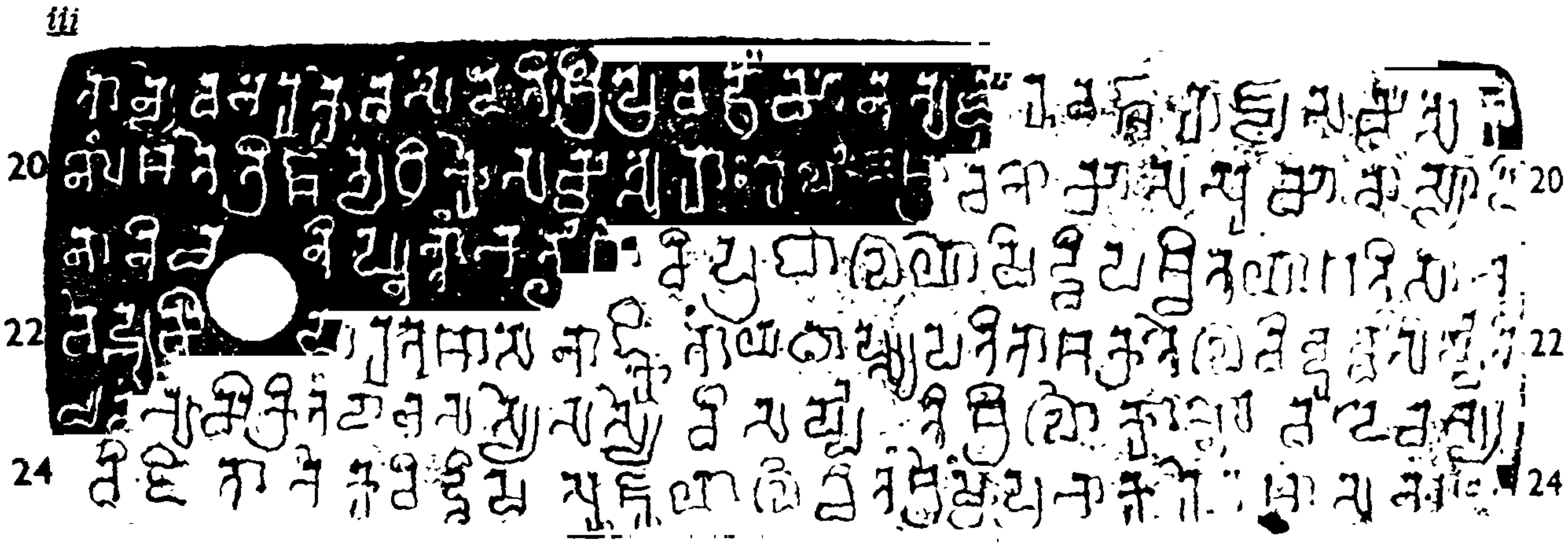
Notwithstanding the investigations of a host of scholars, the latest of them being Prof. Mirashi, the starting point of the Gaṅga era is still a riddle awaiting a satisfactory solution. Dr. Fleet[1] who tried to arrange the Gaṅga genealogy and fix the starting point of the era by basing his arguments on the synchronism afforded by the Gōdāvarī grant of Pṛithivīmūla, gave it up as the identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Chālukya dynasty did not stand scrutiny. On the other hand, Mr. G. Ramadas[2] basing on the astronomical details supplied by the grants themselves fixed 349 A. C. as the initial year of the Gaṅga Era ; but this was questioned by Mr. R. Subbarao[3] who, following the line of argument of Fleet, identified Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Gōdāvarī grant of Pṛithivīmūla with Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family and fixed the date of commencement of the Gaṅga era to be some time between 492 and 496 A.C.

This was disputed by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma[4], as the chronology of the Vishṇukuṇḍins itself has not been satisfactorily fixed, and as there was no agreement among scholars in the arrangement of the pedigrees furnished by the copper plate records of the rulers of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family. After an exhaustive discussion with the help of astronomical details supplied by the grants Mr. Somasekhara Sarma surmised that the Pūrṇimānta system of reckoning was followed during the rule of the early Gaṅgas and that the "Epoch of the Gaṅga Era began in the Śaka year 426-7 or 504-5 A.C. between June and January of that year". Prof. Mirashi of Nagpur, after detailed examination of the Gaṅga dates showed that the "Gaṅga Era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the Śaka year 420 (the 14th March A.D. 498).[5] In his note on the Ponnuturu plates of Gaṅga Sāmantavarman[6] he also suggested that though the *Pūrṇimānta* scheme has been used in two of the earlier grants of the Gaṅga Era, the *Amānta* scheme has been adopted in later grants. If the surmise that the discrepancy in the numerical symbols employed in the present record is a scribal error and the suggested correction be accepted, then the grant was made in the year 133. It should be taken as the current year. The grant is said to have been made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Śrāvaṇa. Calcluating from the starting point fixed by Prof. Mirashi, i.e., Śaka 420 plus 132 expired years of the era, we get Ś. 552 (630 A. C.) as the date of the grant. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris.* on the 13th of August of that year there was a solar eclipse ; but this was in the month of Bhādrapada.

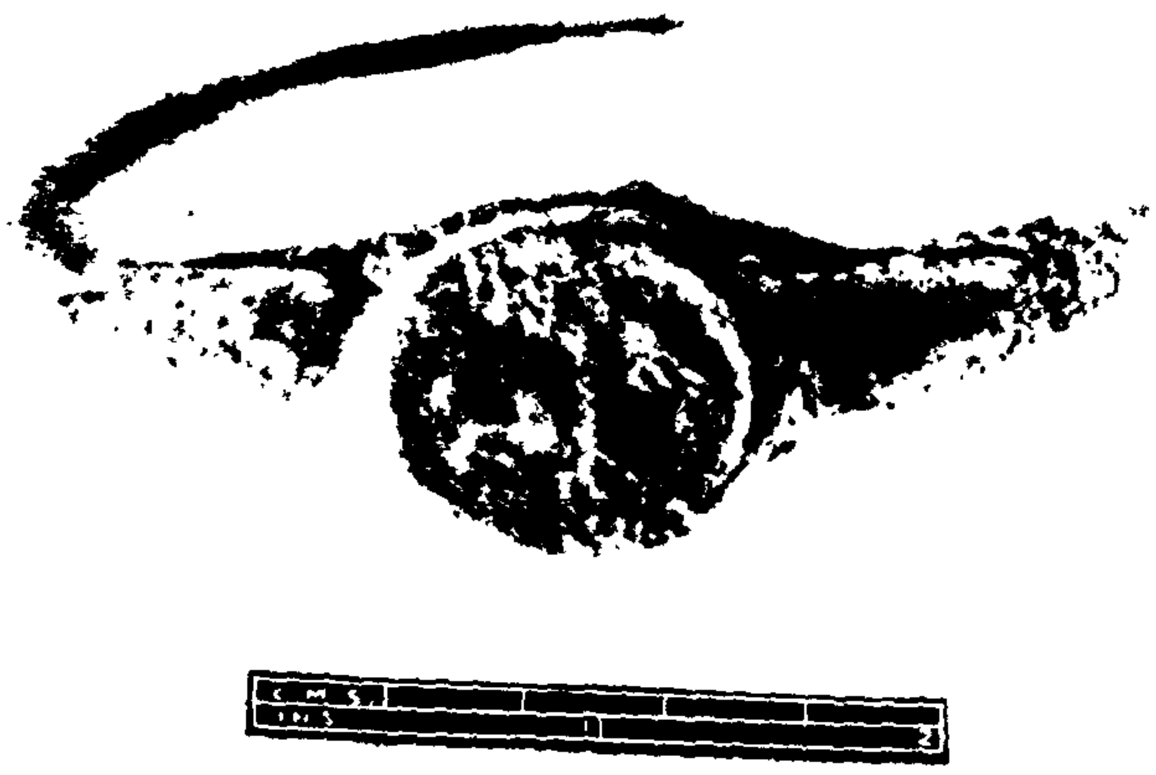
The village Tōṭavāṭaka is said to have been situated in the Krōshṭukavartanī *vishaya.* **Krōshṭukavartanī** appears in many of the early Gaṅga plates as the name of a territorial division and has been identified with the area round about the Narasannapeta *taluk* in the Srikakulam

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.
[2] *JBORS*, Vol. IX, pp. 398 ff.
[3] *JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp. 146 ff.
[4] Ibid., Vol. V, p. 171 ff. and *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 141 ff.
[5] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 192.
[6] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 ff.

iii



Seal



From a Photograph

District of the Andhra State. **Tōṭavāṭaka** appears to be the ancient name of Tōṭāḍa or Tōdavāḍa, a village at a distance of about eight miles from Andhavaram, the findspot of the inscription under review, while **Andōrakāgrahāra** is the early name of Andhavaram itself. It is called Āndōreppa in the record of the Māṭhara king Anantaśaktivarman[1].

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Ōm[3] [|*] Svasti [|*] Sarvv-arttu-su[4]kha-ramaṇīyād=vijaya-Kaliṅganagarā[t]=sakala-bhuvana-nirmmā-

2 ṇ-aika-sūttradhārasya Bhagavatō Gō[5]karṇna(rṇṇa)svāminaś=charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāma-(mā)-

3 d=apagata-kali-kalaṅk[ō] vinaya-naya-sampadām=ādhāraḥ sv-āsi-dhārā-parispa[nd-ā]-

4 dhigata-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājyaś=chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mēkhal-āvanitala-pravi-

5 tat-āmala-yaśāḥ [6]anēka-samara-saṁkshōbha-janita-jaya-śabdō Gāṅg-āmala-ka(ku)-

6 la-pratishṭhaḥ pratāp-ātiśay-ānāmita-samasta-sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-mañja-

Second Plate ; First Side

7 rī-puñja[7]-rañjita-charaṇō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-mahā-

8 rāj=Endravarmmā Krōshṭukavarttanyāṁ Tōṭavāṭaka-grāmē sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbina

9 s=samājñāpayati [|*] viditam=astu vō yath=āyaṁ grāmō=smābhis=sarvva-karaiḥ=pari-

10 hṛity=ā-chandr=ārka-pratishṭham=agrahāraṅ=kṛitvā mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-āyu-

11 ryyaśasām=abhivṛiddhayē[6] Andōrak-āgrahāra-va(vā)stavyēbhyō nānā-ga(gō)tra-Bahvṛicha-chara-

12 ṇa-brahmachāribhyaḥ Śrāvaṇa-māsa[6]-amāvāsyām=āditya-grah-ōparāgē[6]

Second Plate ; Second Side

13 udaka-pūrvvan=dattas=tad=viditvā yath-ōchitaṁ bhōga-bhāgam=upanayantas=sa(su)khaṁ

14 prativasath=ēti [|*] Bhavishyad=rājabhiś=ch=āyan=dāna-dharmmō=nupālanīyas=tathā cha Vyā

15 sagītāḥ ślōkā bhavanti [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś-ch=ānupālitā [|*]

16 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [|*] Svadattāṁ=para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā)

17 yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahīm=mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupāla

18 naṁ(nam) [||*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi mōdatē divi bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānu-mantā cha

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[1] Ibid., p. 176.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] Indicated by a symbol.

[4] The two letters *rttu-su*-are written over an erasure.

[5] The three letters *vatō gō* are written over an erasure.

[6] *Sandhi* is not observed here.

[7] The letters *puñja* are written over an erasure.

Third Plate

19 tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti (sēt [||*] iti |) Śrī-pravarddhamāna-Tumvu(mbu)ru-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-rājya-saṁva-(saṁva)tsarā-

20 ṇāṁ śatē triṅśa(triṁśa)ty-adhikē saṁva(saṁva)tsarāḥ 100 30 3 Śrāvaṇa-māsa[1]-amāvāsyā-di-

21 nāni[2] cha [|*] Nighnantāṁ[3] bhartṛi-gō-vipra-bāla-yōshid-vipaśchita(tām) [|*] yā gati[s=*] sā bha-

22 vēd=bhūmi[ṁ] harata[ḥ*] śāsan-āṅkitāṁ(tām) [||*] Yath=āpsu patitā(taḥ) Śakra taila-vi(bi)-ndur=vvisarppati [|*]

23 ēvaṁ bhūmi-kri(kṛi)taṁ dāna[ṁ*] sasyē sasyē visarppati [||*] Śrī-Lōkārṇna(ṇṇa)vadēvasya

24 vijit-ānēka-vidvisha(shaḥ|) ājñayā likhitaṁ śrēshṭhaṁ Prabhākarēna(ṇa) śāsanāṁ(nam) ||

No. 10—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

6. *Rākshaskhāli* (*Sundarban*) *Plate* ; *Śaka 1118*

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, June, 1934, pp. 322-31, Dr. B. C. Sen edited the Sundarban (Rākshaskhāli) copper plate, dated Śaka 1118, belonging to a ruler of lower Bengal, whose name was read as śrī-Maḍōmmaṇapāla. In the *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, April, 1935, pp. 679-82, I made an attempt to improve upon the reading and interpretation of the record as published by Dr. Sen and suggested *inter alia* that the name of the ruler was very probably *śrīma[ḍ*]-*Ḍōmmaṇapāla. This suggestion and some others of mine were later supported by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 222, note. The inscription has recently been re-edited by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal in this journal, Vol. XXVII, pp. 119 ff., where some of my views have been commented upon, while some of them have been accepted.

As regards the name of the ruler in question, Mr. Ghoshal seems to be inclined to prefer *Maḍōmmaṇapāla* to *Ḍōmmaṇapāla* suggested by me. In this he apparently ignores the important fact that a name like *Maḍōmmaṇa* is not known to have been borne by any Indian in any period of history, while *Ḍōmana* (no doubt the same as *Ḍōmmaṇa*) is a fairly popular name even now in Bengal[4]. That the name was popular among the Vaidyas of Bengal also in early times is proved by the mention of Ḍōmanadāsa in Bharatamallika's *Chandraprabhā* (Śaka 1597) and of Ḍamanasēna (the same as Ḍōmana° ; cf. the Bengali tendency to pronounce *a*, both initial and medial, as *ō*) in Kavikaṇṭhahāra's *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā* (Śaka 1575) as the ancestors respectively of the Dāsas and the Sēnas among the Vaidyas[5]. Another interesting fact which can hardly be ignored in this connection is that the name *Ḍōmmaṇa=Ḍōmana=Ḍamana* is apparently of South Indian

[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] Read *dinē*.

[3] Read *nighnatām*.

[4] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 152.

[5] *Chandraprabha*, Calcutta, B. S. 1299, p. 19: *Ḍōmanaḥ Pāla-jāmātā Vaidyaḥ Pālō na vidyatē | Vaṁśyō Ḍōmanadāsasya Vāmanaḥ kulavān katham || iti chintā na kartavyā Vāmanē bahavō guṇāḥ ||* This Ḍōmanadāsa was one of the ancestors of the Kulīna Dāsas in the Vaidya community of Bengal. According to the *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā*, Ḍamanasēna was the grandson's great-grandson of Vināyaka whom tradition assigns to the age of Ballālasēna (*circa* 1158-79 A.C.). Ḍamanasēna of the *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā* is actually called Ḍomanasēna in the *Chandraprabhā* (p. 69). For the great popularity of the name Ḍomana among the Vaidyas, see *Chandraprabhā*, pp. 27, 69, 129, 212, 218, 233, 319, 334, 359.

origin as we have the name *Dommana* (no doubt a variant of *Dōmmaṇa*) only in the south ; cf. the Māṅgallu grant[1] of the Eastern Chālukya king Amma II (*circa* 945-70 A.C.) and the Dibbida plates[2] (Śaka 1191) of the Matsya chief Arjuna. As regards the South Indian association of the Bengal Vaidyas, among whom the southern name Ḍōmana=Ḍamana is found to have been popular even during the medieval period, I have elsewhere[3] observed, " The present day Ambashṭhas of the Tamil land and Malabar (their early distribution in South India may have been wider) appear to be referred to as Vaidyas in inscriptions dating from the seventh century.[4] Their entry into Bengal during the rule of the Sēnas, hailing from Karṇāṭa or the Kanarese country of the Deccan, is very probable, as the Sēnas of Bengal must have patronized South Indians in the same way as the Muslim rulers of India entertained Musalmans of other countries at their courts. It is thus very probable that the crystallization of the professional community of the Vaidyas or physicians of Bengal into a caste was a result of their amalgamation with the tribal Ambashṭha-Vaidyas of Southern India. This seems to have been the background on which the theory identifying the Vaidyas with the Ambashṭhas of early Indian literature (Manu calling them physicians) was fabricated in the late medieval period ".[5] It may be added that the Sēnas themselves came to be regarded as Vaidyas in the Vaidya *kula-pañjikās*.[6] Since Ḍōmmaṇapāla bore a South Indian name, was a subordinate apparently of the South Indian Sēnas and used the Śaka era which was popular in the south and seems to have been popularised in Bengal by the Sēnas, I suggested that his family may have orginally belonged to South India ; but this has been regarded by Mr. Ghoshal as " the absurdity of Dr. Sircar's persistent and curious Southern complexes ".

King Ḍōmmaṇapāla made the grant in question when he was *svīya-mukti-bhūmau Dvārahaṭākē*, i.e., at Dvārahaṭāka which was his *mukti-bhūmi*.[7] Mr. Ghoshal interprets the expression *mukti-bhūmi* as ' the place of initiation ', without any regard to Sanskrit lexicons, and says, " Dr. D. C. Sircar asked if this term indicated Maḍōmmaṇapāla's imminent death !" His use of the note of exclamation clearly indicates that he has discovered here another of my ' absurdities '. But *mukti-bhūmi* is apparently the same as the well-known *mukti-kshētra* which is often used as an epithet of holy places and means ' a place where salvation is attainable on death '. That the Indian kings regarded death at a *tīrtha* as especially meritorious is definitely known from numerous sources including Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, ch. 68, verse 19 :

bhuktvā samyag=vasudhāṁ śauryēṇ=ōpajitām=aśīty-abdaḥ |

tīrthē prāṇāṁs=tyaktvā bhadrō dēv-ālayaṁ yāti ||

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[1] *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1917, part II, para. 24.

[2] Above, Vol. V, p. 111.

[3] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 106, note 2.

[4] Above, Vols. IX, p. 101 ; VIII, pp. 317-21 ; XVII, pp. 291 ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1898, pp. 57 f.

[5] See my paper entitled " The Ambashṭha Jāti " in *JUPHS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 148-61. The village Vaidyas in South India are barbers.

[6] Cf. *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā*, Dacca, B. S. 1292, pp. 1-2 : *purā Vaidyakul-ōdbhūta-Ballālēna-mah-aujasā*. It is interesting to note that, like Ḍomana, the typical southern name Ballāla was extremely popular among the Vaidyas of Bengal. Cf. *Chandraprabhā*, pp. 48, 49, 126, 141, 151, 175, 176, 184, 189, 212, 225, 238, 264, 319, 331, 332, 335, 338, 362, 403, 420.

[7] Dvārahaṭāka was not the capital of Ḍōmmaṇapāla as, in that case, the charter would have been probably issued from there. Similar mention of the place from where a grant (recorded in a charter issued from the capital) was made by a king is also found in other records. The Nagarī plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.) of Anaṅgabhīma III, e.g., say that the Gaṅga king made certain grants when he was *Abhinava-Vāraṇāsī-kaṭakē tasyān= Mahānadyām, Śrī-Purushōttama-kshētrē dakshiṇa-tīrtharāja-taṭē* and *Abhinava-Vārāṇasyāṁ bhagavataḥ Purushōttamasya sannidhau*.

In connection with the merits of religious suicide which was popular with all classes of Indians, the importance of the holy waters of the Gaṅgā and other rivers is often specially mentioned. The *Śabdakalpadruma*, (s. v. *gaṅgā*), e.g., quotes the following verses from the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* :

Gaṅgāyāṁ jñānatō mṛitvā muktim=āpnōti mānavaḥ |
a-jñānād=brahma-lōkañ=cha yāti n=āsty=atra saṁśayaḥ ||
Gaṅgāyāñ=cha jalē mōkshō Vārāṇasyāṁ jalē sthalē |
antarikshē cha Gaṅgāyāṁ Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgamē ||

The practice of *Gaṅgā-yātrā* (i.e., going to the bank of the Gaṅgā with a view to die there and to go to heaven as a result of such a meritorious death) is well known in Bengal even today.[1] The prevalence of the same custom also in other parts of India is indicated by P. Thomas who observes, " ...... old people, on the point of death, make long journeys to Benares or some other sacred city on the banks of the Ganges so that they may wash their sins away in the sacred stream or die in the waters. A dying man is often carried by his relatives to the Ganges and is held immersed knee-deep in the waters of the river. The banks of the Ganges at Benares are as sacred as the Ganges itself and people of the neighbourhood, who fall sick and are not expected to survive, are made to live in huts on the banks of the river till they die."[2] The celebrated Abbé Dubois also points to the custom as well as similar others when he asks, " .... how shamelessly they violate nature by placing the sick, whose recovery is dispaired of, on the banks of the Ganges, or of some other so-called holy river, so that they may be drowned by the floods or devoured by crocodiles ? Have they ever attempted to restrain the frenzy of those fanatics who, in their mistaken devotion, foolishly allow themselves to be crushed under the wheels of the cars of their idols, or throw themselves headlong into the stream at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna ?".[3] Now Ḍōmmaṇapāla's plate was found on the small island of Rākshaskhāli on the southern sea-board of West Bengal only about 12 miles due east of the celebrated *tīrtha* of Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama at the mouth of the river Bhāgīrathī or Gaṅgā now called Hooghly. We have seen how salvation was regarded as the result of death in the waters of the Gaṅgā at any place, how the same was believed to be obtained from death at Banaras either in the waters of the Gaṅgā or on its banks and how death not only in the waters and on the banks of the Gaṅgā but also in the air at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama was regarded as equally meritorious. That the locality of Dvārahaṭāka lay probably in the vicinity of the Gaṅgā as well as of Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama seems to be indicated by the discovery of the plate in the neighbourhood and by the fact that Dvārahaṭāka is said to have been situated in the small district of Pūrva-Khāṭikā or the eastern Khāḍī which was bounded on the west by the lower course of the Gaṅgā.[4] The second part of the name *Dvārahaṭāka* is the same as Sanskrit *haṭṭaka*, modern °*hāṭā* which is the common name-ending of many localities ; but whether the first word in the name of our locality indicates one of the 'doors' or mouths through which the Gaṅgā flows into the sea and actually refers to a locality within the Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama area cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.[5] There is, however, hardly any absurdity in the suggestion that Ḍōmmaṇapāla went to Dvārahaṭāka with a view to dying in the waters

[1] The great popularity of the practice as late as the nineteenth century is clearly demonstrated by the newspapers of those days. Cf. B. N. Banerji, *Samvāda-patrē Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. I (B. S. 1344), p. 150 ; Vol, II (B. S. 1348), pp. 535-36.

[2] *Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners*, p. 93.

[3] *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, trans. Beauchamp, third ed., p. 606.

[4] *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 25-26.

[5] There is a place called Dwarahat in the Almora District, Uttar Pradesh. The *Chandraprabhā* (pp. 145, 155, 185, 192, 309, etc.) mentions Dvārahāṭṭā as a seat of the Bengal Vaidyas. Mr. J. N. Gupta identifies this place with Dwarhata near Haripal in the Hooghly District of West Bengal.

of the Gaṅgā for attaining salvation and made the grant in question on that sacred occasion. In that case only is the epithet *svīya-mukti-bhūmi*, applied to the locality, easily explainable. I do not see how it can be interpreted in any other equally satisfactory way.

Of kings ending their lives in the waters of the holy rivers we have the well-known instances of Chandēlla Dhaṅga (953-1002 A.C.), who committed suicide in the Trivēṇī at Prayāga or Allahabad[1], and Chālukya Sōmēśvara I Āhavamalla (1043-68 A.C.) who drowned himself in the Tuṅgabhadrā described as 'the Gaṅgā of Dakshiṇāpatha'.[2] According to Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, the Chālukya king's proposal to end his life in the Tuṅgabhadrā was hailed by his ministers as a right act and the king made grants of a heap of gold before entering the waters. On the authority of Hindu scriptures, Colebrooke speaks of the custom of making gifts by a dying man as he says, "When at the point of death, donation of cattle, land, gold, silver or other things, according to his ability, should be made by him, or, if he be too weak, by another person in his name".[3] There is thus no absurdity in Ḍōmmaṇapāla granting a village on a similar occasion.

Verse 12 of the Jubbulpur inscription[4] of Yaśaḥkarṇa says that Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva Vikramāditya (*circa* 1015-41 A.C.) attained *mukti*, i.e., committed religious suicide, at Prayāga together with his hundred wives. Prayāga was thus the *mukti-bhūmi* of Gāṅgēya and those of his queens who died with their husband. The *Adbhutasāgara*[5] seems to say how king Ballālasēna of Bengal gave numerous gifts at the time of committing religious suicide, together with his queens, in the waters of the Gaṅgā. King Kalaśa (1063-89 A.C.) of Kashmir, "knowing in his helpless condition that his life was about to escape, hurried to proceed to a *tīrtha* to die", and there he dedicated a gold image of the god worshipped at the place.[6]

Mr. Ghoshal's explanation of the expression *ratna-traya*, which not only occurs in the present record and the Manahali plates of Madanapāla, as pointed out by him, but also in such other inscriptions as the Ashrafpur plate (B)[7] of the Khaḍgas, the Kailan (or Kailain) plate of Śrīdhāraṇarāta[8] and the Tipperah plate[9] of Bhavadēva, is clearly wrong. It can neither be "right over the wealth (deposited underground)", as suggested by Mr. Ghoshal, nor "a tax levied for the maintenance and upkeep of big Buddhist establishments", as suggested by others and referred to by him. *Ratna-traya* means primarily a Buddhist religious establishment symbolising the

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[1] Cf. above, Vol. I, p. 146 (Khajuraho inscription, verse 55): *Rakshitvā kshitim=ambu-rāśi-raśanām=ētām=anany-āyatim jīvitvā śaradām śataṁ samadhikam śrī-Dhaṁga-pṛithvīpatih | Rudraṁ mudrita-lōchanaḥ sa hṛidayē dhyāyañ=japañ=Jāhnavī-Kālindyōḥ salilē kalēvara-parityāgād=ayān=nirvṛitim.* For religious suicide at Prayāga, see *JUPHS*, Vol. X, 1937, pp. 65 ff. See also Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, pp. 604-13, on such suicides.

[2] *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, Canto IV, verses 59-68: *utsaṅgē Tuṅgabhadrāyās=tad=ēsha Śiva-chintayā | vāñchhāmy=ahaṁ nirākartum dēha-graha-viḍambanām || yātō=yam=upakārāya kāyah Śrīkaṇṭha-sēvayā | kṛitaghna-vratam=ētasya yatra tatra visarjjanam || tath=ēti vachanam rājñaḥ pratyapadyanta mantrinaḥ | uchit-ācharanē kēshāṁ n=ōtsāha-chaturaṁ manaḥ || tataḥ katipayair=ēva prayāṇaiḥ praṇayi-priyaḥ | tāṁ kshōṇi-patir=adrākshīd=Dakshiṇāpatha-Jāhnavīm || Tungabhadrā narēndrēṇa tēn=āmanyata māninā | taraṅga-hastair=utkshipya kshipant=īv=ēndra-mandirē || uddaṇḍā tēna ḍiṇḍīrē piṇḍa-paṅktir=adṛiśyata | vimāna-haṁsa-māl=ēva prahitā padma-sadmanā || atidūraṁ samutplutya nipatadbhiḥ śaśīkaraiḥ | arājata dharā-chandraḥ pratyudgata iva grahaiḥ || tatr=āvatīrya dhaurēyō dhīrāṇāṁ dharaṇī-patiḥ | snātvā Chaṇḍīśa-charaṇa-dvandva-chintā-parō=bhavat || adatta ch=ōparichchhinnam=akhinnaḥ kāñchan-ōtkaram | na kṛichchhrē=pi mahābhāgās=tyāga-vrata-parāṅmukhāḥ || praviśya kaṇṭha-daghnē=tha sarit-tōyē jagāma saḥ | kallōla-tūryanirghōshaiś=chandrachūḍāmaṇēḥ purīm ||.*

[3] *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 155.

[4] Above, Vol. II, p. 4: *prāptē Prayāga-vaṭa-mūla-nivēśa-bandhau sārdhaṁ śatēna gṛihinībhir=amutra muktim.*

[5] Cf. Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (Hindī), 1918, p. 184, note 2: *nānā-dāna-chit-āmbu-saṁchalanataḥ sūry-ātmajā-saṅgamam Gaṅgāyām virachayya nirjara-puram bhāry-ānuyātō gataḥ.* Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 147.

[6] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 708, 715.

[7] *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 90.

[8] *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 235.

[9] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 88.

Buddhist trinity, viz., Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, worshipped there.[1] There are instances of kings granting land in favour of the *ratna-traya*. Thus the expression *ratnatraya-bahiḥ* of Ḍōmmaṇapāla's inscription means to say that the village in question was granted with the exclusion of the area around the Buddhist establishment in it or better the area in the possession of a Buddhist establishment. Similarly, *ratnatraya-rājasambhōga-varjita* of the Manahali plate means "excluding lands enjoyed by the Buddhist establishment and those belonging to the king's Khās Mahāl"

7. *Saugor Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa*

Prof. V. V. Mirashi has recently published the Saugor inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa in this journal, Vol. XXVII, pp. 163 ff. According to his reading, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Śaṅkaragaṇa, during whose reign the inscription was incised, has been described in the record as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Vāmarājadēva-pād-ānudhyāta*, although what has been read as *Vāmarāja* appears to me from the published facsimile to be only *Vāvarāja*.[2] The inscription has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the eighth century. In view of this date of the record, kings Vāmarāja and Śaṅkaragaṇa, who would appear to have belonged to the Kalachuri family, have been regarded, without any reason whatever, as ancestors of the Kalachuri emperors of Tripurī. Similarly, without any convincing argument, Vāmarāja has been placed a few generations earlier than Śaṅkaragaṇa, roughly about the second half of the seventh century. It is well known that the Kalachuris of Tripurī, from the time of Karṇa (1041-71 A.C.), described themselves in their official charters as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrī-Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta*.[3] Professor Mirashi now thinks that Vāmadēva mentioned in the records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī is no other than the king of the Saugor inscription of the eighth century, whose name is Vāmarāja according to his reading.

Professor Mirashi refers to the Malkāpuram inscription of Śaka 1183 (1261-62 A.C.) which speaks of the Śaiva pontiff Vāmaśambhu as the third (not *second* as maintained by the Professor) in spiritual descent from Sadbhāvaśambhu who founded the Gōḷakī *maṭha* in the Ḍāhala or Chēdi country with the help received from the Kalachuri king Yuvarāja (either Yuvarāja I who reigned about the middle of the tenth century or his grandson Yuvarāja II who flourished about the end of the same century as he is known to have been defeated by Paramāra Muñja, (974-96 A.C.) and incidentally says that 'even now' the Kalachuri kings are honoured for worshipping Vāmaśambhu's feet. He further refers to my paper in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, 1938, pp. 96 ff., and says, "Dr. D. C. Sircar has recently suggested that this Vāmaśambhu was the spiritual preceptor of the Kalachuri king Karṇa and flourished in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. The description in the Malkāpuram inscription that even then (i.e., in the middle of the thirteenth century

[1] Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II, pp. 74-75.

[2] Hiralal read the name as Vāgharāja. But the disputed *akshara* is not *gha*, and apparently also not *ma* as suggested by Professor Mirashi who thinks that the loop of *ma*, not to be found on the facsimile, is still visible on the stone. It will be seen from the facsimile of the inscription that the upper and lower left strokes of *ma* join its loop in an acute angle, whereas the back of the letter in question is fully rounded exactly as in the preceding *vā*. Indeed much has been made on the slender basis of the reading of the letter as *ma*, which appears to be merely conjectural. For other references to the word *Vāva* or *Bāva* in inscriptions, see *paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bāva-pād-ānudhyāta* in the Lohata plate (*IHQ*, Vol. XXV, p. 288) and *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Bāva-pād-ānudhyāta* in the Maitraka records (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 186, note). The use of the word has to be compared with that of *Bappa* in epigraphic passages like *mahārāja-Bappa-svamin* (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 438), *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Bappa-pād-ānudhyāta* and *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-śrī-pād-ānudhyāta* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, loc. cit.). Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao who has also carefully examined the letter agrees with me that the reading of the name is not *Vāmarāja*. He thinks that it may be *Vāparāja* or *V[ō]parāja*.

[3] See above, Vol. II, pp. 5, 309, etc.

A.D.) the feet of Vāmaśambhu were worshipped by Kalachuri kings squares with the fact that the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs in almost all records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī from Karṇa downwards ". But he next sets forth certain " reasons " for which he is " inclined to look with suspicion on the statements in the Malkāpuram inscription about the early pontiffs of the Gōḷakī *maṭha*." These " reasons " are, however, extremely unlikely to satisfy all students of history. As for instance, Professor Mirashi points out the absence of epigraphic evidence to prove the existence of Kalachuri rulers at Tripurī about the time when the Malkāpuram inscription was engraved. But the possibility of the scions of the imperial Kalachuri house of Tripurī ruling over parts of Ḍāhala in the thirteenth century at least as minor chiefs can hardly be ruled out. A writer on the history of the Kalachuris says at the end of his account of the Tummāṇa Kalachuris who represented a branch of the Tripurī house : " It is certain that the Muslims never succeeded in establishing their power in the Chhattisgarh division and there is evidence to show that the Kalachuris continued to figure as chiefs of Chhattisgarh right up to the 18th century. The Khalari stone inscription of the Kalachuri king Haribrahmadēva (son of Rāmadēva and grandson of Siṁhaṇa) is dated in 1415 A.D. while the Arang plate of the Haihaya king Amarasiṁhadēva is dated as late as 1735 A.D".[1] The absence of Vāmadēva's name in the records of the Kalachuris of Chhattisgarh scarcely proves that the Śaiva saint was not held in veneration by the Kalachuris of the thirteenth century. This may merely show that their esteem for Vāmadēva was not as remarkable as in the case of the Kalachuri monarchs of Tripurī. Professor Mirashi's doubt regarding the authenticity of the statement in the Malkāpuram inscription on the basis of such weak " reasons " can therefore hardly be taken quite seriously.

Vāmadēva, referred to in the records of Kalachuri Karṇa and his successors, is endowed with imperial titles just like the kings who are said to have been his *pād-ānudhyāta*. Professor Mirashi says, " the use of imperial titles in connection with him would be difficult to explain for we have not till now come across a single instance of the assumption of such titles by spiritual teachers ". Of course the epithet *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* applied to the Śaiva priest Vimalaśambhu or °śiva in the Mamdāpur inscription of Śaka 1172 noticed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 17, note 3, has been passed over in silence together with some of my observations published at later dates. It was pointed out by me that the Śaiva saint Vāmadēva (Vāmaśambhu) was represented as an emperor because the Kalachuri kings, Karṇa and his successors, regarded their dominions as belonging to the saint and themselves as the latter's deputies just as the Guhilots of Chitor and the kings of Travancore considered themselves viceroys respectively of the gods Ēkaliṅga and Padmanābhasvāmin. The tradition regarding the dedication of the Marāṭhā empire by Śivājī in favour of his *guru* Rāmadāsa was also referred to. It was further pointed out with quotations from a number of epigraphic records that the god Jagannātha or Purushōttama of Purī is mentioned as the overlord of the reigning Gaṅga monarch in several later Gaṅga inscriptions.[2] Now it seems that Professor Mirashi may be satisfied if he finds inscriptions in which a Śaiva saint is unmistakably endowed with regal or imperial epithets. Fortunately I am able to draw his attention to several such records.

Recently I had occasion to examine a number of impressions of the Achalgarh (Mount Abu, Rājputānā) inscription of the Dēvḍā Chāhamāna Tējaḥsiṁha of Chandrāvatī noticed in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, No. 2, Appendix, p. xv, No. 58 ; *Progress Report of the Archæological*

[1] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 815. For fuller lists of the Kalachuri rulers of Chhattisgarh (Ratanpur and Raipur branches), see Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, 1932, pp. 205-07.

[2] See my paper entitled ' Gaṅga Bhānudēva II and Purushōttama-Jagannātha ' in *JKHRS*, Vol. I, June 1946, pp. 251-53. According to the Oriya chronicle *Mādalā Pāñjī*, Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated his kingdom in favour of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha and for that reason the said Ganga king and his successors became *Rāutas* (feudatories) of the deity (cf. *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 48-51 ; above, p. 19).

Survey of India, Western Circle, 1906-07, p. 28 ; and Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 689. The inscription is as yet unpublished ; but the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey*, referred to above, gives the following information regarding its findspot and contents : " In the vicinity and in front of the Achalēśvara temple are standing some ancient temples, mostly Vaishṇava, the exterior of which is profusely sculptured with erotic figures. At the back is a step-well, which, as the inscription attached to it tells us, was constructed by Mōkala and others in *Saṁvat 1387 varshē Māgha sudi 3 Bhārgava-dinē* when Śarvēśvara *mahā-munīndra* was the high priest of the Achalēśvara *mahā-maṭha* and king Tējasiṁha was reigning at Chandrāvatī ". The date of the inscription corresponds to Friday, January 11, 1331 A.C.

The inscription consists of seventeen lines of writing. The relevant portion of the record (lines 4-15) reads as follows :—

4 ....svasti śrī-Arbuda- ||

5 || mahāśailē śrī-Achalēśva(śva)ra-mahāmaṭhāt paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramamāhēsvaraḥ(śvara)-para- ||

6 || niraṁjanaḥ(na)-kaṁdarpadarpadalana-svavaṁsaūdyōt(śōddyōta)kara-rāja-śrī-Sarvēsva(śva)-ra-mahāmunīdra(ndra)-vi- ||

7 || jayarājyē || sat=īty=ēvaṁ kālē pravarttamānē sati Chaṁdrāvatībhūmaṁḍalē samastarā-jāva-

8 || līsamalaṁkṛita-paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-parāchīnavastōpalakshita[1]-paraṁ(rama)brahmā(hma)-laksha- ||

9 || prasādāva(vā)pta-rāja-śrī-Tēja[ḥ*]śi(si)ṁha-vijayarājyē || tasmin kālē varttamānē | śrī-Vapa- ||

10 || kānvayakulapradīpa-ripudāvadāvānala-ripula[la*]nāvaiva(dha)vyadi(dī)kshāguru-kalikā- [||*]

11 || lābhinavakalpapādapa-sadāśiṁ(śaṁ)bhudhyānarata-rāja-śrī-Bathā-suta-Mōkala-G[ē](Gō)hilō- ||

12 || tra ta(s=ta)thā Sa[chya]shēlā-ṭhākura[ḥ*] |[2] kuma(mā)ra-Suhaḍasala ta(s=ta)thā Siṁgāradē=Ū(vy=Ū)tima-suta-Vīkala[ḥ*] puna[ḥ*] ||

13 || pāvadyāṁ(ḍyām) Gē(Gō)hilōtra-Mōkala udhōraṁ kārāpitaṁ[3] || śrī-Achalēśvara-pra[s]ādēna || saṁvat [||]

14 || 1387 varshē Māgha-sudi 3 Bhārgava-dinē Śatabhishā-nakshatrē kuṁbhasthē chaṁdrē prarti-shṭā[4] [||]

15 || kārāpitaṁ || śubhaṁ bhavatu ||..........

It will be seen that the language of the inscription is corrupt, although in many parts it can be quite easily corrected. The most important persons mentioned in the record are of course three : (1) *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramamāhēśvara Rāja-śrī*-Sarvēśvara-mahāmunīndra of the Achalēśvara-mahāmaṭha on the Arbuda-mahāśaila (i.e., Mount Abu), described in lines 4-7 ; (2) *Samasta-rājāvalīsamalaṁkṛita-Paramamāhēśvara Rāja-śrī*-Tējaḥsiṁha of the Chandrāvatī-bhūmaṇḍala, described in lines 7-9 ; and (3) Gōhilōtra Mōkala (described in lines 9-12 and mentioned in line 13) who belonged to the family of Vapaka, i.e., Bappa, and was either himself a *Rājan* or was the son of *Rāja-śrī*-Bathā. Mōkala was no doubt a subordinate of Tējaḥsiṁha ; but whether the

[1] The meaning of this defective passage is not clear.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[3] The context seems to require here something like *ētaiḥ ...... kāritam*. The word *udhōra* is not Sanskrit. Mr. A. K. Vyas suggests to me that the intended reading is *udhāra* (Sanskrit *uddhāra*) used in the sense of 'repair'. *Pāvaḍī* seems to stand for Hindi *bāvṛī*, 'a step-well'.

[4] Read *pratishṭhā kāritā*.

latter has to be regarded as a subordinate of Sarvēśvara is not made quite clear in the inscription, although that is probable as Sarvēśvara is mentioned before Tējaḥsiṁha and as the epithet *paramabhaṭṭāraka* is applied only to the former. What is, however, very interesting to note is that Sarvēśvara, who was apparently the pontiff of the Śaiva establishment which is called Achalēśvara-mahāmaṭha and is still today situated within the bounds of Achalgarh on Mount Abu, has not only been called *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *rājan*, but his *vijaya-rājya* is also referred to. It seems that the Śaiva saint Sarvēśvara was the spiritual guide of Tējaḥsiṁha, the latter considering himself the deputy of the former in ruling his dominions. Whatever may be the value of this suggestion, Professor Mirashi can hardly object to the Śaiva saint Vāmadēva (Vāmaśambhu), like Sarvēśvara of the Achalgarh inscription, being endowed with regal titles in the inscriptions of the Kalachuri kings.

With the above record mentioning the *vijaya-rājya* of a Śaiva ascetic may be compared a Jaina inscription in the Gwalior Museum (originally from Bahādurpur), which was recently examined by me[1]. This epigraph, dated V.S. 1573, Āshāḍha-badi 4, records the construction of an Ādinātha-chaitya at Bahudravyapura (Bahādurpur) by the Śrīmāla-saṅgha and the installation of an image therein by *Āchārya* Puṇyaratna Sūri during the *vijaya-rājya* of Jinahaṁsa Sūri of the Kharatara-gachchha. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has kindly drawn my attention to two Noḷamba-Pallava records having a greater bearing on the question under discussion. The first[2] of these inscriptions, which has been assigned to a date about 870 A.C., mentions a Śaiva pontiff named Bhramara-śivāchārya as *samadhigatapañchamahāśabda-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara*. The other inscription,[3] dated Śaka 858 (936 A.C.), assigns the same titles to another Śaiva pontiff named Varuṇaśiva-bhaṭṭāra.

That *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Vāmadēva of the inscriptions of Karṇa and his successors was not a king but a saint was also suggested by me on the strength of a verse of the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* (attributed to Jayānaka) which is only known from Jōnarāja's commentary on that work.[4]

Verse 16 of Canto VII of the above poem[5] refers to the marriage of Sōmēśvara, father of the hero, Chāhamāna Pṛithvīrāja III, while the former was at the court of Chaulukya Kumārapāla (*circa* 1141-73 A.C.), with the daughter of the *Tripurī-purandara*, i.e., the [Kalachuri] king of Tripurī. The commentary of Jōnarāja says that Sōmēśvara married Karpūradēvī, daughter of Tējala[6]. Just to introduce the illustrious family to which the hero's mother belonged, the poet, as do the authors of the Kalachuri epigraphs, begins with the mythical account of Chandra (the moon), his son Budha and the latter's descendant Kārtavīrya Arjuna surnamed Kalichuri[7], after whom the family is said to have been known as Kalichuri (i.e., Kalachuri). The author then gives an account of the exploits of a very great Kalachuri king of Tripurī, named Sāhasika (verses 95-112 and possibly also the lost verses up to the end of Canto VII), who was a predecessor of the maternal grandfather of his hero. Who was this Sāhasika, predecessor of the Kalachuri king Tējala who ruled at Tripurī about the middle of the twelfth century ?

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[1] It is being noticed in the *An. Rep. Ind. Ep.* for 1952-53.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, p. 376 (Śrīnivāspur taluk, No. 27) : trans., p. 276.

[3] *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 12, No. 24.

[4] See *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, 1942, pp. 80-81.

[5] Edited by Gaurishankar H. Ojha and Chandradhar Sharma Guleri. Ajmer. 1941, p. 182.

[6] H. B. Sarda in his account of the work (*JRAS*, 1913, p. 277) gives the name of Karpūradēvī's father as Achalarāja.

[7] The author attempted a fantastic explanation of *Kalichuri* which (together with the variants *Kalachchuri*, *Kalatsūri*, etc.) is, however, in reality an adaptation of the Turkish title *Kulchur*.

In this connection, a verse, the text of which is lost but the commentary with the exception of the commencing words is preserved, appears to be very interesting. This commentary runs : *°māṇavayās=sa* (very probably *kshīyamāṇa-vayās=sa'* as suggested by Ojha and Guleri) *Sāhasikas=tapasvinē Vāmadēva-nāmnē nija-rājalakshmīṁ guru-dakshiṇāyai dattvā sarvāṁ bhūmiṁ jētuṁ prasthitavān.* Thus the Kalachuri king Sāhasika of Tripurī is stated to have offered his kingdom as *guru-dakshiṇā* to his *guru*, the ascetic Vāmadēva, and went out on a *digvijaya*. I think it very probable that the Kalachuri king Sāhasika of Tripurī mentioned in the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* is no other than Gāṅgēyadēva (*circa* 1015-41 A.C.) who was a great conqueror and established the imperial dignity of the Kalachuri family of Ḍāhala on a firm basis. Gāṅgēya assumed the title *Vikramāditya* after a famous hero of Indian tradition and folklore, whose other *biruda* was Sāhasāṅka. The name *Sāhasika*, applied to the Kalachuri king in the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya*, seems to be another form of *Sāhasāṅka=Vikramāditya.*[1]

This reference to an ascetic Vāmadēva as the *guru* of a Kalachuri king who dedicated his kingdom in the former's favour is supported by the mention of Vāmadēva, for the first time, in the earliest record of Gāṅgēya's son Karṇa (*circa* 1041-71 A.C.) as the latter's overlord and also by the evidence of the Malkāpuram inscription showing that the Kalachuri kings worshipped the Śaiva saint Vāmaśambhu for about two centuries before the middle of the thirteenth century. This goes against Professor Mirashi's conjecture that Vāmadēva of the passage *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* in the Kalachuri records has to be identified with a Kalachuri king of the seventh century whose name has been read by him as Vāmarāja, although it has appeared to others as Vāgharāja, Vāvarāja, Vāparāja or Vōparāja. As Sōmēśvara's marriage took place when he was staying at the court of Kumārapāla (*circa* 1141-73 A.C.) and as his son Pṛithvīrāja III was born some time before the death of Vigraharāja IV (*circa* 1153-64 A.C.), it seems possible that the *Tripurī-purandara* Tējala was no other than Gayākarṇa (*circa* 1125-55 A.C.), great-grandson of Gāṅgēyadēva Vikramāditya=Sāhasika (Sāhasāṅka).

If the Kalachuri kingdom was formally dedicated by Gāṅgēya about the end of his career to his *guru* Vāmadēva (Vāmaśambhu), it is easy to explain why that king's son as well as the latter's successors claimed to have been viceroys of Vāmadēva just as in the case of the deputies of other theoretical overlords like the gods Jagannātha-Purushottama, Ēkaliṅga and Padmanābha. But what explanation can we reasonably offer for the continuous mention of a seventh century ancestor in the records of his descendants from the middle of the eleventh century ? Is not the unjustifiability of Professor Mirashi's suggestion that Vāmarāja was mentioned as being meditated on by all his descendants from the end of the seventh century quite clearly demonstrated by the total omission of the name of this alleged illustrious ancestor of the Kalachuri emperors from the elaborate genealogy of the early members of the family found in such records as the Bilhari inscription[2] of Yuvarāja II and the Banaras plates[3] of Karṇa ? If he was so important an ancestor as to be meditated on by all the Kalachuri emperors from Karṇa downwards, i.e., from the eleventh century onwards (as indicated by inscriptions, but from the seventh century as claimed by Professor Mirashi), how is his omission from the genealogy to be explained ? In my opinion, there is no answer to the question except surmises which cannot be seriously considered.

[1] See *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, p. 232. The characteristic epithet *sāhasika* is very often found in the description of Vikramāditya ; cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, p. 194 ; *Vikrama Volume*, ed. R. K. Mookerji, 1948, pp. 637 ff.

[2] See Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1577.

[3] Ibid., No. 1223. As regards the absence of the passage *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyata* in Kalachuri records of a date earlier than the beginning of Karṇa's rule, pointed out by me, Prof. Mirashi says that the expression "generally occurs in the copper plate grants." He also says, "In the absence of the grants of earlier kings, it is not safe to assume that Vāmadēva was forgotten in the meanwhile." But the occurrence of the passage in question in the Sarnath stone inscription of Karṇa (*ASI*, AR, 1906 07, pp. 100 f.) and the Lalpahad rock inscription of Narasimha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211 ff.) clearly shows that the Professor's contention cannot be maintained.

There is much in Professor Mirashi's paper which is imaginary as well as inaccurate. He says that "after the defeat of Buddharāja by Pulakēśin II, they (i.e., the Kalachuris) seem to have remained for sometime in obscurity .... the Kalachuris seem to have turned their attention to the north where there was no great king to check their advance after the death of Harsha in A.D. 647. Vāmadēva seems to be the founder of this northern Kalachuri power. He overran Bundelkhand and Vaghelkhand and established himself at Kālañjara."[1] Now, in the first place, what we know from inscriptions shows that Kalachuri Buddharāja was defeated by Chalukya Maṅgalēśa and not by Pulakēśin II[2]. Secondly, the Abhona[3] (Kalachuri year 347 = 595 A.C.) and Vadner[4] (Kalachuri year, 360=608 A.C.) plates of Buddharāja, which were issued respectively from Ujjayinī and Vaidiśa (i.e., Vidiśā) show that he had established himself in both West and East Malwa long before Harsha (606-47 A.C.) was free from his struggles in the U.P. It is therefore natural to think that king Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Saugor inscription, who was ruling over the country about East Malwa more than a century later, was a descendant of Buddharāja. Professor Mirashi's Vāmadēva can hardly be described as the founder of Kalachuri power in that area. Thirdly, the conjecture that it was Vāmadēva who conquered Bundelkhand and Vaghelkhand and especially Kālañjara is a mere flight of fancy. There is again nothing in the present state of our knowledge to suggest that the kings mentioned in the Saugor inscription were direct ancestors of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, although that may not be altogether impossible.

8. *Mehār Plate of Dāmōdaradēva ; Śaka 1156, Regnal year 4*

The Mehār copper-plate inscription was edited in this journal[5] jointly by the late Dr. B. M. Barua and Mr. P. B. Chakravarti. Unfortunately, the treatment of the record by the said scholars is not quite satisfactory since both the transcript and translation of the inscription as published by them contain many errors in our opinion. Consequently, we re-edit here the grant portion of the record in lines 17-32, which has suffered the most at the hands of the editors.

Although we are chiefly concerned in the present note with lines 17-32 of the Mehār plate detailing the grant recorded in the inscription, the nature of the editors' treatment of the introductory verses may be illustrated by an examination of their reading and interpretation of at least one of the stanzas in this part of the epigraph.

Verse 7 of the inscription has been read and translated as follows :—

Dēvēndrasya yath=aiva Mātalir=abhūt Kṛishṇasya yantā varaḥ
khyātō Dāruka-va(ba)ndhula(r=a)sya nṛipatēr=Vārshṇēya-līlādharaḥ |
tat-tulyō=bhavad=asya vāraṇa-ghaṭā-satpātra-mukhyaḥ kṛiti
śrī-Gaṅgādharadēva ēsha samarē Prāgjyōtishēndr-ōpamaḥ ||

"Just as Mātali was to Indra, (*just as*) Dāruka was the well-known charioteer and friend of Kṛishṇa, so to this king was the illustrious Gaṅgādharadēva, the foremost among the honest courtiers, resourceful like the scion of the Vṛishṇi family (i.e., Kṛishṇa). His elephant column was like his (i.e., of the king). He equalled in battle (*even*) the lord of Prāgjyōtisha (i.e., Bhagadatta)."

A minor defect in the treatment of the verse may be mentioned at the outset. This is the indication of its metre as *Sragdharā*, although actually it is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. What is, however, more important is that the above translation of the stanza exhibits a number of blemishes, some of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

[2] Cf. the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7), which is supported by the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II himself (cf. above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.). See also *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 347-8.

[3] Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1206.

[4] Ibid., No. 1207.

[5] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182-91.

which show that the learned interpreters have failed to grasp the real implication of the verse. In the first place, the words *vara* in the first and *kriti* in the third foot of the stanza have been left out in the translation. Secondly, the expression *Dāruka-bandhu* in the emended passage *Dāruka-bandhur=asya* in the second foot does not appear to be quite happy. Moreover, the emendation involves the unnecessary and unpoetic duplication of the word *asya* which actually occurs in the following (i.e., the third) foot. Thirdly, it is difficult to believe with the editors of the record that a poet worth the name would have compared a person at the same time with both Krishṇa (Vārshṇēya) and Krishṇa's charioteer Dāruka. Fourthly, although the text of the stanza rightly gives *vāraṇa-ghaṭā-satpātra-mukhya* (i.e., the chief of the worthy officers in charge of the elephant columns) as a single compound expression, in the translation *satpātra-mukhya*, interpreted as " the foremost among the honest courtiers ", has been wrongly separated from the compound. Fifthly, the passage *tat-tulyō=bhavad=asya vāraṇa-ghaṭā*, in which *vāraṇa-ghaṭā* has been wrongly separated from the said compound, has been quite unjustifiably interpreted as " His (i.e., Gaṅgādharadēva's) elephant column was like his (i.e., the king's)." This is clearly against the rules of Sanskrit grammar as the expression *tat-tulyaḥ* in the masculine cannot possibly qualify *vāraṇa-ghaṭā* in the feminine. Moreover, it is impossible to believe with the editors that a poet of any merit would have clumsily introduced the elephant force of a courtier (as the word *pātra* has been taken to mean) in the king's description to indicate its equality with the elephant corps of the royal army. Is it possible that a courtier was allowed to enjoy an elephant force as strong as the king's ? What is then the point in the former's comparison with the charioteers Mātali and Dāruka ?

It seems to us that the intended reading of what has been read as *Dāruka-vandhulasya* is not *Dāruka-bandhur=asya* but *Dārukavan=Nalasya*.[1] It should be noted that Vārshṇēya was the celebrated charioteer of the famous king Nala of the Nishadhas just as Mātali and Dāruka were the charioteers respectively of Indra and Krishṇa. Our *anvaya* of the stanza would thus run as follows: *yathā Mātaliḥ Dēvēndrasya khyātaḥ varaḥ yantā abhūt tat-tulyaḥ ēva Krishṇasya Dārukavat Nalasya Vārshṇēya-līlādharaḥ samarē Prāgjyōtishēndr-ōpamaḥ asya nṛipatēḥ vāraṇa-ghaṭā-satpātra-mukhyaḥ ēsha kriti śrī-Gaṅgādharadēvaḥ* [*asya khyātaḥ varaḥ yantā*] *abhavat*. We are inclined to translate the verse in the following words : " Just as Mātali was the famous (*and*) excellent charioteer (*yantā*) of the lord of the gods, exactly like him this illustrious Gaṅgādharadēva, who is competent, who is like Krishṇa's [*yantā*] Dāruka, who resembles Nala's [*yantā*] Vārshṇēya, who is an equal to the lord of Prāgjyōtisha in battle (*and*) who is the chief of the worthy officers in charge of the elephant columns of the king, was his famous (*and*) excellent rider (*yantā*)."

It may further be pointed out that the learned interpreters of the verse have absolutely nothing to say why the poet has introduced the leader of the elephant force of king Dāmōdara in a charter purporting to record a grant of land made by the king in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas. It, however, seems to us that the nature of the verse quoted above is similar to that of the two concluding stanzas of the Bangaon plate[2] of Vigrahapāla III. In the Bangaon copper-plate inscription, a grant of land, actually made by a royal officer named Ghaṇṭīśa out of his own *jāgīr*, is represented as a gift of the Pāla king because, according to the legal procedure of those days, the king had to ratify the creation of a rent-free holding by any of his fief-holders. The Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad (Calcutta) plate of Viśvarūpasēna likewise refers to the ratification by the Sēna king of similar grants of revenue-free land made by Prince Sūryasēna, Prince Purushōttamasēna and the minister

[1] As regards the reading *ndhu*, it may be pointed out that there is usually little difference in the Gauḍīya alphabet among *ndh nv* and *nu* and that sometimes the same sign was used to indicate *nn* as well. For this form of *nn*, cf. °*unnayan* in line 15 and °*āvachchhinna* in line 31 of the Sōbhārāmpur plate of Dāmōdaradēva, which is being published in this journal.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 48 ff.

(*Sāndhivigrahika*) Nāñisiṁha out of their respective *jāgīrs*.[1] In the Mehār inscription, the real donor of the grant, therefore, seems to have been the royal officer Gaṅgādharadēva, the village of Mēhāra in which the gift land was situated probably lying in his own *jāgīr*. Unless Gaṅgādharadēva was intimately associated with the charter in this way, it is impossible to explain his introduction in the document. It seems also that on a previous occasion the village of Mēhāra formed part of the *jāgīrs* of two other officers, viz., *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Muṁdāsa and *Mahākshapaṭalika* Dalaēva, who had created two rent-free holdings in the village with the king's sanction. These two grants are referred to in our record in lines 29-31 without any specification of the amounts of rent allotted to them to show that the king and the new owner of the *jāgīr* (i.e., Gaṅgādharadēva) recognised the rent-free nature of the holdings in question. It is of course difficult to say whether these free holdings were created during the reign of Dāmōdara or one of his predecessors.

Before taking up the grant portion of the Mehār plate for scrutiny, a word may also be said in regard to the reading of the fractions employed in this section of the record in enumerating the area of different pieces of the gift land given in the land measure called Drōṇa or Drōṇavāpa and the amount of its income given in the coin called Purāṇa. As in other medieval records of Eastern India such as the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad plate[2] of Viśvarūpasēna, $\frac{1}{4}$ is indicated by a vertical *daṇḍa* and $\frac{1}{16}$ by a *daṇḍa* slanting from upper right towards lower left. That is to say, one vertical *daṇḍa*=$\frac{1}{4}$, two vertical *daṇḍas*=$\frac{2}{4}(\frac{1}{2})$, and three vertical *daṇḍas*=$\frac{3}{4}$ while one slanting *daṇḍa*=$\frac{1}{16}$, two slanting *daṇḍas*=$\frac{2}{16}(\frac{1}{8})$ and three slanting *daṇḍas*=$\frac{3}{16}$. In line 19, the area of the plot of land granted to the Brāhmaṇa Śāṅkōka is given in a peculiar symbol which has been read by the learned editors as the numeral 7. But it has been overlooked that the total area of all the twentythree pieces of gift land is quoted in line 32 as $2\frac{11}{16}$ Drōṇas + 2 Drōṇas, i.e., altogether $4\frac{11}{16}$ Drōṇas only. This shows beyond doubt that the area of any one piece of the gift land cannot be 7 Drōṇas. Moreover, what has been read as 7 has no resemblance with that figure as found in epigraphic records and manuscripts. On the other hand, it resembles very closely the modern Bengali form of $\frac{2}{16}(\frac{1}{8})$ which was written in medieval inscriptions including the one under study with two slanting *daṇḍas* of the type described above. The symbol may thus be regarded as the cursive form of $\frac{2}{16}(\frac{1}{8})$. Another point deserving notice is that, although the editors have noted in their transcript (lines 20, 21, 23, 25, 26 and 29) seven cases of a cross being used after the slanting *daṇḍa* indicating $\frac{1}{8}$, in the enumeration of the area of a piece of the gift land, this has been altogether ignored in their interpretation of the inscription. What has, moreover, been read as a cross in line 26 is actually a cross with a dot on its left and another on its right. The real value of the cross and the cross flanked by dots cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but it may be tentatively suggested that the former indicates $\frac{1}{64}$ and the latter $\frac{2}{64}(\frac{1}{32})$.[3] It will be seen below that these readings appear to be supported by the total area of the gift land quoted in line 32 of the record.

Let us now quote the text of the grant portion of the Mehār inscription in lines 17-32.

17 uparilikhita-grāmē Sāvarṇṇya[4]-sagōtra-paṁ-śrī-Kāpaḍīkasya pañchaviṁśati-pu-

18 rāṇ-ōtpattika-gṛiha-vāṭik-ādi-ṭī 3 vyā-bhū[5] $\frac{2}{4}(\frac{1}{2})$ sāṁ-hi 25 [|*] tathā Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Śāṅkōka-sya pañcha-purā-

[1] See my papers on the Mainpārā and Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad plates, contributed to *JAS, Letters*.

[2] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 140 ff.

[3] If such was the case, it may be conjectured that, according to this system, $\frac{3}{64}$ was written by a cross having four dots at the four sides—left, right, upper and lower.

[4] The editors read *Sāva[r]ṇṇya* apparently because they took the clear sign of superscript *r* to stand for a top *mātrā*, although in the Gauḍīya alphabet the letter *ṇ* is written without top *mātrā*.

[5] The editors read *2 byā-bhū*.

19 ṇ-ōtpatti[ka*]-cha-ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{2}{16}$[2]($\frac{1}{8}$) sāṁ-hi 5 [|*] **tathā Vrā(Brā)[3]-śrī-Sudōkasya cha-ṭī** 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{3}{16}$ sāṁ-hi 8 [|*] ta-

20 thā Vrā(Brā)-[śrī*]-Kālēmīkasya[4] ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{2}{16}$($\frac{1}{8}$) sāṁ-hi 4 [|*] Vrā(Brā)-[śrī*]-Tārā-patēḥ cha-ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{2}{16}+\frac{1}{64}$($\frac{9}{64}$) sāṁ-hi 4$\frac{2}{4}$ (4$\frac{1}{2}$)[5] [|*] Bharadvā-

21 ja-sagōtra-paṁ-śrī-Pāṇḍōkasya[6] gṛi-ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{3}{16}+\frac{1}{64}$ ($\frac{13}{64}$) sāṁ-hi 10$\frac{2}{16}$ (10$\frac{1}{8}$) [|*] tathā Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Dēukasya[7] gṛiha-ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{2}{16}+\frac{1}{64}$ ($\frac{9}{64}$)

22 sāṁ-hi 4 [|*] tathā Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Sudōkasya gṛiha-ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{1}{4}$ sāṁ-hi 8$\frac{7}{16}$ [|*] Kāṇṭī-maṇīya[8]-Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Kēśavasya gṛi-

23 ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{2}{16}$($\frac{1}{8}$) sāṁ-hi 4$\frac{14}{16}$(4$\frac{7}{8}$) [|*] tath=āsya mu-ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{1}{16}+\frac{1}{64}$($\frac{5}{64}$) sāṁ-hi $\frac{9}{16}$ [|*] tathā Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Vra(Bra)hmōkasya[9] gṛi-

24 ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{3}{16}$ sāṁ-hi 2 [|*] ēda(vaṁ) tath=āsya mu-ṭī 1 [|*] vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{2}{16}$($\frac{1}{8}$) sāṁ-hi [1$\frac{1}{4}$] [|*] [ta][10]th=āsya nā-bhū $\frac{1}{2}$[11] sāṁ-hi 2 [|*]

25 tathā sya(cha) Vrā(Brā)[3]-śrī-Sirōkasya gṛiha-ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{2}{16}+\frac{1}{64}$ ($\frac{9}{64}$) sāṁ-hi 5$\frac{3}{4}$ [|*] Pūrvagrāmīya-Vrā(Brā)[3]-śrī-Dharaṇikasya Guṇō-

26 mbh-ārddha-cha-ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{1}{16}+\frac{2}{64}$($\frac{3}{32}$) sāṁ-hi 2$\frac{2}{4}$ (2$\frac{1}{2}$) [|*] Sidhalagrāmīya[12]-paṁ-śrī Pāukasya[13] cha-ṭī 1 vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{1}{4}$ sāṁ-hi 4 [|*] Ātrē-

27 ya-[sa*]gōtra-Vrā(Brā)[3]-śrī-Śāṅkōkasya nā-bhū $\frac{1}{4}$ sāṁ-hi 1$\frac{1}{4}$ [|*] **Diṇḍisāyīya-Vrā(Brā)[3]-** śrī-Prajāpatēḥ gṛiha-vāṭyāṁ

28 bhū $\frac{1}{16}$ sāṁ-hi 3$\frac{1}{4}$ [|*] gṛihi-paṁ-śrī-Nāthōkasya nā-bhū $\frac{5}{16}$ sāṁ-hi 1$\frac{1}{4}$ Vrā(Brā)[3]-śrī-Jalōkasya[14] grā-hi 1$\frac{2}{16}$ (1$\frac{1}{8}$) [|*] Vrā(Brā)[3]-śrī-

29 Viśvarūpasya gṛi-ṭī 1[15] vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{2}{16}+\frac{1}{64}$($\frac{9}{64}$) sāṁ-hi 3$\frac{6}{16}$ (3$\frac{3}{8}$) [|*] Vrā(Brā)[3]-śrī-**Mādhōkasya** chi[16]-khi-mu-ṭī 1[17] vyā[1]-bhū $\frac{1}{4}$ [|*] Kēśara-

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1 The editors read *byà*.

2 The editors read *7*. The symbol, however, stands midway between the form of $\frac{1}{8}$ written with two slanting *dandas* and its modification now used in Bengal.

3 The editors read *brā*.

4 The editors' transcript has *Kālēmikasya*.

5 This has been omitted in the editors' transcript; but in their translation it is given as '$\frac{3}{16}$ *purāṇas* (sic.)'.

6 The editors, transcript has *Pandōkasya*.

7 The editors read *Dēdakasya*. But note the resemblance of the initial *u* in this word with the same letter in *uparilikhita* in line 17 and its difference from *d* in *Kāpaḍīka* in the same line.

8 The editors read *Kānyāmalīya*.

9 The editors read *Brā*.

10 The amount and the *akshara ta* are broken away; but, adding the other amounts and comparing the result with the total given in line 32, the lost amount can be confidently restored. The editors say, "As the total of the yearly income from different lands falls short by 1 *purāṇa* from the total given in line 32, we may take the income of Brahmōka's land as 1 *purāṇa* yearly". This is due to a mistake in their calculation.

11 The editors' transcript has $\frac{1}{4}$ at this place.

12 The editors' transcript has *Si(d)dhalagrāmīya*.

13 The editors read *Pā(m)dukasya* and observe, "The name does not seem to be *Pāūka*". The initial *u* employed here closely resembles the same *akshara* as found in *uparilikhita* in line 17. Cf. *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 161, n. 3.

14 The editors read *Jan(lō)kasya*. But compare *l* in this word with the same letter in *līlā* in line 12.

15 The editors read *2*.

16 The editors read *bi*.

17 The editors read *3*.

30 kōṇīya-Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Śṛī(Śrī)patēḥ[1] mahāsāndhivigrahika-śrī-Munidāsa-kārita-śāsana-cha-ṭī 1 vyā[2]-bhū $\frac{3}{16}$ [|*]

31 Vrā(Brā)[3]-śrī-Śṛī(Śrī)vatsasya[1] mahākshapaṭalika-śrī-Dalaēva-kārita-śāsana-gṛi-cha-ṭī 1 vyā[2]-bhū $\frac{5}{16}$ [|*] ēvaṁ

32 śāsanika-Vrā(Brā)[3]hmaṇa[4] 20 vā-ṭī 16 bhū-drō $2\frac{11}{16}$[5] nāla-bhū-drō 2 sāṁ-hi 100 ||||[6]

Of the many contractions used in the section of the inscription quoted above, *paṁ* and *Vrā-(Brā)* no doubt stand respectively for *paṇḍita* and *Brāhmaṇa*. Similarly *bhū-drō* apparently stands for *bhūmi-Drōṇa* or *bhūmi-Drōṇavāpa* (i.e., a Drōṇa or Drōṇavāpa of land) and *nā-bhū* for *nāla-bhūmi* (i.e., cultivated land). The other abbreviations used in the inscription besides these are: (1) *sāṁ-hi*, (2) *grā-hi*, (3) *vyā-bhū*, (4) *ṭī* and (5) the composite contractions, of which *ṭī* is a component, such as *gri-ṭī* or *griha-ṭī*, *cha-ṭī*, *mu-ṭī*, *gri-cha-ṭī*, *chi-khi-mu-ṭī*, and *vā-ṭī*.

As regards the meaning of *sāṁ-hi*, the editors of the Mehār inscription observe, " N. G. Majumdar (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 146, f.n. 3) explains *sāṁ* in the sense of *sākalyēna*, ' in all,' while on page 125, f.n. 2, he rightly suggests that *sāṁ-hi* stands for *śāśvatam* In the Edilpur copper plate of Kēśavasēna, *sā* or *sāṁ* stands for *sā(śā)śvatan-dāy-ōtpattika(m)*, *hi* being obviously *sahiḥ* (Madanpāḍā copper plate of Viśvarūpasēna, line 41)." It should, however, be noticed that the suggestion regarding *sāṁ-hi śāśvatam* has been wrongly attributed to N. G. Majumdar who never said anything like that. Again, what was read in the Madanpārā plate as *sahiḥ*, which gives little sense, is undoubtedly *bahiḥ* (Bengali *bai*, ' excluding ').[7] Moreover, how can the meaningless *sahiḥ* clarify the implication of *sāṁ-hi* and how can the latter stand for *śāśvatam* in which neither *sāṁ* nor *hi* occurs? As we have shown elsewhere,[8] *sāṁ* and *hi*, together forming the composite contraction *sāṁ-hi*, stand respectively for the words *sāṁvatsarika* (i.e., annual) and *hiraṇya* (i.e., coin or cash). Thus *sāṁ-hi sāṁvatsarika-hiraṇya* indicates the annual revenue income of a piece of land in cash. This contraction is invariably followed by the number of *Purāṇas* constituting the annual revenue income.

Similarly *hi* in *grā-hi* also stands for *hiraṇya* and *grā* is a contraction for the word *grāhya*, ' to be realised '. This contraction occurs only in line 28 which says that the *grihi-paṇḍita* Nāthōka received a plot of *nā-bhū* or arable land which was $\frac{3}{16}$ Drōṇa in area and fetched the annual revenue income of 1¼ Purāṇas. Of this amount, however, 1⅛ Purāṇas were realisable by the Brāhmaṇa Jalōka so that the land was made rent-free in respect only of the donor's share in the income constituting ⅛ Purāṇa only.

In regard to the contraction *vyā-bhū*, the editors say, " Its meaning has so far been missed. The Sāhitya Parishat plate clearly attests that it stands only for *chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinna-vāstu-*

[1] The editors read *Śrī*.
[2] The editors read *byā*.
[3] The editors read *bra*.
[4] For *hmaṇāḥ*.
[5] The editors' transcript has here 2⅝.
[6] As to other blemishes in the transcript of the remaining lines of the epigraph, cf. *Tribha(bhu)vana .... drishti(ṭi)* for *Tribhuvana ...drishṭi* (line 2), °*vatīrṇō* for *vatīrṇṇō* (line 7), *tat-tulyō-* for *tat-tulyō-* (line 12), *Śrīmad=Ari* for *Śrīmad-Ari°* (line 13), *Paundra* for *Paundya(ndra)* (line 14), *vibhaktam .. prativihita* for *vibharjya-(jya) .. śruti vihita* (line 31, for *jy*, see *Jyaishṭha* in line 43), *śāsanām* for *śāsanam* (line 35), [19*] *Bahubhubhir=va°* for [|9*] *Va(Ba)hubhir-vra°* (line 37), °*avalōka(kya)* for °*avalōk[y]a* (line 39), *Ī-bra... jñatvā...... yā* for *Ī-vra(bra).. ...jñātvā...... yā°* (line 40), *sva-krita* for *sukrita* (line 42). Foot-note 11 at page 188 is meaningless as it stands. The signs for the numeral 2, as reproduced here, are misleading and wrong. We also fail to understand the propriety of foot-note 9 at the same page with reference to the use of asterisks only in some cases in lines 18, 22, 24, 26-28.
[7] See above, p. 53, n. 1.
[8] Loc. cit.

bhūmi, i.e., *vyāvṛitta-vāstu-bhūmi*, 'demarcated homestead land or residential site'. In it *vyā-bhū* is aptly distinguished from *nāla-bhū* precisely as in our plate". This interpretation of the contraction *vyā-bhū* is, however, clearly wrong. In the first place, if *vyā* means merely 'demarcated,' how can it go only with 'homestead land' and never with 'arable land'? It is impossible to believe that the boundaries of a plot of *nāla-bhūmi* were never demarcated. The editors themselves have quoted the passage *chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinna-vāstu-nāla-bhūmi* from an epigraphic record. Secondly, although *vyā-bhū* and *nā-bhū* have been clearly distinguished, there is definite evidence to prove that the category of land styled *vyā-bhū* often included some land of the class called *nā-bhū* or *nāla-bhūmi*, 'cultivated land'. This is shown by the fact that, though our inscription specifically mentions only three plots of *nā-bhū* respectively measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa (line 24), $\frac{1}{4}$ Drōṇa (line 27) and $\frac{5}{16}$ Drōṇa (line 28), i.e., in all only $1\frac{1}{16}$ Drōṇas, the total area of the gift land of this category as quoted in line 32 is 2 Drōṇas. There is thus no doubt that $\frac{15}{16}$ Drōṇa of *nā-bhū* was included in the *vyā-bhū* plots specified in the record. As we have elsewhere[1] suggested, *vyā-bhū* probably stands for *vyāmiśra-bhūmi*, 'mixed land', consisting of land of various types such as *vāstu* (homestead land), *nāla* (arable land), *khila* (fallow land), etc.

The editors have suggested that the contraction *ṭī* stands for *vāṭī* or *chaṭī*, while *gṛi-ṭī* or *gṛiha-ṭī* and *mu-ṭī* have been supposed to stand respectively for *gṛiha-vāṭī* and *mukhya-vāṭī* or *mukhya-chaṭī*. But what they understood by *chaṭī* is not clear. In Sanskrit, the word *vāṭī* or *vāṭikā* means 'a house-site', 'a garden', etc.; but there is no such word as *chaṭī*. It has to be noticed that the abbreviations of words like *vāṭī* and *chaṭī* are expected to be *vā* and *cha* respectively and not *ṭī* for both of them. The contraction *mu-ṭī*, moreover, cannot stand for *mukhya-vāṭī* meaning 'a prominent or principal house-site or garden', not only because the word *mukhya* would in that case be quite meaningless but also because an analysis of the specified revenue income of the different plots of land as quoted in the inscription shows that the rent of a Drōṇa of *gṛi-ṭī* and *cha-ṭī* was very considerably higher than that of a Drōṇa of *mu-ṭī*. In line 29, the editors have read *bi* (sic. *chi*)-*khi-mu-ṭī 3* (sic. *1*) *byā* (sic. *vyā*)-*bhū* $\frac{1}{4}$ and translated the passage as "one main house with low and fallow land—demarcated homestead land $\frac{4}{16}$ (*drōṇa*)". It has been suggested that *bi-khi-mu-ṭī* stands for *bila-khila-mukhya-vāṭī*. Unfortunately, the interesting point that this particular plot of land had no rent allotted to it has been overlooked. This fact undoubtedly suggests that *chi-khi* stands for *chira-khila* referring to a piece of land that was never brought under cultivation or any other profitable use and therefore fetched no revenue income at all. Similarly, that *ṭī* does not stand for *vāṭī* is quite clear from the passage *gṛiha-vāṭik-ādi-ṭī 3 vyā-bhū* $\frac{1}{2}$ *sāṁ-hi 25* occurring in line 18 of the inscription. The passage apparently means "*ṭī* of house-site, garden, etc.—3 in number; mixed land—$\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa in area; annual revenue income in cash—25 Purāṇas". It is also interesting to note that *ṭī* occurs only in connection with *vyā-bhū* and never with *nā-bhū*. We have elsewhere[2] suggested that *ṭī* may stand for the word *ṭikkara* or *ṭikar* recognised in Hindi, Bengali and Oriya lexicons in the sense of 'a mound'.

The real meaning of *cha* in *cha-ṭī* and *mu* in *mu-ṭī* is very difficult to determine. An analysis of the specified revenue income allotted to the various plots of land would suggest the following averages: (1) $37\frac{2}{3}$ Purāṇas for a Drōṇa of *gṛi-ṭī* or *gṛiha-ṭī* land; (2) $30\frac{2}{17}$ Purāṇas for a Drōṇa of *cha-ṭī* land; (3) 4 Purāṇas for a Drōṇa of *mu-ṭī* land; and (4) $4\frac{4}{17}$ Purāṇas for a Drōṇa of *nāla* or arable land. This shows that *gṛi-ṭī* was the most profitable kind of homestead land while *cha-ṭī* was a slightly less profitable type of the same kind of land. That these two kinds were almost equal in value is further suggested by the following indications. In line 31, a plot of land is characterised as *gṛi-cha-ṭī*, i.e., as mixed *gṛi-ṭī* and *cha-ṭī*. It will be seen that our record specifies 21 *ṭī*'s of the three classes, viz., *gṛi-ṭī*, *cha-ṭī* and *mu-ṭī*, in the body of the charter, but that, in the total quoted

[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Loc. cit.

in line 32, it speaks only of *vā-ṭī 16*. In the contraction, *vā-ṭī*, *vā* apparently stands for *vāstu* meaning 'homestead land'.[1] It seems that the unprofitable plots characterised as *mu-ṭī* were not regarded as proper *vāstu* land and were left out in the calculation of the total. But in the details of the grant we have specific mention only of 3 *mu-ṭīs*. We are therefore short of 2 *mu-ṭīs*. Can it be suggested that the passage *griha-vāṭik-ādi-ṭī 3* in line 18 included 1 *ṭī* of the *vāstu=griha-vāṭikā* category and 2 of the *mu-ṭī* class? Can it further be conjectured that *gri-ṭī* indicated a mound containing houses and gardens, *cha-ṭī* a mound containing plantations only and *mu-ṭī* a mound without houses and gardens and covered with grass or jungle?[2] But all three appear to have contained, possibly on the borders, small patches of land of the *nāla* category if not also of any other type such as *khila*.

For easy reference we quote below the details of the grant portion of the Mehār copper-plate inscription in a table.

Number and Name of the donee.	*Category and area of land.*	*Annual revenue income.*
1. *Paṇḍita* Kāpaḍīka of the Sāvarṇṇya *gōtra*.	griha-vāṭik-ādi-ṭī 3 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa.	25 Purāṇas.
2. Brāhmaṇa Śāṅkōka (of the same *gōtra* ?).	cha-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{8}$ Drōṇa	5 Purāṇas.
3. Brāhmaṇa Sudōka (of the same *gōtra* ?).	cha-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{3}{16}$ Drōṇa	8 Purāṇas.
4. Brāhmaṇa Kālēmīka (of the same *gōtra* ?).	ṭī (gri-ṭī or cha-ṭī) 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{8}$ Drōṇa.	4 Purāṇas.
5. Brāhmaṇa Tārāpati (of the same *gōtra* ?).	cha-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{9}{64}$ Drōṇa	$4\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas.
6. *Paṇḍita* Pāṇḍōka of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.	gri-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{13}{64}$ Drōṇa	$10\frac{1}{8}$ Purāṇas.
7. Brāhmaṇa Dēuka (of the same *gōtra* ?).	griha-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{9}{64}$ Drōṇa	4 Purāṇas.
8. Brāhmaṇa Sudōka (of the same *gōtra* ?).	griha-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{4}$ Drōṇa	$8\frac{7}{16}$ Purāṇas.
9. Brāhmaṇa Kēśava of Kāṇṭāmaṇi	gri-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{8}$ Drōṇa	$4\frac{7}{8}$ Purāṇas.
Do.	mu-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{5}{64}$ Drōṇa	$\frac{9}{16}$ Purāṇa.
10. Brāhmaṇa Brahmōka (of the same place ?).	gri-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{3}{16}$ Drōṇa	2 Purāṇas.

[1] The contraction *vā* for *vāstu* occurs in several records including the Chittagong plate of Dāmōdaradēva himself (N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 181).

[2] Wilson's *Glossary* recognises some Bengali and Hindi names of particular types of land, which begin with the syllable *cha* or *mu*, e.g., *chachar* or *chañchar* (land that has lain fallow only for a few years), *char* or *chāchar* (inferior fallow land or sandy land on the banks or in the bed of a river), *charāi* (pasture lands), *mus* (land along the high banks of rivers), *musavi* (an embankment), etc. But these do not appear to have anything to do with the *cha-ṭī* and *mu-ṭī* of our record.

Number and Name of the donee.	*Category and area of land.*	*Annual revenue income.*
10. Brāhmaṇa Brahmōka (of the same place ?).	mu-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{8}$ Drōṇa	$1\frac{1}{4}$ Purāṇas.
Do.	nāla-bhūmi $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa	2 Purāṇas.
11. Brāhmaṇa Sirōka (of the same place?)	gṛiha-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{9}{64}$ Drōṇa	$5\frac{3}{4}$ Purāṇas.
12. Brāhmaṇa Dharaṇika of Pūrvagrāma	cha-ṭī 1 (half of which was in the possession of Guṇōmbha) ; vyā-bhū $\frac{3}{32}$ Drōṇa.	$2\frac{1}{4}$ Purāṇas.
13. *Paṇḍita* Pāuka of Sidhalagrāma	cha-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{4}$ Drōṇa	4 Purāṇas.
14. Brāhmaṇa Śāṅkōka of the Ātrēya *gōtra*.	nāla-bhūmi $\frac{1}{4}$ Drōṇa	$1\frac{1}{4}$ Purāṇas.
15. Brāhmaṇa Prajāpati of Diṇḍisāya	*bhū* (forming a part of his *gṛiha-vāṭī*) $\frac{1}{16}$ Drōṇa.	$3\frac{1}{4}$ Purāṇas.
16. *Gṛihi-Paṇḍita* Nāthōka (of the same place ?).	nāla-bhūmi $\frac{5}{16}$ Drōṇa	$1\frac{1}{4}$ Purāṇas (*minus* $1\frac{1}{8}$ Purāṇas to be realised by the Brāhmaṇa Jalōka, i.e., $\frac{1}{8}$ Purāṇa only)[1].
17. Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpa (of the same place ?).	gṛi-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{9}{64}$ Drōṇa	$3\frac{5}{8}$ Purāṇas.
18. Brāhmaṇa Mādhōka (of the same place ?).	chi-khi-mu-ṭī 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{4}$ Drōṇa.	(no rent as it was *chirakhila*).
19. Brāhmaṇa Śrīpati of Kēśarakōṇa	cha-ṭī 1 (belonging to a *śāsana* or rent-free holding created by *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Munidāsa) ; vyā-bhū $\frac{3}{16}$ Drōṇa.	(no rent as it belonged to a *śāsana*).
20. Brāhmaṇa Śrīvatsa (of the same place ?).	gṛi-cha-ṭī 1 (belongiug to a *śāsana* created by *Mahākshapaṭalika* Dalaēva) ; vyā-bhū $\frac{5}{16}$ Drōṇa.	(no rent as it belonged to a *śāsana*).
In all : donees (Brāhmaṇas)—20	Vāstu-ṭī 16 : bhūmi-drōṇa $2\frac{11}{16}$+nāla-bhūmi-drōṇa 2 (i.e., together $4\frac{11}{16}$ Drōṇas of land of the different categories).	Sāṁ-hi 100 Purāṇas.

[1] In the editors' translation, Jalōka has been made a donee ; but this is impossible in view of no mention of a piece of land in his connection and also of the total amount of the donees' revenue income quoted in line 32. If Jalōka's amount is counted, the total will be more than 100 Purāṇas even without considering the amount lost in line 24.

No. 11—ABBOTTABAD INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KADAMBESVARADASA ; YEAR 25

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

An inscribed stone slab, measuring 23 inches by 8 inches, was discovered about 35 years ago from a spring-tank about three miles from **Abbottabad** in the Hazara District of the North-West Frontier Province of what is now West Pakistan. It was secured for the Lahore Museum and is preserved there as Exhibit No. 107. The inscription, containing only four lines of writing, was noticed by the late Pandit Daya Ram Sahni in the *Annual Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919.*[1] There are two notes on the record in the said work, one at p. 18 and the other in Appendix C (No. 2). The date of the epigraph is quoted in the latter as the year " 25 or 125 of an unknown era, possibly the Gupta era," while in the former it is said, " It is dated in the year 25 on the first day of Mārgaśira. The era employed is not specified ; but there seems to be no doubt that the era intended is the Gupta era. The date of the inscription would then correspond to A. D. 344". The latter quotes the name of the ruler mentioned in the inscription as *Mahārāja* Kadambēśvaradāsa ; but the former says, " The name of the reigning chief was Mahārāja Kadambēśvara ; but nothing is known of him from any other source". As regards the object of the record, Sahni says, " The purpose of the inscription is to record the making of something, the nature of which cannot be clearly made out. But as the slab bearing this record was found in a spring-tank three miles from Abbottabad, it is possible that the construction of the tank itself is meant. The author of the work was a certain person named Shāphara Kumāra Sthānaṁgaśūra. Both the names are curious and appear to be foreign". Unfortunately these observations regarding the purport of the inscription contain a number of errors.[2] Sahni says that arrangements were being made for the publication of the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*, although the idea seems to have been later given up. The record has not been noticed in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*.

The epigraph is written in Brāhmī **characters** and may be assigned on palæographical grounds to a date about the third century A. C. The letter *n* is of the early Kushāṇa type and is without the loop ; but *ṇ* has a more modified form. The right limb of *g*, *t* and *ś* is not lengthened downwards. The form of *ph* is interesting as a slightly curved line starting from the top of the right vertical touches the horizontal base near the angle which the latter forms at its juncture with the left vertical of the letter.[3] The letter *sh* is formed by *p* with the addition of a horizontal bar touching the left and right verticals of the latter. The form of *m* is interesting. It apparently developed from the type of the letter as found in a later Kushāṇa inscription[4] from Mathurā. The letter as found in the Kuḍā inscription[5] was a further modification of the type employed in the record under study. In writing the date the symbols for 20 and 5 have been

[1] Diacritical marks in the transliterated passages are wanting in this publication. We have supplied them in our quotations below.

[2] It will be seen that, with reference to " Shāphara Kumāra Sthānaṁgaśūra ", Sahni speaks of one personal name as well as two personal names. This is apparently because he had in his mind *Shāphara-kumāra Sthānaṁgaśūra*, i.e., " Sthānaṁgaśūra son of Shāphara". Unfortunately no such passage actually occurs in the inscription.

[3] For the same type of *ph* in post-Kushāṇa inscriptions, see Bühler's Tafel IV, line 28. For its occurrence in the epigraphs of the Kushāṇa age, see the Ahichchhatrā Yaksha image inscription in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, Plate facing p. 194.

[4] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 76-79 and Plate.

[5] Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 237 f. and Plate.

employed. The palæography of the inscription thus may be regarded as showing the characteristics of a period between the second and the fourth centuries and may therefore be roughly assigned to the **third century A. C.** although it does not appear to be earlier than the middle of that century. The characters of the present epigraph resemble those of the Shōrkōṭ (Jhang District, Punjab) inscription[1], assigned to 403 A. C., but exhibit earlier traits especially in the formation of the medial vowel-marks. The most interesting fact about the palæography of the present inscription in Brāhmī characters is that it was discovered in an area where Kharōshṭhī was the popular script. The popularity of Kharōshṭhī in the Peshawar-Hazara region as late at least as the third century A. C. is indicated by inscriptions and accepted by scholars.[2] The discovery of the epigraph under study has therefore some bearing on the gradual ousting of Kharōshṭhī by Brāhmī in the area about the North-West Frontier Province. Again the language of the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions discovered in this region is Prakrit while the present record is couched in Sanskrit. We know that Prakrit was originally the language of Indian records but that it was ousted by Sanskrit from the Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India by the third century and from South Indian records about a century later. The inscription under study is interesting from this point of view also.

The inscription begins with the date **Sa 25 M[ā]rgaśira-di pratha**, i.e., **Saṁvatsarē pañchaviṁśē Mārgaśira-dinē prathamē.** Thus the record was incised on the first day of the month of Mārgaśira or Mārgaśīrsha in the year 25 of the regnal reckoning of a ruler. The **object** of the inscription is recorded in the following passage which reads *kāritō=ya[ṁ*] Kumāra-sthānaṁ*, i.e., *kāritam=idaṁ Kumāra-sthānam*, " this *Kumāra-sthāna* has been made (i.e., constructed) ". As regards the mistake *kāritaḥ* for *kāritam*, it may be pointed out that the use of nominative singular for accusative singular is sometimes noticed in the Prakrit records from the North-West Frontier Province and has been regarded as a dialectic peculiarity of the area in question.[3] The expression *Kumāra-sthāna* appears to mean 'a temple of the god Kumāra'. The inscribed stone thus originally belonged to the structure referred to in this passage. Kumāra is regarded as another name of the god Skanda, also called Viśākha and Mahāsēna. But Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*[4] mentions the images of the gods Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, while certain coins of the Kushāṇa king Huvishka bear representations of three gods called in the legend by the names Skando (Skanda), Komaro (Kumāra) and Bizago (Viśākha) or of four gods named in the legend as Skando, Maaseno (Mahāsēna), Komaro and Bizago.[5] The facts show not

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[1] Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff. and Plate.

[2] G. H. Ojha, *Prāchīna-lipi-mālā* (*The Palæography of India*), p. 37; Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII (Appendix), p. 18. Sten Konow assigns the latest known Kharōshṭhī inscriptions, found in India, to the fourth or fifth century A. C. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. II, Part i, p. xiii). He reads the dates in some records as the years 318, 359, 384 and 399 and refers them to an old Śaka era starting from 84-83 B.C. (ibid., p. xci). Cf. also the inscriptions bearing dates in the years 303 (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 8 ff.) and 359 (ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 203 ff.). But even if the old Scytho-Parthian era is identified with the Vikrama Saṁvat of 58 B.C. (cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125, note; 144, note), the latest date in Konow's list (year 399) would correspond to 343 A. C. It is also not very easy to be definite about the era. Lüders in the *Āchārya-pushpāñjali Volume* (D.R. Bhandarkar Volume), pp. 281 ff., refers dates in the years 270 and 292 (or 299) found in two early Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā to the Parthian era of 248 B.C., although the dates of the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions cited above cannot be assigned to that era. A few Kharōshṭhi records from Taxila have been assigned to the fifth century (Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 374-76).

[3] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 9.

[4] See under Pāṇini, V, 3, 99; Kielhorn's edition, Vol. II, p. 429.

[5] See R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, p. 207; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 214-15; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 22-23. For two early images of the god Skanda found in the ancient Gandhāra country in the present Rawalpindi-Peshawar region, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 81 ff. The Skanda cult was very popular with such north-western tribes as the Yaudhēyas (cf. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 270 ff.).

only that Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsēna had been originally the names of different deities who were identified at a later date but also that Kumāra was an important popular god in the dominions of the Kushāṇas. This is interesting in view of the fact that the Kushāṇa emperors are known to have had their headquarters at Peshawar, not far away from the findspot of our inscription in the Hazara District.

The following passage, giving the name of the person responsible for the construction of the Kumāra-sthāna referred to above, reads : *Gaśūraṇa Makaputrēṇa Shāpharēṇa*, i.e., *Gaśūrēṇa* (or *Gaśūrāṇāṁ*) *Maka-putrēṇa Shāpharēṇa*, " by the Gaśūra Shāphara, son of Maka " or " by Shāphara who is the son of Maka and a member of the Gaśūra clan or class". Both the names, *Maka* and *Shāphara*, are apparently foreign. *Maka* reminds us of such non-Indian names as *Maka* (Greek *Magas*) and *Moga* or *Moa* (*Maues*) found in Indian epigraphic and numismatic records.[1] The name *Shāphara* similarly reminds us of the well-known Pahlavi name Shāhpuhre (Shāpur) borne by three Sassanian emperors ruling respectively in 241-72, 310-70 and 383-88 A. C. The epithet *Gaśūra*, applied to the name of Shāphara, also points to his foreign origin. This word seems to be the same as Krorayina *guśura* and Kuchean Sanskrit *gauśura* standing, as Prof. H. W. Bailey has shown, for Sanskrit *kulaputra*, " a person of good family".[2] Elsewhere Bailey explains the word *gauśurya* occurring in the Derge text as " a lady or princess of the *Gauśura* class of nobility".[3] Thus Shāphara, who constructed a temple for the Indian god Kumāra, seems likewise to have been a member of the Guśura or Gaśūra class of nobility.

The next passage of the inscription reads : *mahārāja*-**Kadambēśvaradāsa-r[ājy]ē**, " in the reign (or, kingdom) of *Mahārāja* Kadambēśvaradāsa". It is probable that the 25th year of the reign of this ruler has been quoted in the date at the beginning of the record. This presupposes the fact that *Mahārāja* **Kadambēśvaradāsa** was an independent or at least a semi-independent ruler of the Hazara region. It should, however, be noted that the Chinese writer Yu-houan, author of the *Wei-lio*, speaks of Yueh-chi or Kushāṇa sovereignty over the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Afghanistan about the middle of the third century A.C. while the prominent mention of the Kushāṇa king as the Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi in a Gupta inscription of the middle of the fourth century A.C. shows that the Kushāṇas were still regarded as a notable power in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarsha.[4] The relation of Kadambēśvaradāsa with the Kushāṇa imperial family cannot be determined without further evidence. If he actually belonged to that imperial line, the inscription under study should probably have borne a date in the Kanishka era and not in his regnal reckoning. Even if it is believed that a *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kaṇishka of the third century started a new era[5] (to which the year 25 of our inscription might be referred) or that the later members of the Kushāṇa dynasty discontinued the use of the Kanishka era of 78 A.C., it is not easy to regard Kadambēśvaradāsa definitely as a Kushāṇa as he is mentioned without the typical title *Dēvaputra*. Of course the king's Sanskrit name does not offer any serious obstacle as we have a Vāsudēva with such a name amongst the immediate successors of the founder of the Kushāṇa era (i.e., Kanishka I). Similar difficulties are also felt

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[1] The thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka gives the Greek name Magas as *Maka* (Shahbazgarhi and Mansera), *Magā* (Girnar) and *Makā* (Kalsi). See Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 210. A Scythian name is given as *Moga*, *Mevaki* and *Moa* in the Indian script and *Maues* or *Mauakes* in Greek ; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 115, 120 ; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 38-41 ; *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II), p. 120, note , etc.

[2] *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1947, pp. 149 f. ; *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, 1949-50, p. 121. The word *guśura* occurs in the Central Asian Kharoshṭhī document No. 702 ; cf. T. Burrow, *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, p. 87 ; *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turketsan*, p. 141.

[3] *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, p. 393 ; cf. H. Lüders, *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, p. 255.

[4] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 152-53.

[5] Ibid., p. 146; cf. above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96-97.

if it is proposed to refer the year of the date of our record to the regnal reckoning of an unknown Kushāṇa overlord of Kadambēśvaradāsa.[1] Sahni was inclined to refer the year 25 in our inscription to the Gupta era. But it is difficult to believe that the suzerainty of the Guptas and the use of their era ever spread over the Hazara District where the inscription under review was found.

The name of king Kadambēśvaradāsa literally means "the servant (i.e. devotee) of Kadambēśvara", in which Kadambēśvara is certainly the name of a deity, probably Śiva in the Liṅga form. Śiva-liṅgas with names ending in the word *īśvara* are known from all parts of India.[2] Kadamba is primarily the name of a particular tree (Nuclea Cadamba) but may also be taken to be the name of a person, family or clan. But whether the name of the deity Kadambēśvara was due to his installation by a person named Kadamba or his association with a particular Kadamba tree cannot be determined.

The inscription ends with the letters looking like *daṭhasaka* in line 4. This seems to refer to the locality where the temple of the god Kumāra was built by Shāphara. In that case we may suggest the emendation *Daṭhasakē*. If, however, the last two letters may be taken to stand for Sanskrit *svakē*, "in his own", the first two may be read as *daṭhē*. The four letters would then read *daṭhē svakē*, "in his (i.e. Shāphara's) own *daṭha*". But we do not know any word like *daṭha*, which may suit the context.

TEXT[3]

1 [Sa][4] 20 5 M[ā]rgaśira-di[5] pratha[6] kāritō=ya[7]

2 Kumāra-sthānaṁ Gaśūraṇa[8] Maka-putrēṇa

3 Shāpharēṇa mahārāja-Kadambēśvaradāsa-r[ājy]ē

4 daṭha[sa]ka[9] [||*]

No. 12—NOTE ON BADAGANGA INSCRIPTION OF BHUTIVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The Baḍagaṅgā rock inscription of Bhūtivarman, which is the earliest epigraph so far discovered in Assam, has been edited above[10] by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali. Previously an article on the inscription was published by the same author in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VIII, 1941, pp. 138-39 (*cf.* also *Bhāratavarsha*, B.S. 1348, p. 90; *IHQ*, March, 1945, pp. 19-28). He also published a rejoinder in the form of footnotes added to my comments on his

[1] For a sketch of the history of the area about the North-West Frontier Province about the third and fourth centuries, see *The Classical Age* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III), pp. 50 ff.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 182, note 4.

[3] From an impression.

[4] I.e., *Saṁ* which is a contraction of *Saṁvatsarē*.

[5] *Di* is a contraction of *dinē* or *divasē*.

[6] *Pratha* is a contraction of *prathamē*.

[7] The reading intended is no doubt *kāritō=yaṁ*; but the context would require *kāritaṁ=idaṁ*.

[8] Read *Gaśūrēṇa* or *Gaśūrāṇāṁ*.

[9] For these letters see our remarks above.

[10] Vol. XXVII, pp. 18-23. The local pronunciation of *Baḍagaṅgā*, as written by Dr. Bhattasali, is *Baṛgaṅgā*.

ABBOTABAD INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KADAMBESVARADASA; YEAR 25



SCALE TWO-FIFTHS

reading of the inscription, published in the same journal, Vol. X, 1943, pp. 63-67[1]. In his article published above, Dr. Bhattasali speaks of the unsatisfactory state of the preservation of the record and of the difficulty with which he succeeded in deciphering the text. A photograph of the inscription as well as an inked impression was published to illustrate Dr. Bhattasali's paper in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The photograph is, however, absolutely unreadable while the impression was the subject of the following editorial comment from the Government Epigraphist for India: "The impression reproduced here is much 'doctored'. An attempt is being made to procure a more faithful impression which will be published when available". The attempt of the Government Epigraphist to secure a good impression of the record was unfortunately not successful till the beginning of 1952 when I was asked to examine and copy the inscription in the course of my tour in Eastern India. Accordingly I visited Nowgong, the headquarters of the District of that name in Assam, on the 5th March 1952 and left for the findspot of the inscription the same day. From Nowgong I reached Ḍabakā on the river Jamunā, which lies 24 miles away on the motor road from Nowgong to Hozāi. There I learnt that the inscribed rock lies in the vicinity of Ḍakmakā (from Mikir *Ḍaṅmukāk*, 'a bend') on a rain-bow like bend of the river Ḍikharu or Ḍikhru (from Kachhari *ḍi*, 'water'), 16½ miles away on the other side of a reserved forest. Fortunately, the Forest Department of the Assam Government has now constructed a motorable road from Ḍabakā to Ḍakmakā, although a wooden bridge on a small stream at Ḍeṅgão (11½ miles from Ḍabakā and 5 miles from Ḍakmakā) was being reconstructed after dismantling when I had to travel by that road. I had therefore to reach Ḍakmakā from Ḍeṅgão on foot. The inscribed boulder lies on the Baḍagaṅgā which is a small stream joining on the one hand the Hāṛkāṭhī and on the other the Dīghalpānī. The place is half a mile from Ṭekgão which is about 2 miles from Ḍakmakā. Thus I found the inscription about 19 miles from the Ḍabakā Bazaar, although Bhattasali has given the distance of the place as about 14 miles north-east of Ḍabakā (written by him *Ḍabokā*). I was really very glad to find that the epigraph was in a much better state of preservation than that suggested by Dr. Bhattasali's photograph. It is necessary to record here in this connection that in reaching the inscribed boulder I received considerable help from the officers of the Forest Department of the Government of Assam at Nowgong, Ḍabakā, Ḍeṅgão and Ḍakmakā.

The main point in my comments on Dr. Bhattasali's reading of the Baḍagaṅgā inscription, to which reference has been made above, concerned the second symbol in the date of the record. Bhattasali believed that it is an *l*-type form of 30, while I suggested that it is an *s*-type form of 40. It is gratifying to me that all epigraphists who had occasion to give their opinion on the reading of the symbol have supported my reading against Bhattasali's.[2] But an examination of the original inscription and its impressions prepared by myself revealed to me several mistakes not only in Dr. Bhattasali's transcript but also in my comments on it, based as they were on an unreliable illustration of the record.

The Government Epigraphist for India rightly noticed that considerable doctoring has rendered the impression published along with Dr. Bhattasali's paper absolutely unreliable for scientific purposes. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the whole inscription can be more or less easily read from my impressions. It is also seen that Dr. Bhattasali's attempt to show the letters clearly on the impression by means of inking the supposed blank space outside their incision has resulted in many letters appearing in his doctored impression not as they actually are in the

[1] My comments on Bhattasali's reading and interpretation of the Baḍagaṅgā and Kulkuri inscriptions were first offered in a note added to my paper on the reign-periods of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, published in the Chaitra (B.S. 1348) issue of the *Bhāratavarsha* (Bengali), Calcutta.

[2] See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 23 for the views of K. N. Dikshit and N. P. Chakravarti and *IHQ*, Vol XXII, p. 113 for the opinion of Jagannath.

original or in my impressions but as he wanted to read them. This is very clearly demonstrated by the fifteenth *akshara* of the second line of the record as found in his impression. The doctored impression shows this letter clearly as *ṇya* and that is how it was read by Dr. Bhattasali originally, although it has been read in his paper published in the *Epigraphia Indica* tentatively as *dēva*. This is no doubt because the doctoring was done when the author was eager to read the letter as *ṇya*; but, when apparently it was later pointed out to him that *ṇya* is rather awkward in the context, he was compelled to change his reading to *dēva* in spite of the fact that the new reading is quite plainly against the evidence of his impression.

Let us analyse here the mistakes in Dr. Bhattasali's transcript of the Baḍagaṅgā inscription one by one.

1. In line 1, what has been read as *bhāgavata* is clearly *bhaṭṭāraka*. Thus the king in question (i.e., Bhūtivarman of the Bhauma or Nāraka dynasty[1] of Prāgjyotisha or Kāmarupa, i.e., modern Assam) is described here as a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* which is an ordinary imperial title and not as a *Paramabhāgavata* which would have shown that the ruler was a devout worshipper of the *Bhagavat*, i.e., the god Vishṇu.

2. The ninth letter of line 2 is a clear *na* even in Dr. Bhattasali's impression; but he suggested the reading of the letter as *nāṁ* and read the entire passage as *°aśvamēdhayājināṁ śrī-Bhūtivarmmadēvapādānāṁ*. It is now seen that the correct reading is *°aśvamēdhayājina[ḥ*] śrī-Bhūtivarmmasya*, although *°varmmasya* is a mistake for *°varmmaṇaḥ*.

3. At the beginning of line 3, Dr. Bhattasali reads the year of the date as *200 30 4* which is followed in his transcript by the *akshara mā* taken by him to indicate the month of Māgha. As Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, who examined my impressions, first pointed out to me, the correct reading of what Dr. Bhattasali has read as 200 30 4 *mā* is *āyushkāmaṁ* and there is no trace of the syllable *saṁ* at the end of the previous line. Thus the actual reading of the passage in question is no doubt *°pādānāṁ āyushkāmaṁ vishay-āmātya°*. The inscription therefore does not contain either any date in the Gupta era or the name of any *vishaya*. The expression *āyushkāmaṁ* simply refers to the fact that the *vishay-āmātya* (governor of a district) performed a meritorious work for the longevity of his master, king Bhūtivarman.

4. The name of the *vishay-āmātya* referred to above was read by Dr. Bhattasali as *Āryyaguṇa* or *Ādyaguṇa*. The first letter of the name is *a* and not *ā*, while the second is either *va* or *da* without any subscript. A comparison with *y* in *°yājina* in line 2 and in *vishayā°* in line 3 shows beyond doubt that the second *akshara* of the name in question cannot be *ryya*. The reading of the name seems to me to be *Avaguṇa*. The sense of the name is rather derogatory; but names with derogatory sense are not uncommon in India[2]. Thus the Baḍagaṅgā inscription speaks of *Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Bhūtivarman, a performer of the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, during whose reign a royal officer named Avaguṇa, who was the governor of a district of Bhūtivarman's kingdom, made an *āśrama* at the findspot of the epigraph for the longevity of his master. The area governed by Avaguṇa seems to have comprised parts of the present Nowgong District of Assam and the adjoining area including the valleys of the rivers Hāṛkāṭhī and Dīghalpānī mentioned above. An interesting information supplied by the inscription is that the Nowgong-

[1] The recently discovered Dubi plates give *Varman* as another name of the family.

[2] There is a popular notion in Eastern India to suggest derogatory names for the children especially of women who repeatedly give birth to dead boys and girls. Cf. Bengali and Oriya names like Ekkaṛi (literally, purchased by, i.e., worthy of, one cowrie only), Arakshita (literally, helpless, i.e., wretched, or a beggar), Fakir (mendicant), etc. The idea behind such naming is that the attention of the god of death may be diverted from a child bearing a derogatory name. Such children are often given away to somebody and then purchased by the parents at a nominal price. For the similar name *Dukhu* or *Duḥkhī* (i.e., miserable), cf. *Modern Review*, July 1954, p. 79.

Sibsagar area formed a part of the dominions of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings of Kāmarūpa at least during the reign of Bhūtivarman who, as will be shown below, must have flourished in the sixth century A.C.

Another important fact recorded in the inscription under review is the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha* attributed to Bhūtivarman. As I have pointed out elsewhere[1] this information has to be reconciled with the evidence supplied by the legend on the seals of Bhāskaravarman of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty, who flourished about the first half of the seventh century A.C. and was a contemporary of king Harshavardhana (606-47 A.C.) of Thanesar and Kanauj. The information supplied by the seals may be summarised as follows :—

1 *Mahārājādhirāja* Pushyavarman, lord of Prāgjyōtisha and descendant of Naraka as well as of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta ;

2 *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudravarman, son of No. 1 ;

3 *Māhārājādhirāja* Balavarman, son of No. 2 from Dattavatī ;

4 *Mahārājādhirāja* Kalyāṇavarman, son of No. 3 from the queen Ratnavatī ;

5 Gaṇapativarman, [son of No. 4] from Gandharvavatī ;

6 Mahēndravarman, [son of No. 5] from Yajñavatī ;

7 Nārāyaṇavarman, performer of two Aśvamēdhas and [son of No. 6] from Suvratā ;

8 Bhūtivarman, [son of No. 7] from Dēvavatī ;

9 Chandramukhavarman, [son of No. 8] from Vijñānavatī ;

10 Sthiravarman, performer of two Aśvamēdhas and [son of No. 9] from Bhōgavatī ;

11 Susthitavarman, son of No. 10 from Nayanaśōbhā ;

12 Supratishṭhitavarman, son of No. 11 from Dhruvalakshmī ;

13 Bhāskaravarman, younger brother of No. 12 and son of No. 11 from Dhruvalakshmī.

It will be seen that Bhūtivarman, called an *aśvamēdha-yājin* in the Baḍagaṅgā inscription, is not credited with the performance of the horse-sacrifice in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals, although his father Nārāyaṇavarman and grandson Sthiravarman are both endowed with the epithet ' performer of two *Aśvamēdhas* '. As has been explained in my paper referred to above, I do not accept Dr. Bhattasali's suggestion that, according to the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals, Mahēndravarman, father of Nārāyaṇavarman, performed the two horse-sacrifices and am inclined to attribute them to Nārāyaṇavarman. It has been shown by me that the epithet *dvir-aśvamādha-yājin* admittedly refers to the following name of Sthiravarman in the legend and that, on the same analogy, the epithet *dvis-turagamēdh-āharttā* should refer not to the *preceding* name of Mahēndravarman but to the *following* name of Nārāyaṇavarman.[2] I have further shown that the position of the queen-mothers' names in the two expressions, viz. *Śrī-Bhōgavatyāṁ dvir-aśvamēdha-yājī Śrī-Sthiravarmā* and *dvis-turagamēdh-āhartā Śrī-Suvratāyāṁ Śrī-Nārāyaṇavarmā*, does not make any difference in Sanskrit syntax. Now the omission in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals of any reference to the horse-sacrifice that was celebrated by Bhūtivarman according to the Baḍagaṅgā inscription is really inexplicable ; but I suggested that the second of the two *Aśvamēdhas* attributed by the seal-legend to Bhūtivarman's father

[1] *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 143-45.

[2] Verse 12 of the Nidhanpur inscription comparing Mahēndravarman with *yajña-vidhīnām=ā<padam=analam* and his mother Yajñavatī with *Yajñavatī araṇiḥ* does not prove Mahēndravarman's celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*. The poet apparently played on the word *yajña* in the name of the queen-mother. Mahēndravarman may of course have performed some of the numerous Vedic sacrifices other than the *Aśvamēdha*.

Nārāyaṇavarman may have been celebrated when that king was too old and his son Bhūtivarman was ruling the country on his father's behalf and that this was possibly the reason why Bhūtivarman is said to be the performer of the horse-sacrifice in the record of his own reign[1].

Nārāyaṇavarman was the first performer of the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice among the kings of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty of Kāmarūpa, which was founded by Pushyavarman. It is interesting to note in this connection that the independent status newly acquired by ancient Indian ruling families was usually signalised by the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*[2]. In the ancient history of India, we have also many instances of a feudatory naming his son after his overlord[3]. The naming of Pushyavarman's son as *Samudravarman* apparently after the celebrated Gupta monarch Samudragupta (*circa* 340-76 A.C.) appears to be a significant fact in the early history of Kāmarūpa. Samudravarman's queen Dattavatī seems also to have assumed the name of Samudragupta's queen Dattadēvī. These facts leave hardly any doubt that the Kāmarūpa king Pushyavarman was a vassal or subordinate ally of the Gupta emperor and flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.C.[4] The Bhauma-Nārakas of Kāmarūpa appear to have continued to offer allegiance to the Guptas till the beginning of the sixth century when the imperial Gupta power declined and the Bhauma-Nāraka king Nārāyaṇavarman (*circa* 494-518 A.C.) performed the horse-sacrifice no doubt to assert the newly gained independence of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, formerly under the suzerainty of the Guptas. Again the facts that Pushyavarman was a contemporary of Samudragupta, that Susthitavarman and Supratishṭhitavarman appear to have died quite early in life and that Bhāskaravarman reigned in the period *circa* 600-50 A.C. suggest roughly the following chronology of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings of Kāmarūpa[5] :—

(1) Pushyavarman	*circa* 350-74 A.C.
(2) Samudravarman	„ 374-98 „
(3) Balavarman	„ 398-422 „
(4) Kalyāṇavarman	„ 422-46 „
(5) Gaṇapativarman	„ 446-70 „
(6) Mahēndravarman	„ 470-94 „
(7) Nārāyaṇavarman	„ 494-518 „
(8) Bhūtivarman	„ 518-42 „
(9) Chandramukhavarman	„ 542-66 „
(10) Sthiravarman	„ 566-90 „
(11) Susthitavarman	„ 590-95 „
(12) Supratishṭhitavarman	„ 595-600 „
(13) Bhāskaravarman	„ 600-50 „

[1] The Śailodbhava records generally attribute an *Aśvamēdha* to Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman [I Śrīnivāsa] but, in a few inscriptions of that king's son and grandson, the latter are also vaguely described as performers of the *Aśvamēdha* probably because they took part in Śrīnivāsa's sacrifice. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 39, n. 4.

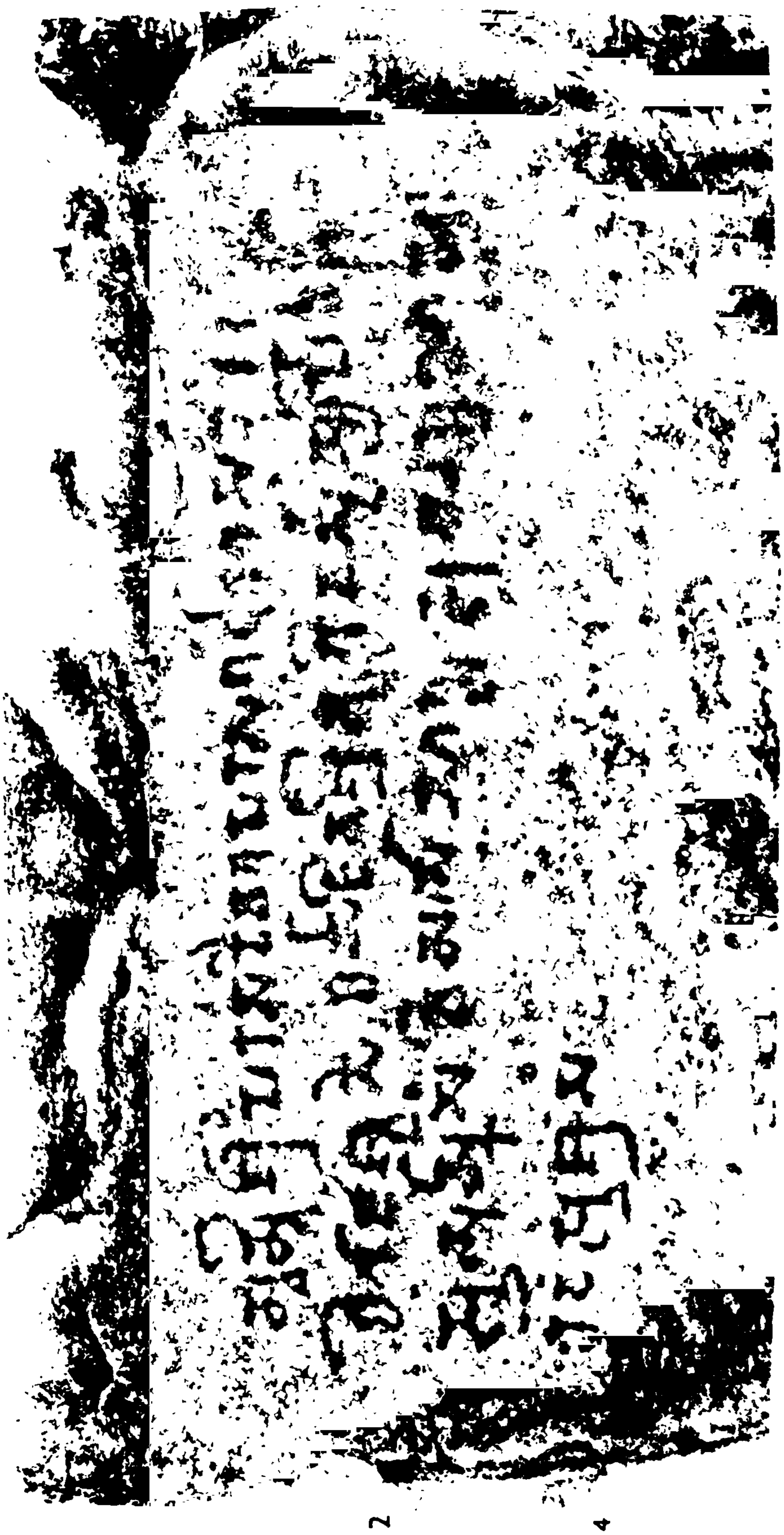
[2] *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 64-65.

[3] See *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, pp. 176, 248 note.

[4] The reference to Kāmarūpa as a *pratyanta* or bordering state in the Allahabad pillar inscription seems to suggest that the Kāmarūpa king was not regarded as an ordinary feudatory of the Gupta monarch.

[5] Dr. Bhattasali was inclined to assign Pushyavarman to *circa* 350-90 A.C. and Mahēndravarman (who according to him celebrated two horse-sacrifices) to *circa* 450-90 A.D. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, March, 1945, pp. 19-28.

BADAGANGA INSCRIPTION OF BHUTIVARMAN



SCALE: THREE-TENTHS

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti [||*] Śrī-paramadaivata-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārā[jā]-
2 dhirāj-āśvamēdhayājina[ḥ*] Śrī-Bhūtivarmmasya(ṇaḥ) pādān[āṁ][2]
3 āyushkāmaṁ vishay-āmātya[3]-Avaguṇasya
4 idaṁ[4] āśramaṁ [||*]

No. 13—EKKANCHI INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA SIMHANA ; SAKA 1147

R. N. Gurav, Athni

Ekkañchi is a petty village in the Athni *taluk* of the Belgaum District, Bombay State, situated about six miles from Athṇi, east by north, and two miles north of the village Baḍchi on the Athṇi-Bijāpur road. The inscription edited below is fixed in the temple of Hanumān to the right of the image. As reported by the villagers the stone bearing the inscription was found buried in the village site while digging the earth for a manure pit, about twenty years ago. It was then fixed in the Hanumān temple where it now stands.

The writing is damaged in places and this makes the reading difficult. The inscription is written in mediaeval Kannaḍa **language** and **alphabet**. In regard to **palaeography** we may note that the Dravidian *ṟ* is retained as in *mūnūṟaṟ-oḷagaṇa* (l.4), *aṟu-gayi* (l.9) and *aṟuvaṇa* (ll. 12-13). The cursive form of *v* appears in *aṟuvaṇav-eraḍu* (ll. 12-13). The doubling of the consonant after *r* is observed as in *Mallikārjjuna* (ll. 10-11) and *sarvvabādhā* (l. 15). The consonant is also doubled after *anusvāra*, e.g., *saṁnnidhāna-* (l. 14). *S* is used for *ś* as in *saka* (l. 1) ; *ri* occurs in place of *ṛi* in *Bri-vā* (l. 2) ; initial *p* is changed to *h* as in *haṇa* (l. 13) and *hūsi* (l. 15), but not in *paḍuvalu* (l. 11). The intervocalic *p* is changed to *v* in *aṟuvaṇa* (ll. 12-13). The abbreviations *Kārtti-ba* and *Bri-vā* are noteworthy. The expressions *sūḷavāḷa* (l. 7) and *hiṭṭa hūsi* (ll. 14-15) (having smeared with flour) are of lexical interest. The former may stand for *sūḷāyta* in the sense of a ' herald '. The context in which the latter is placed seems to suggest that it may have been used to denote a cognate custom which normally finds its expression in the familiar phrase *dhārāpūrvakaṁ māḍi*, i.e., ' by pouring water '.

The epigraph commences with the expression *svasti* and cites the date Śaka 1147, Pārthiva, Kārttika ba. 11, Thursday. This **date** regularly corresponds to October 30, 1225 A.C. It then refers to the reign of the **Dēvagiri Yādava king Siṁhaṇa**. As no regnal year of the ruler is mentioned, the date is of no special interest. Several inscriptions of this king in the Athni *taluk* and bordering areas have been found, for instance, at Kokaṭnūr,[5] Hire-Paḍasalagi,[6] Madbhāvi,[7] Biḷḷūr[8] and Khidrāpur.[9]

The charter purports to register the grant of a house and a piece of land, with certain privileges, to the carpenter Champōja in recognition of his service (the nature of which is not clear) by Vīrabhadra, the priest in charge of the temple of Koppanātha of Ekaṁchi, Hegaḍe Sauḍayya, Sūḷavāḷa

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1 From impressions prepared by me.
2 Read *pādānām=āyu°*.
3 The rule of *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
4 Read *idam=āśramam* ||
5 *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 129 ff.
6 Ibid., pp. 125-26.
7 Ink-impression in my collection.
8 Ibid.
9 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 7 ff.

Chaürayya, *Prabhu* Jakkarasa and the eight *hittus*. The village Ekaṁchi was a *dēvavāḍa* of the god Koppanātha at Telasaṁga included in the tract of Kaṇaṁbaḍe Three Hundred which was under the authority of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sahadēva-Nāyaka. The gift was made in the presence of the god Kalidēva by smearing with flour.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sahadēva-Nāyaka of the present record is apparently identical with Sahadēva of the Kokaṭnūr inscription[1] (1235 A.C.) and Sahadēva Daṇḍanātha of the Maṅkaṇi epigraph (1205 A.C.).[2] It is noteworthy that all these three records belong to the reign of Siṁhaṇa. In the Maṅkaṇi inscription Sahadēva is said to be ruling over Tardavāḍi 1000 ; but in the Kokaṭnūr charter no definite area is assigned to him , nor does he bear a designation. Still, the latter speaks of his conquests over such far-off regions as Māḷava, Maleyāḷa and Āndhra. It may be surmised from this that by this time he had risen to a high position by dint of his prowess. In the Kokaṭnūr epigraph Nāgarasa is said to be ruling over the tract of Kaṇaṁbaḍe, implying thereby that Sahadēva exercised authority over a wider region.

The **place-names** mentioned in the inscription are : Kaṇaṁbaḍe Three-Hundred, Telasaṅga and Ekaṁchi. Of these Kaṇaṁbaḍe Three-Hundred and Telasaṅga occur in a number of inscriptions of this area. Kaṇaṁbaḍe is identified with Kanmaḍi, about 10 miles north-north-east of Telsang, in the Bijapur *taluk* of the Bijapur District, by Dr. Fleet.[3] Telasaṅga is the present Telsang in the Athni *taluk*, about 22 miles east of Athṇi. The name appears as Tiḷasaṅga, Telasaṅga, Telasaṅgava and Teḷasaṅga in the inscriptions of the place.[4] Of these, Tiḷasaṅga appears to be the older form. Ekaṁchi, the village where the record was found, still retains its old name in the form Ekkañchi. The inscription refers to the god Koppanātha of Ekaṁchi. But no such god and temple exist in this place at present. In fact, there are no ancient or mediaeval temples in the village or round about it. The Hanumān temple, where the present epigraph is kept, does no appear to be old.[5]

My thanks are due to Mr. P. B. Desai of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India for having kindly revised this article.

TEXT[6]

1 Svasti [|*] Śrī-Sa(Śa)ka-varshaṁ 11[4]7neya Pārtti(rthi)va-saṁvatsara[da]

2 Kārtti ba[7] 11 Bri(Bṛi) vā[8] śrī-**Siṁhaṇadēvana** rā[jya]-

3 daṁdu śrīmanu(n)-mahāmaṁḍaḷēsva(śva)raṁ Sahadēva-nā-

4 yakan=āḷva maṁ[ḍa]ḷaṁ Kaṇaṁbaḍe-mūnūṟaṟ=oḷagaṇa

5 śrīmatu Telasaṁgada Kopanātha-dēvara dēvavāḍ Ekaṁ-

6 chiya Koppanātha-dēvar=āchāryya Vīrabhadra Hegaḍe [Sau]-

7 ḍayya Sūḷavāḷa Chaü[ra]yya prabhu Ja[kka]rasa mukhya-

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[1] *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 131.

[2] B. K. Coll., No. 264 of 1927-28.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 268 ff.

[4] *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Nos. 15, 18, 21 and 27. Some old remains are scattered in the southern and south eastern side of Telsang, which merit excavation. Recently, a finely carved image of Vishṇu, excellently preserved, was found in a field near the village while digging a pit, at about 10 feet below the surface.

[5] It has, however, to be noted that sculptured stones like *sati* stones and hero stones, Gajalakshmī tablet and Śiva in sitting posture, all worn out or partly mutilated, are found fixed round this temple.

[6] *In situ* and from ink-impressions prepared by me.

[7] *Kārtti ba* appears to be an abbreviation of *Kārttika bahuḷa*.

[8] The abbreviation *Bṛi vā* stands for *Bṛihaspativāra*.

8 vemṭu-hiṭu(ṭṭu) sthāna-mānya-sahitav-āgi baḍa-
9 gi Champōjage koṭṭa maney=aṟu-gayi [|]
10 Mallikārjjuna-dēvara maneyiṁ mūḍalu [keyi] [|*] Mallikā-
11 rjjuna-dēvara keyiṁ paḍuvalu Nāgāḷa-Bijavāḷa bīḷa-
12 bhūmiya meṭṭuṁgeyiy-āgi koṭṭar=ā-aṟuva-
13 ṇav=eraḍu haṇa [|*] Aramaneya .. rada[li] bhōgada
14 kelasa māḍuvanu [|*] Śrī-Kalidēvara saṁnnidhānadali hiṭṭa
15 hūsi koṭṭaru sarvva-bādha(dhā)-parihāra-
16 v-āgi [|*] Sukhadiṁd=irppanu [|*] Maṁgaḷa mahā-śrī-śrī [||*]

No. 14—KOTTURU INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA; YEAR 4

(*1 Plate*)

P. B. Desai, Ootacamund

This inscription[1] was copied by me in the course of the epigraphical survey of the Tadpatri *taluk*, Anantapur District, Madras State, during the field season of 1947-48. It is incised on a coarse piece of stone (which is broken into two parts) lying in a field near the Āñjanēya temple at **Kottūru**, hamlet of Brāhmaṇapalle. The estampages were taken after joining the two parts. Though partly damaged and worn out, the writing on the whole is in a fair state of preservation. I edit the record here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph is engraved rather indifferently. To the left of the inscription proper are carved two perpendicular lines denoting the margin. The **characters** are Telugu-Kannaḍa of about the 8th century. The record consists of eight lines. The average size of the letters is 1·5″. The medial short *i* and long *ī* are not distinguised, a circle at the top of the letter denoting both. The medial *ṛi*, which occurs only once in *prithuvī-* in line 1, is not differentiated from the sign for the subscript *r*. The *anusvāras* are not clear on the impressions, apparently due to the rough surface of the stone. The use of class nasals may be noted in the following expressions; *Vaṅganūr* in line 2, *kāviñchi* in line 4 and *pañch-* in line 6. Duplication of *k* is denoted by a horizontal bar in the middle of the letter in the expression *Pūllamukki* in line 3. The **orthographical** peculiarity of doubling the consonant after *r* may be observed in the Sanskrit expressions, *varttamāna* in line 2, and *pūrvvaka* in line 5, and also in the compound *Vaṅganūr-vvishayaṁbu* in line 2.

The **language** is Telugu except for the imprecatory verse at the end in Sanskrit. The word *emmadi* (line 4) seems to stand for *enbadi*. *Bhaṭārala* (line 2) is the Telugu genetive plural form of the Sanskrit expression *Bhaṭṭāraka*.

The inscription belongs to the reign of *Śrī-Prithvīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya of the Western Chālukya** dynasty of Bādāmi and is dated in his **fourth regnal year.** Since this king's reign commenced in 696 A.C., we may equate his 4th

[1] It is registered as No. 14 of the *ARIE* for 1947-48 and noticed in the year's report.

year with 699-700 A.C. At this time a Vāṇarāja was governing the Vaṅganūr *vishaya*. The **object** of the epigraph is to record a gift of eighty units of cultivable land as *pannāsa* in the village Peṇukaparuti by Pūllamukki Bōḷakaṇamayāru. It was made with due ceremony after the announcement of the royal order to the effect in the presence of Chappiḷirāja and the residents of two villages. The donee who received the gift was Kumāraśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

The primary interest of the epigraph lies in the fact that it is one of the few records belonging to the early part of Vijayāditya's reign. Furthermore, it is the earliest dated inscription of the king so far discovered in the Telugu country. Besides, it also affords a glimpse into the political condition of the Āndhra *dēśa* under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and their feudatories of the Bāṇa extraction. From the provenance of the inscriptions discovered in parts of the Districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur and further as far as Nellore,[1] it is gathered that the authority of these Chālukya rulers extended over a large portion of the Āndhra country. The major part of this territorial acquisition appears to have been effected by Pulakēśin II in the course of his triumphant expeditions in the eastern and the southern quarters.[2] Highly interesting in this context is the information furnished by an inscription from Peddavaḍugūru[3] in the Gooty *taluk* of the Anantapur District, which has been assigned to the time of Pulakēśin II. The epigraph seems to indicate that the chiefs of the Bāṇa family were ruling in this area in a semi-independent position before the advent of the Chālukya conqueror who vanquished them and reduced them to subordination. Ever since that time the Bāṇas seem to have accepted the suzerainty of the Chālukyas and served them as their loyal vassals.[4]

The name of the Bāṇa chief who is said to be administering the area of the Vaṅganūr *vishaya*, apparently as a subordinate of Vijayāditya, is not specified in our record. From an inscription at Koṇḍupalli[5] in the Gooty *taluk* of the Anantapur District, dated the 23rd year of Vijayāditya, we know that Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja was governing the Turumara *vishaya*. It is probable that Vāṇarāja or Bāṇarāja of our epigraph is identical with the Bāṇa chief of the Koṇḍupalli inscription. But considering the diversity of regions under the authority of these chiefs and also the interval of nearly 20 years between the dates of these records, the possibility that the two might be different, though members of the same family, is not ruled out. Chappiḷirāja, in whose presence the gift was made, appears to have been a local authority of some importance. The record was incised by Kañchagāla.

As for the **place-names**, the Vaṅganūr *vishaya* may be identified with the region roundabout the present-day village Vaṅganūru in the Tadpatri *taluk*.[6] The village Peṇukaparuti or Peṇukaparu containing the gift land might have been situated near the present-day Kottūru. The same village appears to have been referred to as Penukalapāḍu in a late inscription of the place, dated in 1514 A.C.[7] It seems to have been wiped out of existence subsequently.[8]

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[1] *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, 1904, para. 16; 1906, para. 40; 1921, paras. 1-2; 1934, para. 2.

[2] Compare *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXIX (1951), pp. 161-62.

[3] *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 46.

[4] Compare *Journal of Indian History* (op. cit), p. 162. We may incidentally note that a family of chiefs who called themselves 'the Bāṇas of Khāṇḍavamaṇḍala ' has been discovered by the author during his explorations in the Hyderabad State. They were ruling as the feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa in the 11th and 12th centuries in the vicinity of Maḷkhēḍ in the Gulbarga District; see *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XXI, pp. 98 ff. It is of interest also to note that a princess of the Hebbāṇa or Perbāṇa family, by name Dēvalabbe, figures as a donor in an inscription at Lakkuṇḍi, Gadag *taluk*, Dharwar District; B. K. Coll., No. 47 of 1926-27.

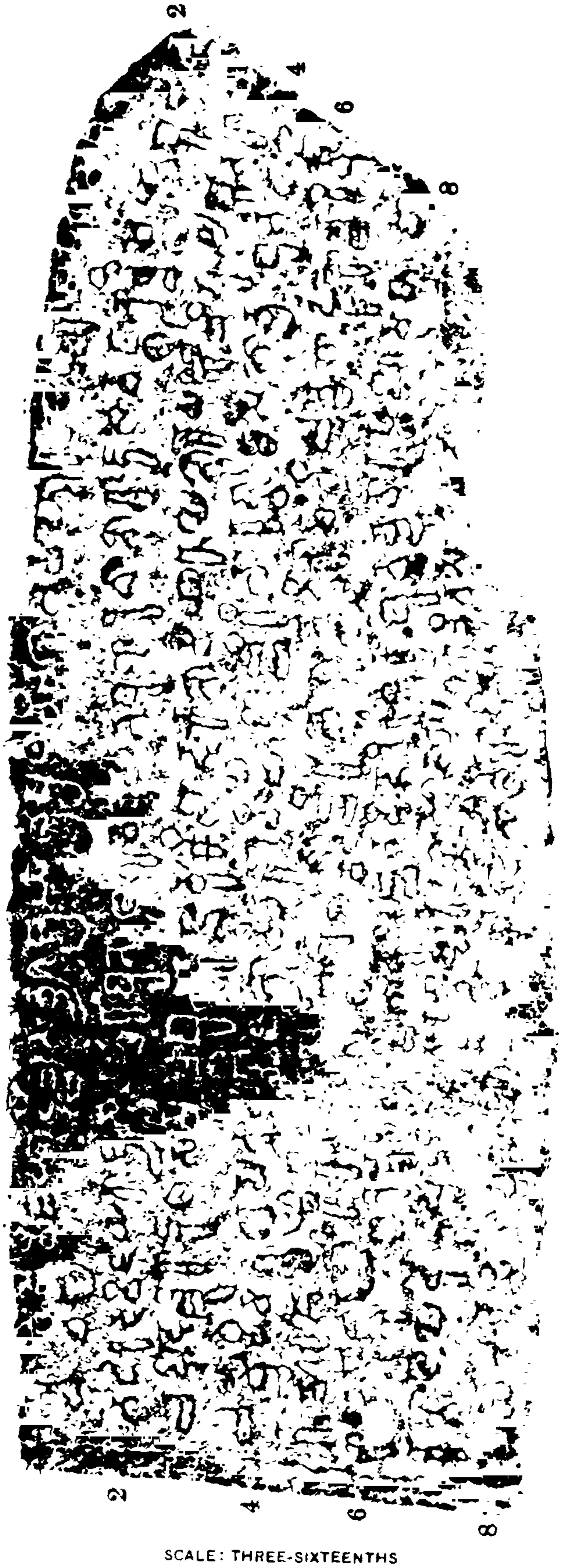
[5] *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 23.

[6] Vaṅganūru has yielded two inscriptions of later times, one of the Vijayanagara king Vijaya-Bukkamahārāya and another of Śaka 1429, Prabhava (=1507 A.C.); *ARIE* for 1950-51, Appendix B, Nos. 202 and 201 respectively.

[7] Ibid., for 1947-48, Appendix B, No. 13.

[8] It is worthy of note that all the antiquities of the place were found near modern Kottūru only.

KOTTURU INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA; YEAR 4



SCALE: THREE-SIXTEENTHS

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti [|*] Śrī-**Vijayāditya**-satyāśraya-śrī-prithuvīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-

2 bhaṭāraḷa-vijaya-rājya-**saṁvatsaraṁbu** **nālugu** varttamānaṁbugā[nu] Vāṇarājul Vaṅganūr-vvishaya[ṁ]bu ēḷa[n]

3 Chappiḷe[nṟu][2]-rājula samakshaṁbuna Pūllamukki Bōḷakaṇamayāru Peṇukapaṟuti-pule[ṁ]-buna rā[cha]....

4 e[mbha]di ma[3].... pannāsa rājaśrāvitaṁ kāviñchi ichchiri [|*] Bhāradvāja-sagōtra[ṁ]buna Uñcha[4]......

5 Kumāraśa[rmmā]riki udakapūrvva[ṅkē]si[5] ichchiri [|*] Bhōga-vriddhi-kā[mani] enṟagoṭṭu-konṟūri mu......

6 koṟunā[ṟlu] inu[vū]ri [sā]kshigānu ichchinadi [||*] Dēniki vakra[ṁ]bu vachchuvāru pañcha-mahāpāta......

7 ka[ngāḍe] peḍuṅku pū ...di [||*] [Sva]dattā[m=pa]radattām = vā(ttāṁvā) yō harēti(ta) vasu-[ṁdharāṁ shashṭiṁ varshasaha]..........

8 [jā]yatē krimiḥ [||] Vipra [si]..tu..Ka[ñcha]gārlu koṭṭiri [||*]

No. 15—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF KADAMBA TRIBHUVANAMALLA ; SAKA 1028

(*1 Plate*)

P. B. Desai, Ootacamund

The existence of a few sets of copper-plate records[6] in the possession of a respectable gentleman in the western part of the Dekkan was reported to the Government Epigraphist for India. Proceeding on this information photographs of these inscriptions were secured in November 1949. One of them is the present charter,[7] which I edit here with the kind permission of the above authority.

The set consists of three plates, each measuring approximately 9 inches long and 6 inches broad. They are strung on a ring the ends of which are fixed into the bottom of a worn-out seal which seems to contain the figure of a lion and a legend which cannot be read. The rims of the plates are raised to protect the writing which is well-preserved. The inner sides of the first and

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[1] From impressions.

[2] The engraving of this letter is rather peculiar. Chappiḷi seems to be the name of the chief. Compare the place-name Chirppuḷi in another Bāṇa inscription ; *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 1.

[3] This word might be *maṟutu* or some similar expression, the latter part of which is damaged.

[4] This expression might be Uñcharu or Uñchari, probably denoting a place. The expressions Uñcharu and Uñchar are met with in another Bāṇa record of the same area ; *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 47.

[5] Read *-pūrvvakaṁ chēsi*.

[6] Some of these records are fairly early and highly interesting. They have been noticed briefly in this journal ; see above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 338 ff.

[7] It is registered as No. 55 of 1949-50 of the copper-plate collection of the office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India. This inscription is published without plates by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, pp. 45 ff.

the third plate and both sides of the second plate are engraved. The record comprises 47 lines and these are distributed as follows: 12 each on the first three sides and the remaining 11 on the fourth.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 11th century. A characteristic feature of the writing worthy of notice is that a slight vertical stroke looking like a hook is attached to the left of the top line of almost all letters. The hook is placed on both sides of the letters *k* and *j* (line 2) and *u* (line 25). Another tendency which is found in other inscriptions also of this period is the insertion of a vertical stroke with a slanting bar attached towards the right at the end of some lines (lines 2, 5, 22, etc.). This was meant to serve, it seems, the dual purpose of filling in the small gap as well as indicating the incompleteness of the last word. The form of initial *i* in lines 23 and 33 is worth noting. It is made up of two dots at the top subscribed by the sign for medial *u*. *Pṛishṭhamātrās* are often used to denote medial *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au*. The *avagraha* sign is consistently omitted. *V* is generally substituted for *b* and *s* is written for *ś* occasionally; for instance, *vra(bra)hmā-* (l. 1), *kadamva(mba)* (l.2), *srīḥ* (*śrīḥ*) (l. 1), *sā(śā)ntibhaṭṭō*=(l. 17). *Anusvāra* at the end of a word is combined and involved into *sandhi* with the following *akshara*; e.g., *dēvan=tatō* (line 7), *rājñān=dharmmā-*(line 11). The consonant following *r* is generally doubled; e.g., *nirjjitya* (line 6). The last two lines betray a different hand and they were probably engraved some time later than the main record.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the compositon in verse throughout. The verses are 47 in all and all of them, with the exception of the 43rd which occurs in the usual imprecatory portion, are in the *Anushṭubh* metre. The record contains a few mistakes of spelling and grammar, which have been corrected in the body of the text or in the footnotes.

The inscription opens with the auspicious symbol and the syllable *śrīḥ*. The first verse invokes god Vishṇu. The second verse concisely recounts the birth of Trilōchana (i.e., Three-eyed) Kadamba, the progenitor of the Kadamba family, from the heroic fervour (*vīra-rasa*) of the god Śiva when he won a victory over Tripura. This account differs in certain respects from the familiar version according to which Trilōchana Kadamba sprang from a drop of sweat of Śiva falling on the earth under a *kadamba* tree.[1] Verses 3-5 describe the three generations of Kadamba rulers, Shashṭha, his son Jayakēśin and grandson **Tribhuvanamalla,** along with the succession of their subordinate officials, viz., Kālapa, his son Nāgaṇa and grandson Kēlima. Kēlima bore the title *Gaṇḍagōpāla.* He vanquished the enemies on the fields of battle and, favoured by his master, founded charitable institutions at (*the city of*) Gōpaka. He constructed a tank called Gaṇḍagōpāla and established a well-protected settlement of the Brāhmaṇas (*Brahmapurī*) (verses 6-7). Verses 8-21 contain details regarding the twelve families of the Brāhmaṇas who were invited to reside in the new settlement. On **Śaka 1028, Vyaya, Phālguna śu. 13, Thursday,** corresponding to **February 7, 1107 A. C.,** when king **Tribhuvanamalla** was ruling the kingdom from Gōpaka, the pious minded Kēlivarmā, i.e., Kēlima, made several benefactions in favour of the Brāhmaṇas hailing from different parts of the country, in the presence of the king along with his priest, the chief minister and the representatives of the towns and rural areas (*paura-jānapada*) (verses 22-24). Verses 25-36 describe in detail the various fields, gardens and houses purchased by Kēlima in different places in the Goa region for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas. Verses 37-40 specify the rules formulated by Kēlima for the equitable enjoyment of the properties by the beneficiaries and their successors and the fines enjoined upon their violators. Then follow the usual imprecatory verses (43-45). The charter was drafted by the poet [Pa]dmēyabhaṭṭa who was the royal preceptor (verse 46). Verses 41-42 and 47 collectively speak of a temple of Bhāratī or Vāgdēvī (i.e., Goddess of Speech) and provision made therein for religious discourses. A piece of land was granted to the goddess and her worshipper received a house.

[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I; part ii, p. 566.

The epigraph belongs to the **Goa branch** of the later **Kadamba family** and is the **first copper-plate record** so far known, **issued by king Tribhuvanamalla** whose identity we shall consider presently. Before doing this it would be useful to take into account some new facts brought to light by recent epigraphical discoveries concerning some of the early members of this family.

The "tiger-slayer" Gūhalla, Gūhala or Gūvala I appears to be the real founder of the Goa branch of the Kadambas, though the Marcella plates seem to furnish the names of a few more ancestors of the family.[1] For Gūhala I and his son and successor Shashṭha I we have no reliable contemporary records.[2] In the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* for the years 1939-40 to 1942-43 a number of inscriptions from Sōmanaḷḷi and Yasaḷe in the Sirsi *taluk*, North Kanara District, have been listed.[3] These range in date from Śaka 891 to 91̥5 (i.e., 969 to 992 A.C.) and refer to the rule of Chaṭṭayadēva over Banavāse Twelve-thousand and Sāntaḷige Thousand. As the sway of Shashṭha I of the Goa family never extended over the above territory, we have to identify Chaṭṭaya of these epigraphs with his namesake of the Hāngal branch of the Kadambas.[4]

Jayakēśin I and his elder son Gūhala II are represented by a good number of inscriptions.[5] Gūvala of the Kādarōḷi inscription of 1098 A.C., noticed by Fleet, has to be identified with Gūhala II. Jayakēśin I had a younger son named Vijayāditya,[6] no records of whose reign have been discovered so far. In spite of the fact that we are in possession of not less than half a dozen records testifying to the rule of Gūhala II at least from 1079 to 1125 A. C., it is rather strange to note that he is not generally mentioned in the inscriptions of Vijayāditya's son, Jayakēśin II and his successors. These might make us think that Jayakēśin I was succeeded to the kingdom by Vijayāditya who in turn by Jayakēśin II.[7] But the facts as revealed by contemporary records seem to be otherwise. The absence of Vijayāditya's records can be explained on the assumption that he did not rule for any considerable length of time probably on account of his premature death. On the contrary the existence of the records of his son Jayakēśin II from 1104 A. C. onwards right within the reign of Gūhala II, would indicate that the latter had no issue and that the former was associated earlier with the latter's rule.[8]

Reverting to our record we note that it mentions the king merely as **Tribhuvanamalla** which is obviously a title. That this title was borne by **Gūhala II** is made clear by two inscriptions

[1] The Panjim plates of Jayakēśin I, examined in 1951-52 by the Office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India, Murgōḍ plates of Permāḍidēva (*An. Reps. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 282) and Goa plates of Shashthadēva II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 289), besides others (e.g., *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 266), commence the genealogy from Gūhala only. Basing his interpretation on the faulty reading of the Marcella plates which require to be edited more scientifically, Prof. G. M. Moraes thinks that this Gūhala was preceded by Kaṇṭakāchārya, Nāgavarmā, Gūhala I and Shashṭha I. A careful examination of the published text and translation of this record (*Kadamba Kula*, App. III, No. 1) will make one entertain genuine doubts regarding his deductions. Consequently his genealogy (op. cit., facing p. 167) seems to represent one Gūhala and one Shashṭha in excess.

[2] The earlier portion of the Guḍikaṭṭi inscription may be assigned to Shashṭha I, but its genuineness is not beyond question; see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 567.

[3] Appendix E, Nos. 66, 67, 84 and 86-91.

[4] Compare *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 95 ff.; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 560-61. Prof. Moraes' assumption that *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 184 furnishes the earliest date in 980 A. C. for Chaṭṭaya of the Hāngal family is not free from doubt, for the date and the chief's name are both missing therein. It is now seen that the Sōmanaḷḷi inscription of 969 A. C. is the earliest authentic epigraph so far known mentioning this chief; see *An. Reps.* etc. (op. cit.), App. E. No. 69. The name Shashṭha is changed to Chaṭṭa in Kannaḍa usage.

[5] *SII*, Vol. XI, part ii, Intro. p. iii.

[6] Above, Vol. XIII, p. 299.

[7] See for instance *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, pp. 272-73 and 282-83; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 289. The correct position of Gūhala II in the genealogical account of the family is revealed by the Narēndra inscription; see above, Vol. XIII, p. 299.

[8] *SII*, Vol. XI, part ii, Intro. p. iii.

from Mugad.[1] This fact combined with the date which falls within the reign of Gūhala II, as seen above, leaves no doubt in regard to the identity of this Tribhuvanamalla who must be none else than the said Kadamba ruler.

An inscription at Maḍaki Honnaḷḷi in the Kalghatgi *taluk*, Dharwar District, copied by me in 1951-52, introduces a Kadamba chief named Śivachitta-Vīra-Permāḍi and refers to his rule over Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred and Halasige twelve-thousand from his headquarters Chandrāpura. It bears a date in Śaka 1018, Dhātu, corresponding to 1096 A. C. This prince might be Gūhala II as suggested by the date and the title Permāḍi which is often found in association with Tribhuvanamalla.[2] It may now be observed that the well-known surname **Śivachitta Permāḍi** of Jayakēśin II's elder son was not an innovation but an adoption after that of his senior grandfather Gūhala II.[3] In regard to Chandrāpura (or Chandrapura[4]) of the above epigraph, which is identical with Chandor in Salsette, we may note that it was the early headquarters of these chiefs and continued to remain so in the time of Gūhala II, although some later records incorrectly speak of even Jayakēśin I as residing in their subsequent capital at Gōpaka or Goa.[5]

The twelve families of Brāhmaṇas representing the donees belonged to the following *gōtras* : one family each of Śaṅkha, Bhālandana, Bhāradvāja, Bharadvāja[6] and Atri ; two families each of Vatsa and Śāṇḍilya and three of Kauśika. The record enumerates three generations of each donee and the hereditary offices held by them, which were generally associated with the royal household, such as the Paurāṇika, astrologer, superintendent of religious affairs, priest (*purōhita*), preceptor, educational instructor and specialist in sacrificial lore (*yājñika-pravara*). Noteworthy are the attributes characterising some of them, as for instance, Dvivēdin, Ghaisāsa and Paṭṭavardhana.

The stipulations laid down for the enjoyment of the endowment are interesting. All the lands and houses were to be treated as the common property and the income accruing therefrom was to be distributed equally among the twelve families. The seller and purchaser of a part of it were liable to a fine of five-hundred (coins). A member was entitled to his share so long as he remained in the settlement. In case he left the place his portion was to be enjoyed by the rest ; and the deserter was liable to a fine, if he claimed his share. A new person could be accommodated in the vacant house with the consent of all the residents in general and the neighbour in particular. Violation of this rule entailed punishment.

The term *Bṛihat-Bhairava-Gadyāṇa* occurring in line 30 is of particular interest to the students of numismatics. Two similar terms *Bhairava-Nishka* and *Bhairava-Gadyāṇa* are met with in lines 41-42 of the Panjim plates of Jayakēśin I.[7] The denominations *nishka* and *gadyāṇa* are used here to denote a gold coin in general.[8] From the discovery of gold coins bearing the legend *Malege Bhairava* in the Goa territory and also from the same legend found on the seal of the above-mentioned copper-plates, we can safely conclude that these were issued by the Kadamba rulers of

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[1] Ibid., Nos. 177 and 211.

[2] The title *Tribhuvanamalla* and the surname *Permāḍi* are both associated with Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and Gūhala II seems to have assumed them after his suzerain.

[3] Gūhala is also mentioned as Gōpāla in an inscription from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ; *ASR*, 1936-37, p. 99. This shows that Gūhala and Gūvala are both derived from the Sanskrit Gōpāla. Gōpaka or Goa, the headquarters of these chiefs, is also reminiscent of the Puranic name.

[4] The Siroda plates of Dēvarāja mention a Chandrapura (or Chandraūra) as his capital (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 145). It is not unlikely that this Chandrapura and the Chandrāpura of the Maḍaki Honnaḷḷi epigraph are the same. If this be correct, it will take the antiquity of the place a few centuries earlier.

[5] *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 168-69, 179 and 332.

[6] Bharadvāja and Bhāradvāja are apparently considered as different *gōtras* ; cf. *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, pp. 40 and 51.

[7] 1951-52 collection of the G. E.'s office ; *BISMQ* (op. cit.), Vol. XXXI, No. 4, p. 38.

[8] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 181-82 ; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 10.

Goa.[1] The *Bṛihat-Bhairava-Gadyāṇa* of the present charter must therefore be a gold coin of the *Bhairava* category, bigger in size than the normal one.

Of lexical interest is the word *pāṅga* in line 27. It occurs in a similar context in the Panjim plates of Jayakēśin I (line 42). In this record it is stated that the donee Chhaḍama was to pay as *pāṅga* a fixed amount every year for the village Laghumōraṁbikā which he received as gift from the king. The expression is not found in Sanskrit or Prakrit. It may, however, be connected with the Kannaḍa *paṅgu* meaning 'obligation' or 'indebtedness'. This suggestion is supported by the context which shows that the ground for the collection of *pāṅga* or fee was obligation.[2] The word has passed into the Marāṭhī language and is used in expressions like *pāṁga phēḍaṇēṁ* (to discharge the debt).

Adverting to the large number of **place names** found in the record, many of them can be traced with their modified forms in the Goa region; for instance, Gōpaka or Gōva (lines 6, 22, 24) is Goa, Paḥjaṇikhali (line 3) is Panjim, Shaṭshashṭi (line 32) is identical with Salsette and Maṭhagrāma (line 46) is Margaon.[3]

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[5] srīḥ(śrīḥ |) Śriyaḥ patiḥ śriyē bhūyād=bhavatāṁ bhakti-bhāvitaḥ | Vra(Bra)hmādi-sura-saṁdōhō yan-manīshā-vijṛiṁbhitaṁ (tam) || [1*] Tripu[raṁ]

2 jayataḥ Śaṁbhōr=abhūd=vīra-rasāt=pumān | Tritō(lō)chana-Kadamv-ā(mb-ā)khyaḥ kad-amva(mba)-taru-saṁśrayāt || [2*] Tad-anvayē=bhūt=pra-

3 khyātaḥ Shashṭha-rājō nṛip-āgraṇīḥ | grāmē Paḥjaṇikhaly-ākhyē tad-bhṛityaḥ Kālapō=py=abhūt || [3*] Jajñē Shashṭha-

4 nṛipāt=khyātō Jayakēsī(śī) jay-aika-bhūḥ | tad-rājya-dhuryō bhṛityō=bhūn=Nāgānaḥ[6] Kālap-ātmajaḥ || [4*] Tasmān=nṛipāt=Tri-

5 bhuvanamallō nām=ōkta-vikramaḥ | tad-bhṛityō Gaṇḍagōpāla-Kēlimō Nāgaṇād=abhūt || [5*] Anēkaśō=ti-duḥ-

6 sā[dhā]n=ripūn=nirjjitya saṁgarē | patyuḥ prasādād=akarōt=pūrttān=dharmmā[ṁ]s=tu Gō-pakē || [6*] Taḍāga[ṁ] Gaṇḍa-

7 gōpāladēvan=ta[t-sē]tu-sa[ṁ]śritaṁ | chakrē vra(bra)hmapurī[ṁ] ramya-harmmyāṁ prākāra-maṇḍitām || [7*] ||

8 Grāmāt=Kisūrād=Aṇṇayya-bhaṭṭō=smāt=Pommaṇ-āryakaḥ | Sōm-āryō=smād=atharvvāṇō mukhyāḥ śāntika-paushṭi[kē] [|| 8*]

9 Tach-chhākhō Mā[dha]v-āryō=smin=Rēvadāsa(sō) vu(bu)dhas=tataḥ | tasmāj=Jayanta-bhaṭṭō=bhūd=rājñāṁ Paurāṇikās=tv=amī || [9*] Grā-

[1] Cf. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. IX, pp. 88-89. For the use of the word *nishka* in the Kadamba coinage, see ibid., p. 90.

[2] I have interpreted the expression *pāṅga* in a different way elsewhere; Cf. *Myth. Soc. Journ.*, Vol. XLV p. 2 f. On further consideration I would rather discard that interpretation in favour of the above.

[3] Mr. Khare has made a careful study of the place-names and suggested their identifications in detail; see *BISMQ* (op. cit.), pp. 51-52.

[4] From photographs.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] This name is spelt as Nāgaṇa in the next verse, which seems to be the correct form.

10 mād=Āmvra(mra)vaṇāt=Sāviṇāryō=smāt=sā(ch=chhā)nta-daivavit | tasmān=Mayyāla-daivajñō rājñāṁ sā[ṁ*]vatsarās=tv=amī || [10*] Vē-

11 ragrāmāt=Sōma-bhaṭṭas=tasmān=Mhālayya-dīkshitaḥ | tasmā[d=*] Dvivēd=Īśvar-āryō rājñān=dharmm-ādhikāriṇaḥ || [11*] Pa-

12 ramēśvara-sa[ṁ*]bhūtād=Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇād=abhūt | Kēśav-āryō=tha Sōm-āryō bhūpā-nāṁ guravas=tv=amī || [12*] Grāmāt=Pi-

Second Plate ; First Side

13 [1][tpi]riyalād=Ajjam-āryō=smān=Nāga-daivavit | tasmād=Vāmana-bhaṭṭō=bhūd=rājñāṁ vaidy-āśvavādinaḥ || [13*] Grāmāt=Si-

14 rūrāt=Tikkayya-ghaisāsād=Vāman-āryakaḥ | tasmād=Ajjama-bhaṭṭō=bhūd=rājñām=ētē pur-ōhitāḥ || [14*] Kulatth[ā]-

15 lyāṁ Mhālap-āryas=tasmān=Nārāyaṇ-āryakaḥ | tasmān=Mhālayya-vid=rājñāṁ vidyāyāṁ guravas=tv=amī || [15*] Tatr=aiva Mhā-

16 lap-āryō=nyas=tasmād=Bhaṭṭas=Trivikramaḥ | tasmān=Nārāyaṇ-āryō=mī rājñān=dharmm-ā-dhikāriṇaḥ || [16*] Grāmāt=Ka-

17 pilakād=Vāsal-āryād=Vātayya-vēdavit | tasmād=Ajjala-ghaisāsō Vēdē=mī paṭṭavarddha-nāḥ || [17*] Tatr=aiva Sā(Śā)nt[i-bha]-

18 ṭṭō=nyas=tasmāt=Pattayya-vēdavit | tasmād=Gōvinda-kramavid=yajvanāṁ paṭṭavardd-hanāḥ || [18*] Tatr=aiva Vēda-

19 dvaya-vid=Gōvindād=Vishṇu-paṇḍitaḥ | tasmād=Gōviṁda-dvivēdī yājñika-pravarās=tv=amī || [19*] Śaṁkhō

20 Bhāla[ṁ*]danaś=ch=aiva Bhāradvājō=tha Kauśikau[2] | Bharadvājō=tha Vatsaś=cha Śāṁḍi-lyau dva(Va)tsa-jā[s=tra]yaḥ || [20*] Kauśi-

21 kō=trir=amūny=ēshāṁ gōtrāṇi dvādaśa kra[mā]t ||[3] [21*] Śākē varsha-sahasrē=shṭāviṁśatyā saṁyutē Vyayē | Varshē Phālgu-

22 na-śuddhāyāṁ Trayōdaśyāṁ Gurōr=dinē || [22*] Gōpaka-sthē Tribhuvanamallē rājyaṁ praśāśa(sa)ti | Svāmi-kārāpaka

23 iva Kēḷivarmmā tu da(dha)rmmadhīḥ || [23*] Purō[hi]ta-mahāmātya-svāmi-bhūpāla-sannidhau | nānā-dēśa-samāyāta-

24 Vrā(Brā)hmaṇān=sannidhāpya cha | [|24*] paura-jānapad-ānanta-nāgarān=sannidhāpya cha | Gōvadīv-ābhi[dhē] dēśē grāmē Raṭṭhōḍa-

Second Plate ; Second Side

25 Nēurē | Pūgīvanaṁ śatād=Dēvāt=kṛitvā prādān=namasyakaṁ (kam) || [25*][4] Kulatthāly-udbhavān=Mālapayyāt=Sāmanta-putrakāt |

26 [5][Pa]la-grāmē tv=Asaul=īti śatāt=kṛitvā namasyakaṁ || [26*] Tad-grāmāt=Sōnnāra[jva]-vī-Chiṁchakhaṇḍ=īti pālaṇaṁ | śatā-

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[1] The *akshara tpi* is engraved again inadvertently. So the place name must be Piriyala only.

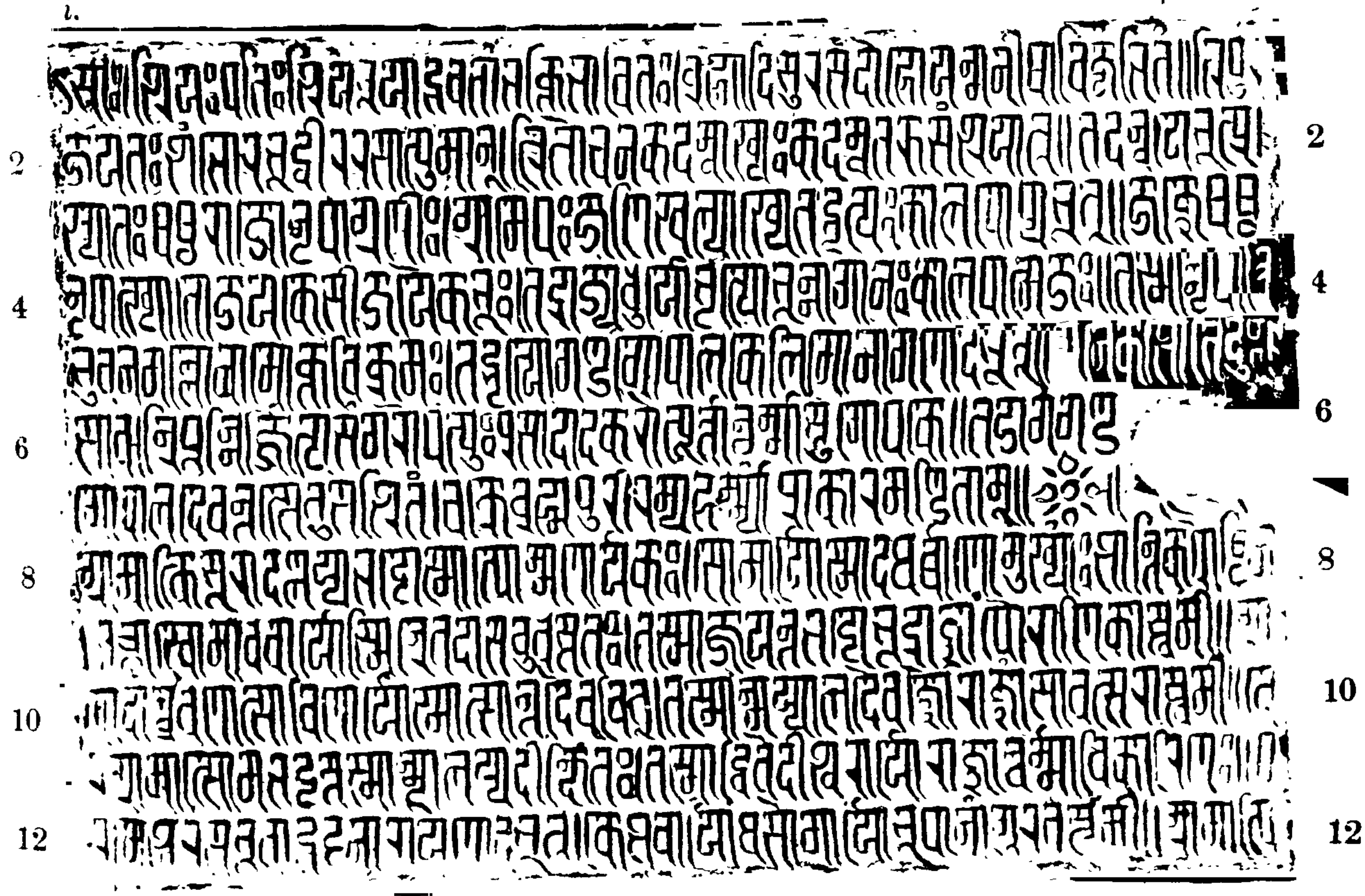
[2] This *akshara* appears to have been engraved as *kaḥ* first and later corrected to *kau*.

[3] The two strokes here seem to denote the end of the verse which, however, contains only two *pādas*.

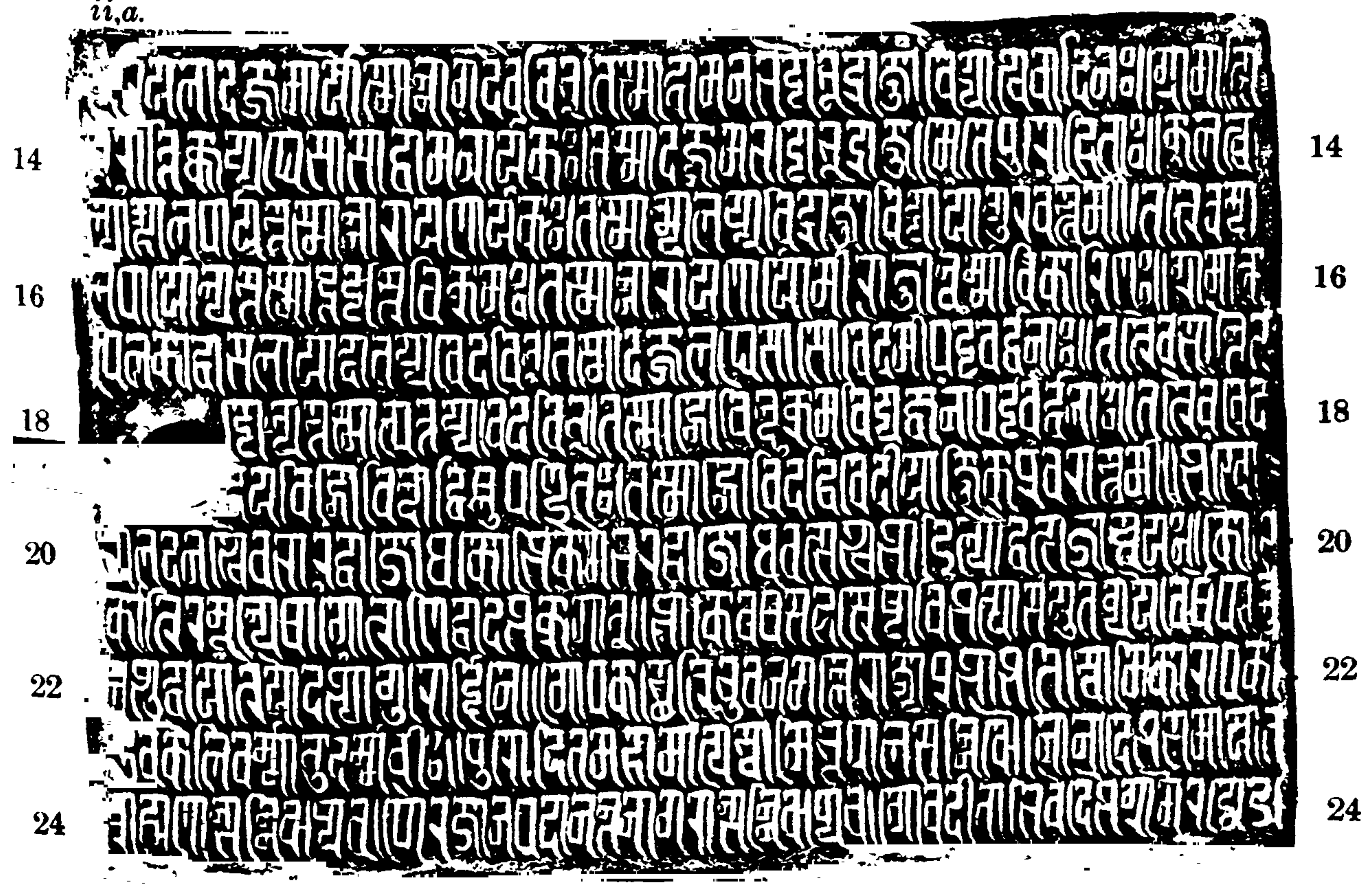
[4] The deficiency in verse 21 is made good by allotting six *pādas* to this verse.

[5] The letter *pa* looks like *ē*.

i.

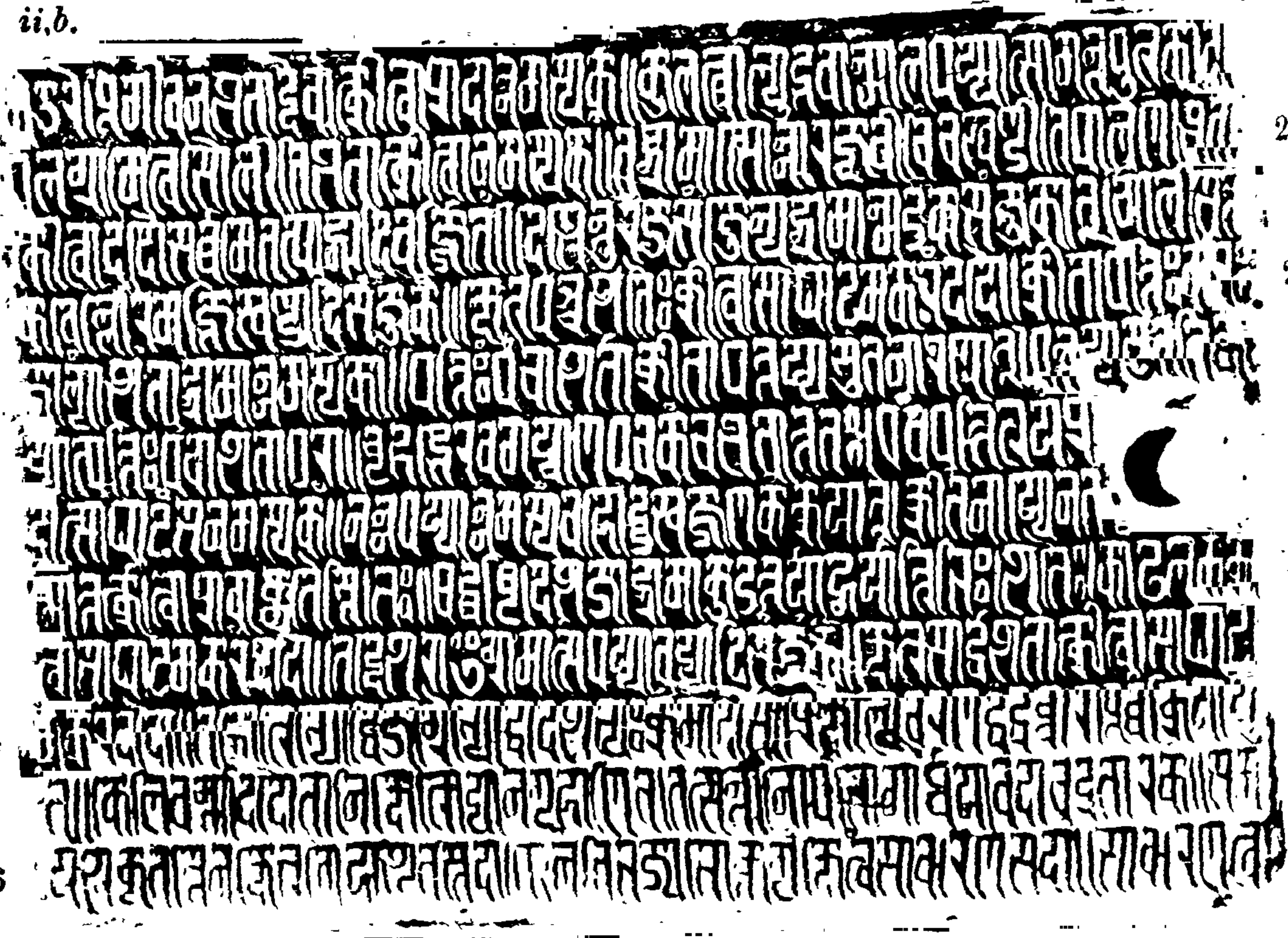


ii,a.

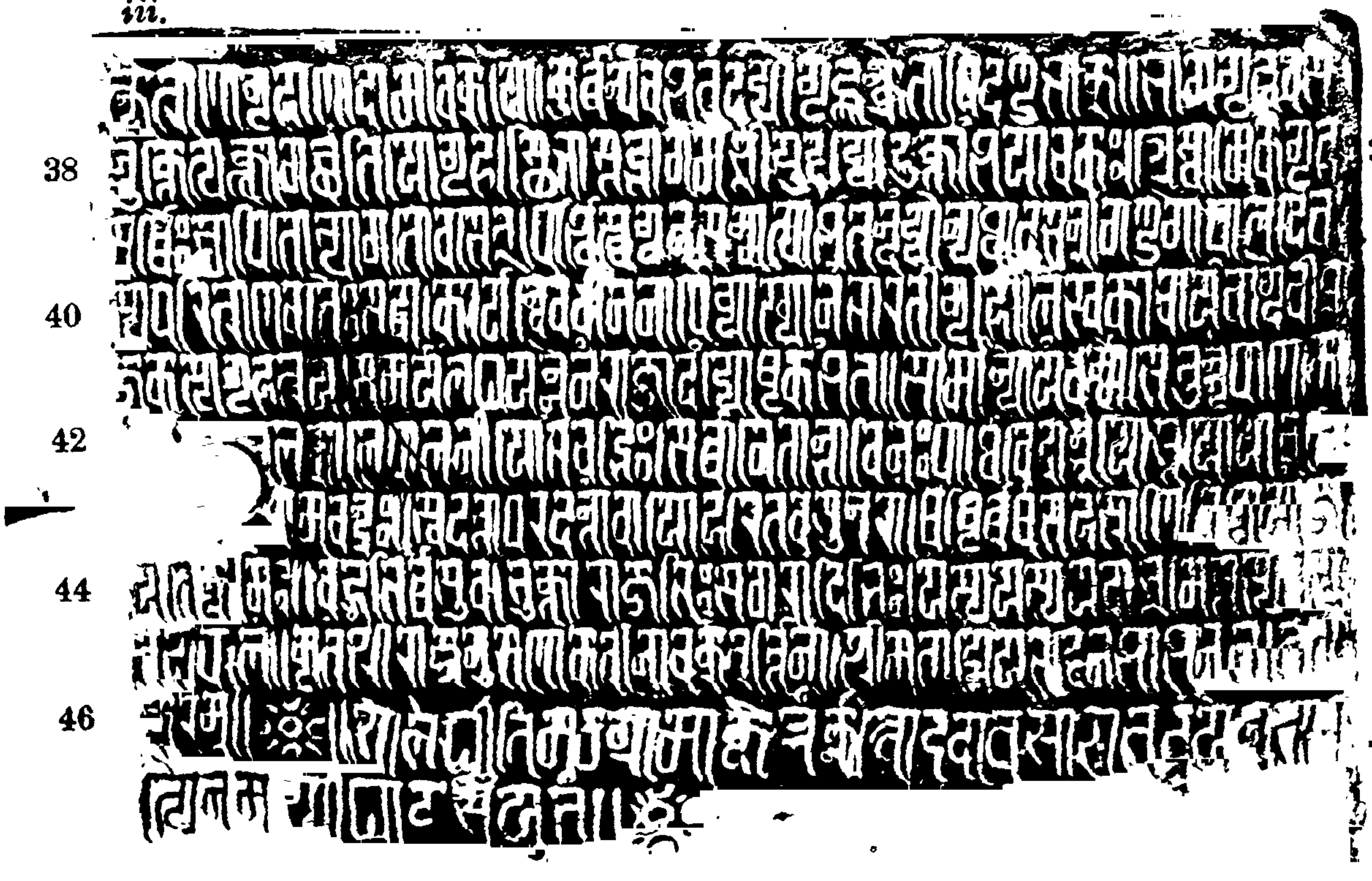


(From photographs)

ii,b.



iii.



27 t=krītvā dadau sarvvam=ētat=pāṅg-ādi-varjjitaṁ || [27*] Dēśē=nturaja-saṁjñē=nyad=grāmān=Maḍaka-saṁjñakāt | Gālīśanta-

28 ka-Vēllōra-Ma[jjhi]khaṇḍ-ādi-saṁjñakaṁ || [28*] Kshētra[ṁ*] pañcha-śataiḥ krītvā s-āghāṭam=akaraṁ dadau | krītā pattiḥ [Ka]raḥ-

29 jālyāṁ śatād=grāmān=namasyakāṁ(n) || [29*] Pattiḥ paṁchāśatā krītā Pattayya-suta-Nāraṇāt | Pattayya-suta-Tikka-

30 yyāt=pattiḥ paṁchāśat=āparā || [30*] Vṛi(Bṛi)had-Bhairava-gadyāṇa-paṁchakaṁ cha śatāt=tataḥ | ēvaṁ patti-trayaṁ prā-

31 dāt=s-āghāṭaṁ sa-namasyakaṁ (kam) || [31*] Nannapayyān=namasyaṁ cha Hoḍḍakhajjaṇakaṁ krayāt | krītaṁ Nāyyēna ta-

32 smāt=tat=krītvā prādāch=chhatais=[tribhi]ḥ || [32*] Shaṭshashṭi-dēśajād=grāmā Ku(t=Ku)-ḍattary-āhvayāt=tribhiḥ | śataiḥ Kōṁḍhalakaṁ krī-

33 tvā s-āghāṭam=akaraṁ dadau || [33] Tad-dēśa-Rāigrāmāt=sa Payyāvayy-ādi-saṁjñakaṁ (kam) | kshētra[ṁ] s-ārddha-śatāt=krītvā s-āghāṭa-

34 m=akaraṁ dadau || [34*] Tad-gōtrēbhyō dvij-āgrēbhyō dvādaśabhyaḥ kramād=asau | prakshālya charaṇa-dvaṁdva[ṁ*] dhdhā(dhā)rāpūrvva[ṁ] kriyā-yu-

35 taṁ (tam) || [35*] Kēlivarmmā dadau tāni kshētr-ōdyāna-gṛihāṇi cha | tat-santān-ōpabhōgār-thaṁ yāvad-ā-chaṁdra-tārakaṁ (kam) || [36*] Sama-

36 yaś=cha kṛitas=tēna kshētra-gēh-āśṛi(śri)tas=tadā | phalaṁ vibhajya bhōktavyaṁ kshē-tvaṁ(traṁ) sādhāraṇaṁ sadā || [37*] Sādhāraṇatvā-

Third Plate

37 t=kshētrāṇāṁ gṛihāṇāṁ dāma(na)-vikrayau | kurvvan=paṁchaśataṁ daṁḍyō gṛihṇan=krētā=pi daṁḍa-bhāk || [38*] Bhāga-gṛihē vasa-

38 n=bhu[ṁ*]ktē tyaktvā gachchati yō gṛiha[ṁ*] | sthitās=tad-bhāgam=aśnīyu[r*=]ddaṁḍyō [bhu]kt-āṁśa-yāchakaḥ || [39*] Asvāmika-gṛiha(hē)

39 sarvvaiḥ sthāpitō=bhyāgatō vasēt | pārśvastha-gṛiha-sammatyā śatan=daṁḍyō=nyathā vasan | [| 40*] Gaṇḍagōpāladēva-

40 sya paritrāṇa-gataiḥ sa[dā] | kār[ya]n=dēva-dhanēn=āpi vyākhyānaṁ Bhāratī-gṛihē || [41*] Lēkhak-āchārya-Vāgdēvī-pū-

41 jakasya gṛiha-traya[ṁ] | samarya(ya)ṁ laṁghayann=ēnaṁ rājñā daṁḍyō=shṭakaṁ śata-[m*] || [42*] Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmmē(mma)-sētur=nṛipāṇā[ṁ*] kā-

42 lē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārthiv-ēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē

43 Rāmachandraḥ || [43*] Sva-dattā[ṁ*] paradantā(ttā)ṁ vā yō harēta vasuna(ndha)rāṁ (rām) | shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jā-

44 yatē kṛimiḥ || [44*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya

45 tadā phalaṁ (lam) || [45*] Kṛitaṁ śrī-rā[ja]-guruṇā kavīnāṁ chakra[va]rttinā | śrīmat-[Pa] dmēyabhaṭṭēna śāśa(sa)naṁ lalit-ā-

46 ksharam || [46*]  || Sōlēgh[r]=iti Maṭhagrāmā[t*] kshētraṁ kritvā dadāv=asau [|*] sa-(śa)ta-dvayēna Bhāra-

47 tyai namasy-āghāṭa-saṁyutaṁ(tam) || [47*]

No. 16—INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

(*2 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the course of my tour in parts of Bihar in February 1954, I examined and copied a number of new inscriptions, some of which are edited in the following pages.

A. *Sanokhār Inscription of Ballālasēna ; Regnal Year 9*

While camping at Colgong (Kahalgāon) about 20 miles from the city of Bhāgalpur in the District of that name, I arranged for a trip to a locality called Belnīgaṛh lying about 18 miles away in the Goḍḍa Subdivision of the Santal Parganas District, with the assistance of Mr. Bholanath Mukherjee of Colgong, and Dr. Lakshmikanta Misra and Mr. Janakinath Misra of Kasḍī (near Colgong). The village of **Sanokhār**, also called Sanokhār Bazār, lies on the way from Colgong to Belnīgaṛh at a distance of about 10 miles from Colgong. At Sanokhār I learnt that sometime back a few images had been discovered there from the bed of an old tank in the course of its re-excavation. I was also told that a bronze or *ashṭa-dhātu* image thus discovered was found under a metal cover bearing an inscription and that arrangements had been made for preserving these two objects in the local temple. Mr. Gangaprasad Tekariwala of Sanokhār kindly took me to the temple and showed me the image and the **inscribed cover.** The image was found to be that of the Sun-god of the usual North Indian type. The cover was completely coated with thick verdigris and it was impossible to read the inscription without cleaning it properly. With some difficulty I managed to secure the inscribed cover on loan. My thanks are due to the said gentlemen for their kindness in thus offering me an opportunity to examine the inscription which, when cleaned and deciphered later, proved to be a record of considerable interest to the student of East Indian history.

The cover, which is made of copper, is hollow and cylindrically shaped in the form of a Śiva-liṅga on a circular pedestal. The thickness of the metal sheets used is about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch. The height of the cover is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The circumference of its central part, which has a diameter of 10 inches, is 32 inches while the circular pedestal has a circumference of 45 inches and a diameter of 14 inches. The whole cover is made up of three separate parts which are rivetted one to the other from above by means of small copper bolts. On the outer side of the cover, both on the top and around the cylindrical portion, are found decorative designs of which those at the top are moulded and those on the body are engraved. The top part is moulded in the form of an expanded eight-petalled lotus with a circular hole in the centre about 1 inch in diameter. Around the outer periphery of the lotus are moulded four rows of decorative designs running along the circumference. The upper part of the cylindrical section is covered with decorations engraved in a row that runs similarly along the circumference. Below this is cut at one place an aperture, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in the shape of the *vṛindā-vana* (a raised mound of earth to plant and preserve the holy basil) as usually made in South India. This hole is flanked by engraved floral designs. A lotus is carved as emanating from the top centre of the aperture and there is another flower engraved above it. Below the aperture are engraved, in one line, seven running horses which clearly associate the cover with the Sun-god. It may be noticed in this connection that such ornamental shelters are now often used in South India as covers of the Śiva-liṅga.[1] On that side of the circular pedestal which is opposite the part of the covering that has the aperture, an inscription is engraved in a single line running along the circumference. The length of the line is about 13 inches. The weight of the inscribed cover is 260 *tolas*.

[1] The practice is also prevalent in North India. The Śiva-liṅga in the Bihārēśvara temple at Sajeti (Ghatampur Tahsil, Kanpur District, U.P.) is known to be usually kept under an inscribed copper cover.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the **Gauḍīya** alphabet and closely resemble the script used in East Indian records of about the twelfth century A.D. such as those of the Sēnas of Bengal and the later Pālas of Bengal and Bihār. The only point of **palaeographical** interest in the epigraph is that the letter *l* has two different forms exactly as in records like the Naulāgaṛh inscription[1] of Vigraphapāla. The language is corrupt Sanskrit as in numerous other records, especially private ones, discovered in different parts of Bihār.[2] The orthography of the inscription under study also resembles that of many other contemporary records from Bihār in exhibiting considerable influence of the East Indian pronunciation.[3]

The record, like the grants of the Pālas and Sēnas, is not dated according to any era. In the corrupt language of the inscription, its date is quoted as *pramēsara-ity-ādi-śrī-Valalaśēṇa-samata 9*. In this passage *pramēsara-ity-ādi* stands for Sanskrit *paramēśvar-ēty-ādi*.[4] We know that the imperial title *Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* or *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*[5] was often condensed in the medieval records, especially of Eastern India, to *Paramēśvar-ētyādi-rāj-āvali-pūrvavat*[6] or *Paramabhaṭṭārak-ēty-ādi-rāj-āvalī-pūrvavat*[7]. Sometimes the word *pūrvaka* was used in the place of *pūrvavat* while at times the expression was further contracted by omitting a word or two from the end. There is no doubt that *Paramēśvar-ēty-ādi* is a more abbreviated form of the imperial title group, exactly as *samast-ēty-ādi*[8] which similarly refers to the epithet *samasta-supraśasty-upēta* often noticed at the beginning of the string of imperial titles, as for instance, in the inscriptions[9] of the later Sēnas. The word *samata* in the passage of our inscription quoted above apparently stands for *Saṁvat* (i.e., *Saṁvatsarē*).[10] Thus the date quoted is the ninth regnal year of an imperial ruler named *Valalaśēṇa*. There can hardly be any doubt that *Valalaśēṇa* is a wrong spelling for *Ballālasēna*. No monarch with the peculiar name Valalaśēṇa is known to have ruled over any part of Eastern India in any period of history while the Sēna king Ballālasēna ruled over Bengal, and also over parts of Bihār according to traditions, in *circa* 1158-79 A.D.,[11] falling in a period to which, as noted above, the inscription under review has to be referred on palaeographical grounds. It may be pointed out that *ś* for *s* is a peculiarity of Bengali pronunciation while the typically South Indian name *Ballāla* is due to the Sēnas having migrated to Bengal from Karṇāṭa, i.e., the Kannaḍa-speaking area of the Deccan. The inscription, dated in the **ninth regnal year of Valalaśēṇa(Ballālasēna)** has therefore to be assigned to **a date about 1166 A.D.**

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[1] *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, p. 4, Plate I, No. 1. Note the different forms of *l* used in the words *pāla* and *Krimilīya* in line 1 of the epigraphic text. Cf. *JRASBL*, Vol. IV, p. 395.

[2] See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 144-45; *JBRS*, op. cit., p. 10, etc.

[3] Cf. *JBRS*, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[4] As to the change of *para* to *pra*, cf. *pti* for *pati* in an inscription from Bihar (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 144). Another inscription, examined by me at Jhāmṭā near Bihārsharif, gives the name *Dāmōdara* as *Dāmōdra*. But such contractions are quite common in the epigraphic and literary records of Orissa. Cf. Oriya *pramēśvara* in the *Madalā Pāñjī*, ed. A.B. Mahanti, p. 31, lines 11, 15, etc.

[5] In the charters of the East Indian monarchs of the Pāla, Sēna and other dynasties, *Paramēśvara* usually comes first; but in the grants of such imperial families as the Gāhaḍavālas we have *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* at the beginning.

[6] Cf. R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V, No. 3), p. 111, etc. For similar contractions used in the grants of the Gāhaḍavālas of the U. P., see H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 541, 545.

[7] R. D. Banerji, op. cit., p. 110; *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XX, p. 372; *JASL*, Vol. XVIII, p. 71, etc.

[8] *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XX, p. 374.

[9] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 124, 136, 145.

[10] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 382 ff.

[11] *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 216-18.

The inscription begins with the usual symbol for *Siddham* which is followed by the passage recording the date discussed above. Next come three short passages separated from one another by double *daṇḍas*. The first of these passages reads *tāmvara-khōli data* and may be rendered into Sanskrit as *tāmra-khōlī* (or °*khōlikā*) *dattā*. This speaks of the gift of a *khōlī* or *khōlikā* made of copper undoubtedly referring to the cover bearing the inscription under notice. In Sanskrit the word *khōla* or *khōlaka* (of which *khōlī* and *khōlikā* would be feminine forms) means 'a helmet (i.e., a cover for the head)' but not actually a 'a cover (in general)' although *khōl* is used in the sense of 'a case or cover' in both Bengali and Hindī. The second and third passages together read *bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Damachāditadēva-padānā* || *maṭha-pati-śrī-Chihōkasya*. In this *padānā* is no doubt a mistake for *pādānāṁ*. It seems therefore that the copper cover mentioned in the first passage belonged to (i.e., was caused to be made by) the *maṭha-pati* named Chihōka and was granted in favour of the illustrious lord Damachādita. The expression *maṭha-pati* means the superintendent of a monastery or the head-priest of a temple. Damachādita seems to be a mistake for Damach-*āditya*, although we are not sure whether even *Damachāditya*, as a name, is free from errors. There is, however, little doubt that the name refers to the image of the Sun-god of Sanokhār of which the object granted, viz., the *tāmvara-khōli*, was meant to be a cover. The image, together with its cover, seems to have been thrown into the waters of the old tank at Sanokhār with a view to saving it from desecration at the hands of the Turkish Musalmans who conquered the Bhāgalpur region of Bihār about the close of the twelfth century not very long after the dedication of the cover about 1166 A.D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it offers, for the first time, definite evidence in favour of Ballālasēna's rule over East Bihār.

Vijayasēna (*circa* 1095-1158 A.D.[1]), the extirpator of Pāla suzerainty from Western and Northern Bengal and of Varman rule from East Bengal and the first imperial ruler of the Sēna dynasty hailing from Karṇāṭa, is stated to have come into conflict with Nānyadēva (1097-1147 A.D.), founder of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā (North Bihār), and with certain powers of the west, against whom he led a naval expedition.[2] It is, however, difficult to determine the amount of success he might have achieved against Nānyadēva whose successors ruled over Mithilā for a long time to come.[3] His grandson Lakshmaṇasēna (*circa* 1179-1206 A.D.) claims success

[1] In the *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 231, circa 1125 A.D. has been quoted as an alternative date of Vijayasēna's accession on the supposition that the date of his Barrackpur plate (above, Vol. XV, pp. 282 ff.; N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 61 ff.) may be the year 32 of his reign. But the correct reading of the date is certainly 62. Bhandarkar (List, No. 1682, note) was inclined to refer the date of the record to the Chālukya-Vikrama era, in which case the year 62 would correspond to 1137-38 A.D. But this is improbable in view of the fact that the inscription applies imperial titles to Vijayasēna who is not expected at that stage to acknowledge his subservience to the Chālukyas by dating his record in their era even if it is supposed that he acknowledged Chālukya suzerainty in the earlier part of his life. The name of Ballālasēna seems to suggest that the Sēnas were related to the Hoysaḷa dynasty in which there were so many Ballālas.

[2] Cf. verses 20-22 of the Deopārā inscription (N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 48). The annexation of North Bengal by Vijayasēna could not have been completed before the eighth regnal year of Madanapāla falling in Śaka 1073 (*circa* 1151 A.D.). Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 207.

[3] In the *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 210 ff., Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the comparative obscurity of Nānyadēva's successors and the popularity of the Lakshmaṇasēna-Saṁvat in Mithilā may point to the genuineness of Vijayasēna's claim of success in North Bihār. These arguments are not conclusive. The epoch of the La-Saṁ falls in the period 1107-19 A.D. long before Lakshmaṇasēna's accession. The era could therefore have been associated with the Sēna king only as the result of a popular confusion. It has to be admitted that Lakshmaṇasēna, with whom the La-Saṁ is associated, was believed to have been an imperial ruler who is sometimes described as the lord of Gauḍa (cf. *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XX, pp. 372-73). These facts no doubt go in favour of such a confusion which, however, does not prove that Lakshmaṇasēna, not to speak of his grandfather Vijayasēna, actually ruled over Mithilā.

against a Gāhaḍavāla king of Kāśī and is credited in the later Sēna records with the planting of pillars of victory at Vārāṇasī and Prayāga (Allahabad) in the dominions of that monarch.[1] Besides these, there is no epigraphic evidence to show that the Sēnas had anything to do with any part of Bihār, in the southern half of which the Pālas are known to have continued to rule till the close of the twelfth century.[2] Mihnāj-ud-dīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, while describing Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī's conquest of the western half of the dominions of Lakshmaṇasēna, also does not suggest Sēna rule over any part of Bihār.

The published inscriptions of the Sēnas do not ascribe any military achievements to Ballālasēna (*circa* 1158-79 A.C.), son and successor of Vijayasēna, although there are some traditions referring to his relations with Bihār.[3] Thus, according to the *Laghubhārata*, Ballāla led an expedition against Mithilā (North Bihār). As he is said to have received the news of the birth of his son Lakshmaṇasēna on the way, the expedition has been assigned by scholars to a date earlier than Ballāla's accession, i.e., to the reign of his father Vijayasēna. The *Ballālacharita* similarly says that Ballālasēna accompanied his father in an expedition against Mithilā and obtained victory. According to another tradition contained in the same work, Mithilā was one of the five provinces of Ballālasēna's kingdom, the other four provinces of the list being Rāḍha, Varēndra, Bāgḍī and Vaṅga, all of which have to be located in Bengal. It will be seen that even these traditions have nothing to say about Ballālasēna's hold over any part of South Bihār.

The late Mr. Nagendranath Vasu quoted the passage : *Ballāla-pūjitō bhūtvā Vaṭō=bhūn=Magadhēśvaraḥ* and observed[4] "It is said in the *Uttara-Rāḍhīya Kula-pañjikā* that Vaṭēśvaramitra, the sixth descendant of Sudarśanamitra of Uttara-Rāḍha, was honoured by Ballāla and obtained the lordship of Magadha. At Kahalgāon (Colgong), 3 *Krōśas* from Bhāgalpur, there is a temple of Śiva known as Vaṭēśvaranātha, which even now preserves the memory of Vaṭēśvaramitra."[5] On the strength of this tradition, Vasu believed that the eastern part of Magadha (South Bihār) was included in the dominions of Ballālasēna, although the suggestion has been ignored by later writers on the history of the Sēnas. There is evidence now to show that the name of the god Vaṭēśvara at Pātharghāṭā near Colgong has nothing to do with a contemporary of Ballālasēna. The Pātharghāṭā (Vaṭēśvara-sthāna) stone inscription, recently published by me,[6] is written in characters of the eighth or ninth century A.D. and speaks of the celebration of an anniversary festival of the god Vaṭēśvara who was thus being worshipped at Pātharghāṭā several centuries before Ballālasēna. Curiously enough, Ballālasēna's hold over parts of East Bihār is definitely established by the inscription under study.

Elsewhere[7] we have discussed the struggle between the Pālas of South Bihār and the Gāhaḍavālas of the U. P. in the twelfth century A.D. The Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra (*circa*

[1] See the Mādhāinagar (N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 111) and Bhowāl (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 6) plates of Lakshmaṇasēna and also the Idilpur, Madanpāṛā and Sāhitya Parishad plates (*Ins. Beng.*, pp. 122-3, 135, 144). For a different interpretation of the evidence of the latter records, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

[2] See *JBRS*, Vol. XL, Part 2, pp. 43-53.

[3] *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 212, note.

[4] *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa* (Bengali), Rājanya-kāṇḍa, B.S. 1321, pp. 324-25.

[5] The temple is actually at Pātharghāṭā or Vaṭēśvara-sthāna about 3 Krōśas or 6 miles from Colgong and not at Colgong itself. The distance between Bhāgalpur and Colgong is moreover about 10 Krōśas or 20 miles and not only 3 Krōśas or 6 miles.

[6] *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, pp. 4-7 and Plate. The name of the god was read as *Vaḍḍēśvara* and taken to be a mistake for Prakrit *Vaḍēśvara*, Sanskrit *Vaṭēśvara*. But the *ḍḍ*-like letter is really the retroflex *l* (*ḷ*) and the correct reading of the name is *Vaḷēśvara*. The letter *ḷ* has been used apparently to indicate the modified (retroflex ṛ-like) pronunciation of the inter-vocal *ḍ* as prevalent in Eastern India. An inscription, recently discovered by me on the Sāhkund hill in the Bhāgalpur District, similarly writes the word *chūḍāmaṇi* as *chuḍḍāmaṇi*, i.e., *chūḷāmaṇi* or *chūṛāmaṇi*. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 211, n.

[7] See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 137 ff. ; *JASL*, Vol. XVII, pp. 29-30.

1114-55 A.D.) is known to have granted land in the Pāṭnā District in 1124 A.D. and to have been staying at Monghyr in 1146 A.D.[1] His later contemporary, the Pāla king Madanapāla (*circa* 1144-61 A.D.), is similarly known to have held sway over the Pāṭnā District in his third regnal year (*circa* 1146 A.D.) and the Monghyr District in his fourteenth (*circa* 1157 A.D.) and eighteenth (*circa* 1161 A.D.) regnal years.[2] Madanapāla's successor Gōvindapāla (*circa* 1161-65 A.D.) is known to have held sway over the Pāṭnā-Gayā region in his fourth regnal year (*circa* 1164 A.D.) but he was ousted from that area by the Gāhaḍavālas sometime before 1175 A.D.[3] The fact that a Pāla king named Palapāla (*circa* 1165-1200 A.D.), probably the successor of Gōvindapāla, was ruling over the Monghyr District in the thirtyfifth year of his reign would suggest that Gōvindapāla died about 1165 A.D. when the western part of South Bihār passed to the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra (*circa* 1155-70 A.D.) and that his successor Palapāla continued to rule over parts of East Bihār till the end of the twelfth century when that region was conquered by the Turkish Musalmans.[4] We have now to accommodate Ballālasēna's hold over the Bhāgalpur region about 1166 A.D. As this date roughly coincides with that of the overthrow of Gōvindapāla by the Gāhaḍavālas, it is possible to think that the Gāhaḍavālas and Sēnas led a joint attack on the Pālas and advanced against South Bihār simultaneously from the west and east. Palapāla, however, may have succeeded in recovering East Bihār from the Sēnas although West Bihār appears to have continued to remain in the hands of the Gāhaḍavālas.

TEXT[5]

Siddham[6] pramēsara-ity-ādi-[7]śrī-**Valalaśēṇa**[8]-**samata**[9] 9 || tāmvara-khōli[10] data[11] ||[12] bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Damachāditadēvapadānā[13] ||[12] maṭha-pati Chihōkasya[14] [||*].

TRANSLATION

May there be success ! (*In*) the year 9 of (*the reign of*) the illustrious Valalaśēṇa (Ballālasēna) who is endowed with (*the imperial titles*) beginning with *Pramēsara* (*Paramēśvara*), a copper cover belonging to (i.e., caused to be made by) Chihōka, chief priest of the temple, is granted in favour of the illustrious lord Damachāditya.

B. *Lai Inscription of Vikramadēvī* ; *Year 32*

During my tour in the Monghyr District, I came to know of the recent discovery of some inscribed images at Lai lying about six miles from Kājrā and about ten miles from Lakkhīsarāi,

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1 Cf. *JASL*, Vol. XVIII, p. 81 ; above, Vol. VII, p. 98.

2 Bhandarkar's List, No. 1638 ; *JRASBL*, Vol. VII, p. 216 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.

3 *JASL*, Vol. XVII, pp. 27 ff.

4 See *JBRS*, loc. cit.

5 From the original.

6 Expressed by symbol.

7 Sanskrit *paramēśvar-ētyādi* (i.e., *paramēśvar-ēty-ādi-rāj-āvalī-pūrvavat*).

8 Read *Ballālasēna*.

9 Read *Saṁvat*.

10 Sanskrit *tāmra-khōlī* or °*khōlikā*.

11 Read *dattā*.

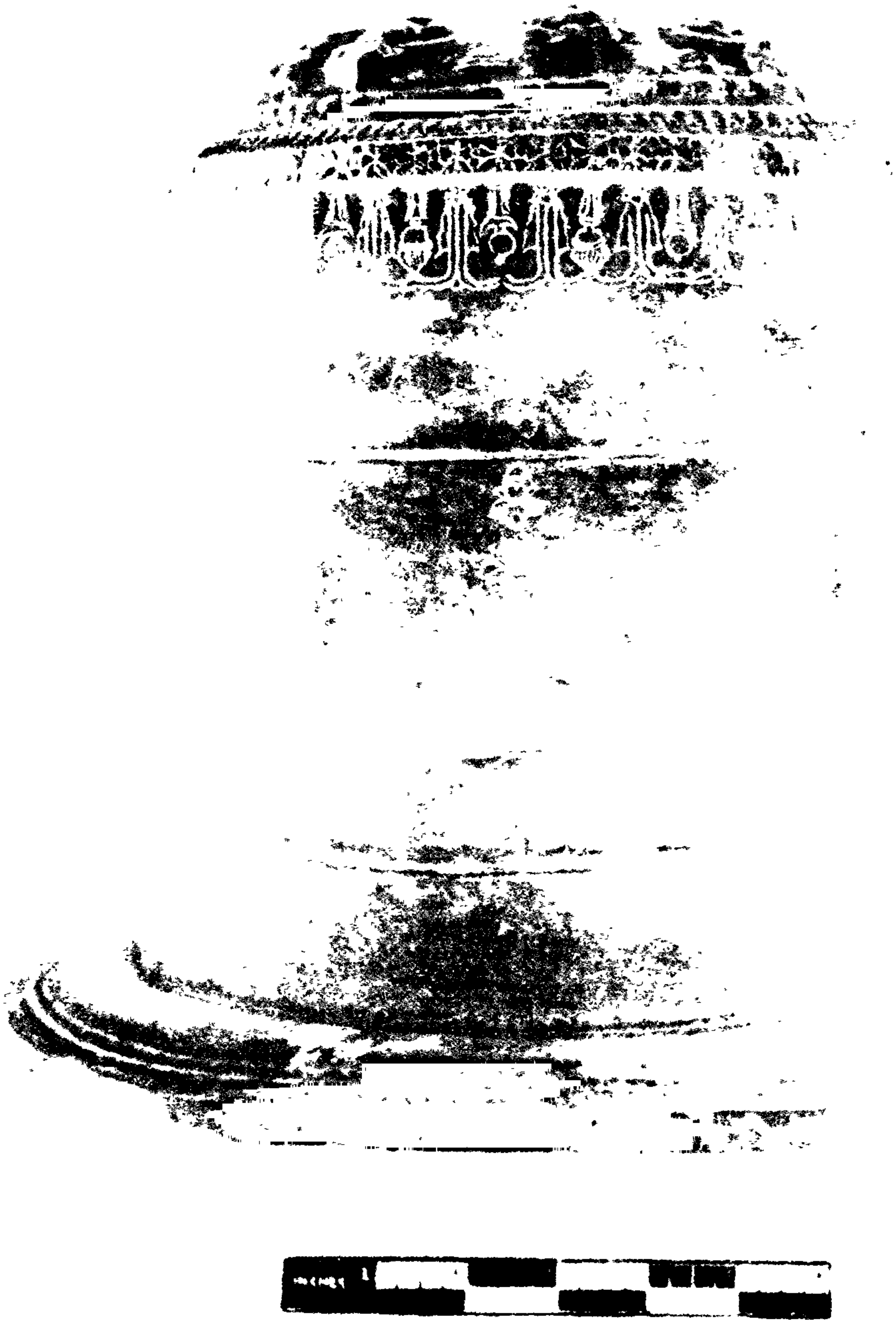
12 The *daṇḍas* appear to be superfluous.

13 Read *Damachādityadēva-pādānāṁ*. The reading does not seem to be *Damarā*° as the form of *r* in *pramēsara* and *bhaṭṭāraka* is different.

14 The reading does not appear to be *Rihōkasya*. See note 13 above. We may suggest the emendation *Chihōkēna*.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

SANOKHAR INSCRIBED COPPER COVER



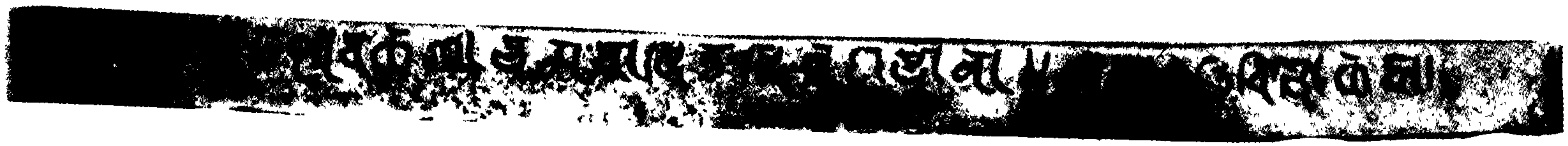
(From a Photograph)

A. SANOKHAR INSCRIPTION OF BALLALASENA; REGNAL YEAR 9

Left Half

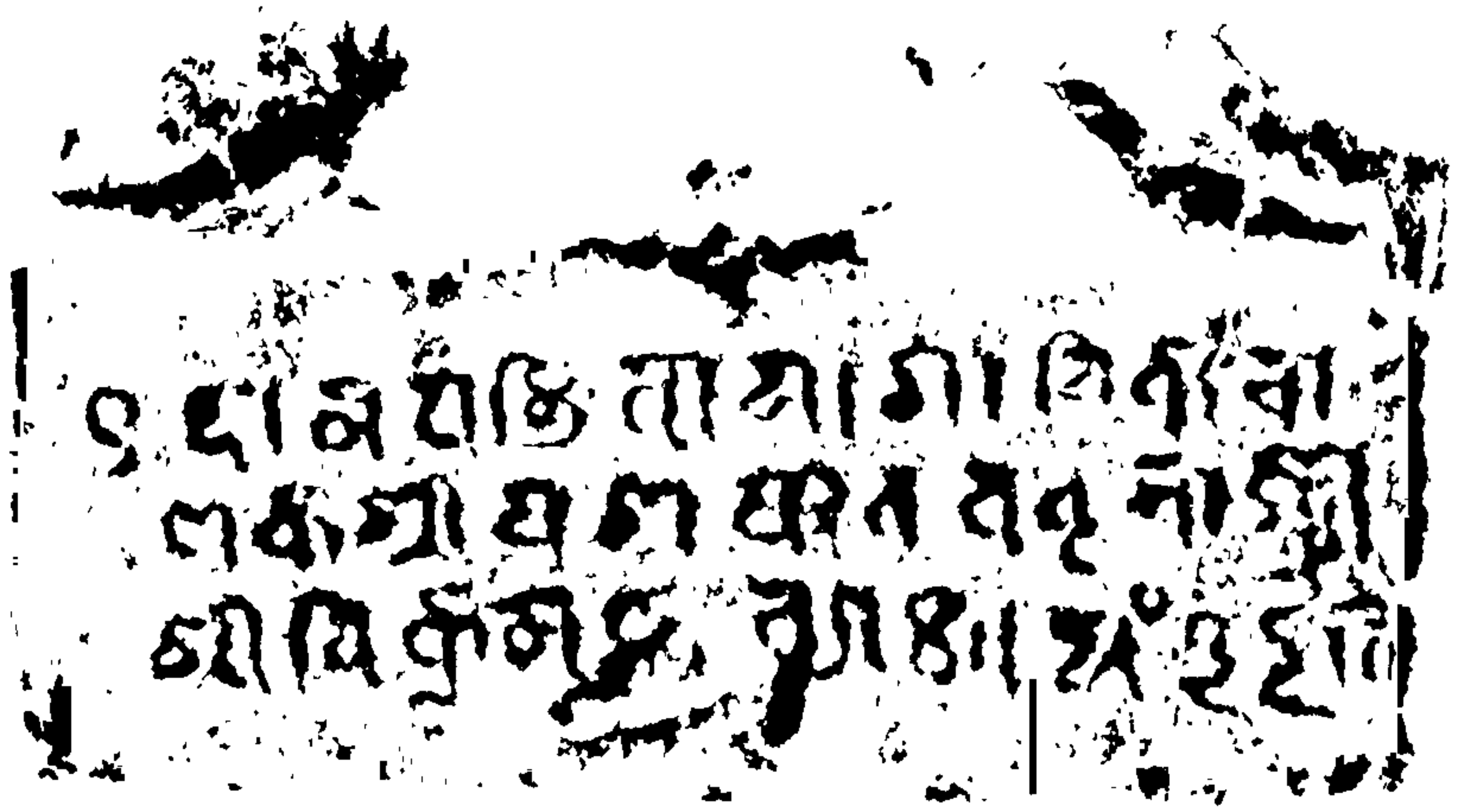


Right Half



(From Photographs)

B. LAI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADEVI



SCALE: ACTUAL-SIZE

both stations on the Eastern Railway, and a few small inscriptions found there were copied. My thanks are due to Messrs. S. N. P. Sinha, A. Sinha, J. Sinha, D. N. Sinha, and M. Sinha of Kājrā for the assistance I received from them in this connection.

One of these inscriptions was found engraved on the broken pedestal of a lost image, which was lying under a *Pipal* tree. The inscribed space covers an area only about $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $\frac{9}{10}$th inch. The **characters** belong to the Gauḍīya alphabet of about the twelfth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Sanokhār inscription edited above. The figure for 2 in line 3 is very similar to a form of that numeral as found in the Mehār plate.[1] The language of the inscription is Sanskrit; but it is not so corrupt as in the Sanokhār epigraph. Nothing in the orthography of the record calls for any special notice; but it may be pointed out that the spelling of the words is not corrupt as in similar other medieval records from Bihār, including the one edited above.

The inscription is not dated in any era. The **date** portion at the end reads : *Saṁ 32 Vai...* The letters after *vai* are broken away and cannot be traced on the stone. There is, however, no doubt that the actual date quoted in this part of the record was a day of the month of Vaiśākha. The year 32 has to be referred to the regnal reckoning of a king. The inscription, however, speaks only of a petty chief without reference to his overlord. As we shall see below, the chief has been mentioned in the inscription as an officer of a more important ruler. It is thus extremely unlikely that the record should have been dated in the regnal reckoning of this subordinate ruler. The probability is that the year 32 refers to the reign of his suzerain whose name has not been mentioned in the inscription. It is also not impossible that the portion containing the king's name has broken away.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the fact that the image, on which it was engraved, belonged to (i.e., was caused to be made by) **Vikramadēvī**, the chief queen (*paṭṭarājñī*) of ***Rāṇaka* Yaśaḥpāla** who is described as *dānapati* and *vāsāgārika*. *Rāṇaka* (from *Rājanaka* or *Rājānaka*) is a well-known title of feudatory rulers, while *dānapati* means 'a donor' in Buddhist Sanskrit[2] and especially, as we have seen elsewhere,[3] 'the donor of an image', i.e., a person who installed an image for worship in fulfilment of a vow. In the present case, it seems that a vow was taken and the image made and set up on behalf of *Rāṇaka* Yaśaḥpāla. The expression *vās-āgāra*, from which the designation *vāsāgārika* is derived, means 'the inner part of a house', 'a sleeping room', 'a bed chamber', etc. *Vāsāgārika*, which reminds us of such official designations as *Bhāṇḍāgārika* (officer in charge of the *Bhāṇḍāgāra*, i.e., the treasury or store-house), *Śāntyāgārika* (priest in charge of the *Śāntyāgāra*, i.e., the room where propitiatory rites were performed), etc., means 'officer in charge of a king's *vāsāgāra*' and is actually mentioned in the list of royal officials in the Rāmgañj plate[4] of Īśvaraghōsha. Yaśaḥpāla was thus an officer in charge of the bed chamber or the inner part of the palace of a king who was apparently identical with his overlord.

The name of Yaśaḥpāla may suggest that he was a scion of the imperial Pāla house of Bengal and Bihār. As it was the Pālas who were ruling in the area, where the inscription under study has been discovered, in the period to which the record has to be assigned on palaeographical grounds, it is not improbable that Yaśaḥpāla's suzerain was a Pāla monarch. The only Pāla kings who flourished in the period in question and ruled for more than 32 years are Rāmapāla (*circa* 1078-1122 A.D.) and Palapāla (*circa* 1165-1200 A.D.). Of these two rulers, Palapāla ruled

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 184 ff. and Plates.

[2] Cf. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (or, *Buddhist Practices in India*), trans. Takakusu, pp. xxix, 41, 46, 59, 159.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 138, note.

[4] N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 153 (text, lines 17-18). For *Śāntyāgārika* or *Śāntyāgārādhikṛita*, see ibid., pp. 21 (text, line 45), 112 (text, line 47).

over the Monghyr region possibly with his capital at Kawāyā-Jaynagar (ancient Champā),[1] a few miles from Lai, the findspot of our record and probably the home of Yaśaḥpāla, while Rāmapāla's capital Rāmāvatī[2] was situated in North Bengal, possibly near Gaur in the Mālda District. This fact may go in favour of the identification of *Rāṇaka* Yaśaḥpāla's suzerain with Palapāla. But it is impossible to be definite on this point in the present state of insufficient information.

TEXT[3]

1 Siddham[4] Dānapati-vāsāgārika-Rā-

2 ṇaka-śrī-**Yaśa[ḥ*]pāla**-paṭṭarājñyā[ḥ*]

3 śrī-Vikrama[dē]vyāḥ || **Saṁ 32** Vai....[5]

C. *Kaulēśvarī Hill Inscription of Vishṇugupta*

About twenty years ago, I received information regarding the existence of some inscriptions on rocks and boulders on the top of the **Kuluhā** or **Kaulēśvarī Hill** under the Hunterganj Police Station in the Hazārībāg District from a resident of a border village of the Gayā District. The hill stands about six miles from Hunterganj. On the 28th of February 1954, I visited the hill which is full of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain relics, and copied all the inscriptions that were found there. On this occasion I received considerable help from Messrs. A. S. Khan and H. N. Sarma of the Hunterganj Police Station, to whom my thanks are due. In the following lines, I am dealing with the earliest epigraphic record of the place.

On a rugged boulder, parts of which have broken away, only two lines of writing could be traced. The upper line is incomplete inasmuch as the concluding letters have broken away. The space between the two lines is considerable; but it is not possible to determine whether there was any writing in this area. The extant portion of the first line of writing is sixty inches long and contains twentyfour *aksharas* together with the *Siddham* symbol at the beginning. The smallest letters in the line are each about 2½ inches in height while a conjunct with vowel-mark is often seven inches high. The second line is about nineteen inches in length. There are only six *aksharas* that are clear in it. The **characters** belong to the Northern Alphabet and the record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the **seventh** or **eighth century A.D.** In respect of **palaeography**, the inscription very closely resembles such other early medieval records from Bihār as the Mangraon epigraph[6] of the 17th year of Vishṇugupta's reign.

The first line of the inscription begins with the usual symbol for *Siddham* and reads: ***parama**-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārā[jādhirāja]-paramēśvara-śrī-Vishṇugu*....There is no doubt that the reference here is to the reign of an imperial ruler named **Vishṇugupta**. The second line, which is smaller, reads *vyē Pōyarāja-sa[tra]*. It seems therefore that the inscription consisted only of two big lines of writing and that it refers to a *Satra* near its findspot which was associated with a chief named **Pōyarāja**, apparently a feudatory of Vishṇugupta. The real significance of the word *satra* (correctly *sattra*), used in the inscription, is difficult to determine as various meanings are assigned to it by Sanskrit lexicons. Some of these meanings are 'a great Sōma sacrifice', 'any meritorious act equivalent to the performance of a *Sattra*', 'asylum, hospital, etc.', 'a tank', 'munificence,' although the word is now generally used in the sense of 'a house where free food is distributed'.

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[1] Cf. *JBRS*, loc. cit.

[2] *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 32.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] The reading was apparently *Vaiśākha-dinē*....

[6] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 241 ff. and Plate.

Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Vishṇugupta, during whose reign the inscription was engraved, seems to be no other than the king of that name belonging to the so-called 'Later Gupta' dynasty. Vishṇugupta was the son of Dēvagupta (from Kamaladēvī) and grandson of Ādityasēna. Of Ādityasēna's time, we have the Shāhpur (Pāṭnā District) inscription[1] dated in year 66 of the Harsha era corresponding to 672 A.D. as well as the undated Aphsaḍ[2] (Gayā District) and Mandār hill[3] (Bhāgalpur District) inscriptions. Vishṇugupta's son from Ijjādēvī was Jīvitagupta II who is the last known monarch of the dynasty. For this king's reign we have only the Deo-Baraṇārk (Arrah, Shāhābād District) inscription.[4] So far only one record of Vishṇugupta's time has been discovered. It is, as already referred to above, the Mangraon (Shāhābād District) stone inscription dated in his seventeenth regnal year. The importance of the inscription under review lies in the fact that it is the first 'Later Gupta' epigraph discovered in the Hazāribāg District and the second of Vishṇugupta's records so far brought to light. As king Vishṇugupta must have flourished about the beginning of the eighth century, the inscription helps us in assigning a date to some of the ancient relics on the Kaulēśvarī hill.

D. *An Inscribed Terracotta Plaque*

A terracotta plaque was received by me for examination from Mr. Radha Krishna Choudhary, Professor of History in the Ganesh Dutt College at Begusarai in the Monghyr District. The plaque is stated to have been presented to Mr. Choudhary a few years ago by one of his pupils, who hailed from a village under the Teghra Police Station of the Begusarai Subdivision. Unfortunately its actual findspot and the story of its discovery are unknown. The plaque is semicircular in shape and has a flat obverse and raised reverse. The base of the semicircle is about 2¼ inches long while its bisector is about 1¾ inches in length. There are four or probably five lines of writing engraved on the obverse of the plaque while two lines, impressed by means of a sealing, are noticed on its reverse. A few letters from the right end of the inscription on the obverse have broken away. My reading and interpretation of the record are published in the following lines with Mr. Choudhary's permission.

The characters employed in the inscription on the obverse of the plaque belong to a cursive form of the Gauḍīya alphabet while those in the writing on the reverse have the standard forms of the letters of the same script. It is obvious that the two lines of writing on the reverse were impressed on the plaque when the clay was quite soft before it had dried up or had been baked in the sun. An examination of the letters of the inscription on the obverse shows that they were engraved before the plaque had been burnt in fire. It is not certain whether this record was engraved when the clay was still a little soft or it had already quite hardened as a result of baking in the sun, although an examination of the engraving appears to support the first alternative. In any case, there could not have been a long interval between the impressing of the sealing on the reverse of the plaque and the engraving of the inscription on its obverse. But there is no doubt that the record on the reverse is earlier, at least by a few hours, than the epigraph on the obverse.

The cursive Gauḍīya characters of the inscription on the obverse of the plaque resemble in some respects the letters of the modern Bengali and Maithilī alphabets. On palaeographical grounds, the record may be assigned to the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D., although, as will be seen below, the date quoted in it appears to point to the last quarter of the twelfth century.

[1] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 210.
[2] Ibid., pp. 202 ff.
[3] Ibid., p. 212.
[4] Ibid., pp. 215 ff.

As indicated above, the writing on the reverse of the plaque should also have to be assigned to the same age. The **language** of both the records is Sanskrit. The **date**, quoted in line 1 of the inscription on the obverse, reads: *Sã 67 Dhausha-di[n]ē..* no doubt standing for *Saṁvat 67 Pausha-dinē...* The record was therefore incised on a day of the solar month of **Pausha** (i.e., **Dhanus) in the 67th year of some era.** Considering the provenance of the plaque and the date of the epigraph suggested by its palaeography it is possible to think that the era to which the year has to be referred is none other than the Lakshmaṇasēna-saṁvat or La-Saṁ prevalent in Mithilā (North Bihār). There is difference of opinion in regard to the epoch of this era; but it has been said that "the initial year of the era, as reckoned at different times and places, varied between 1108 and 1120 A.D."[1] The date of the record under study, viz., year 67, thus appears to fall in **the period 1175-87 A.D.**

Both the lines of writing, impressed on the reverse of the plaque by means of a sealing, read *śrī-Suhmakasya*, the passage being followed by a double *daṇḍa* and a symbol. The sealing, used in imprinting the lines, therefore belonged to a person named Suhmaka. It is clear that the same sealing was employed twice. The reason for this may be that the letters of the lower line, originally impressed, did not all of them come out quite clearly. In the first line, which shows some letters more clearly, the fourth *akshara*, viz., *ka*, looks almost like *kā*. But this may be due to a defect in the sealing.

The inscription on the obverse of the plaque consists of four or probably five lines of writing, of which the first, giving the date of the record, has been quoted and discussed above. The **object** of the inscription appears to be that three persons named Śādhi, Ēchi and Āka made a gift of a lotus at the feet of Kēśavā at Nagalḍāmaka. The third *akshara* of the name read as *Kēśavā* is damaged; but the reading seems to be fairly certain. Kēśavā appears to have been the name of a god or goddess worshipped at a place called Nagalḍāmaka. Whether the name is a mistake for *Kēśava*, meaning Vishṇu, cannot be determined. Traces of an *akshara* below the concluding letters of line 4 suggest the existence of a fifth line in the original record probably containing the word *iti* indicating the end of the document. It seems that Suhmaka was the chief priest of the temple of the deity in question or a royal official whose seal was believed to impart the required authenticity to the deed of gift.

The fact that the offering of a lotus in favour of a deity was regarded as important enough to be recorded in an inscription, albeit on a terracotta plaque, appears to suggest that the flower was not an ordinary one. It was probably a lotus made of gold or silver.[2] The inscription points to the custom of using clay plaques or tablets as writing material side by side with other objects such as copper plates. Terracotta plaques, which were not as durable as copper plates but were much cheaper and more easily procurable, were probably used to record minor donations of poorer people.

I have no idea about the location of the place called **Nagalḍāmaka**; but it might have been situated somewhere in the Teghra Police Station in the northern part of the Monghyr District.

TEXT[3]

Reverse

1 śrī-Suhmakasya ||[4]

2 śrī-Suhmakasya ||[4]

[1] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca University), pp. 233-38; cf. *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, pp. 10-13.

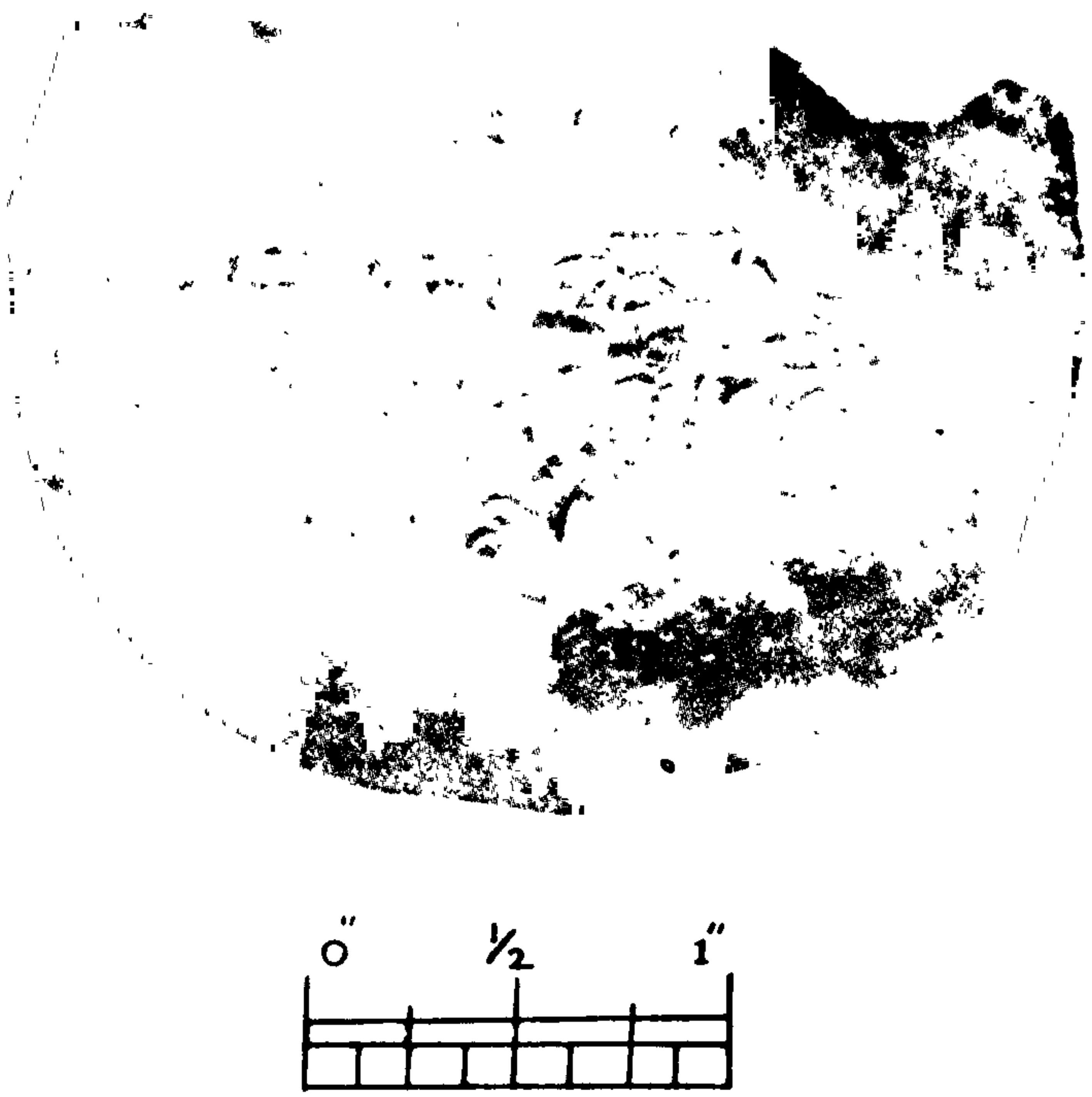
[2] Flowers made of gold have been discovered at such ancient sites as Salihundam (Srikakulam Dist., Andhra) in the course of excavations (cf. *Indian Archaeology 1953-54*, p. 11). For silver flowers, cf. *SII*. Vol. IV, No. 1019.

[3] From the original.

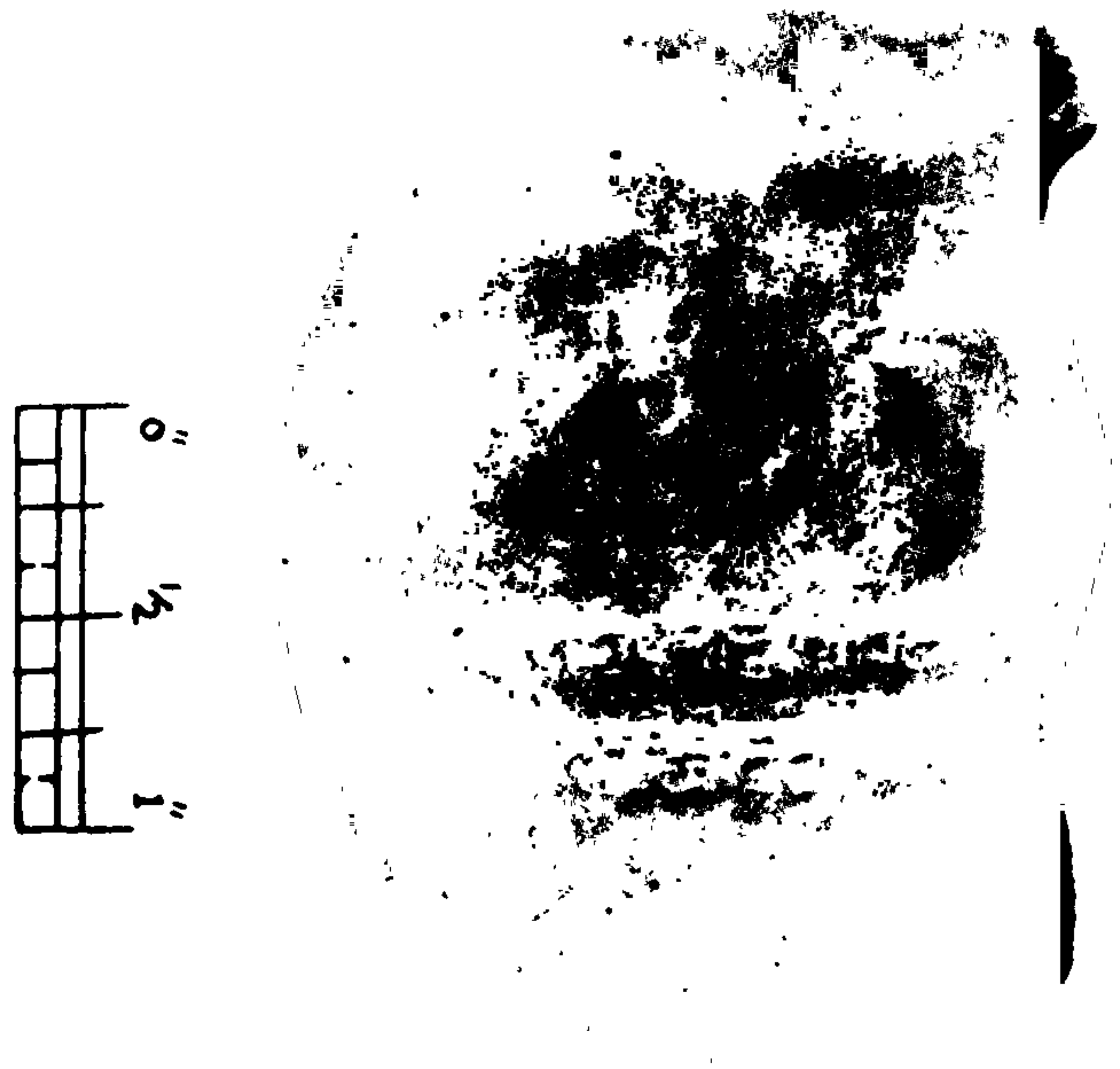
[4] There is a symbol after the double *daṇḍa*.

D. Inscribed Terracotta Plaque

Obverse



Reverse



(From Photographs)

Obverse

1 **Sā**[1] **67 Dhau(Pau)sha-di[n]ē....**[2]

2 **Naga[ḍā]makē** da[ttaṁ pa[3]]-

3 dmaṁ Śādhy-Ēchy-Ākai[ḥ*]

4 Kēśa[vā][4]-pa[dē][5]

5 [iti ||[6]]

No. 17—AJAYAGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHANDELLA KIRTTIVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)

SANT LAL KATARE, NAGPUR

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Chandēlla king Kīrttivarman. It is inscribed on a rock above a group of female images lying below the upper gate of the fort of **Ajayagarh**, which was also called Jayapura.[7] It is noticed by Cunningham in his Archaeological Survey Report[8], wherein he says that the inscription consists of four lines and contains the name of king Kīrttivarman in the fourth line. It is again noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1935-36, p. 92, where its contents are briefly summarised. It is edited here from an ink-impression kindly sent to me, at my request, by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Government Epigraphist for India. The famous fort of Ajayagarh lies about 16 miles north-east of Kālañjara as the crow flies. It has yielded a number of inscriptions of the time of the Chandēlla kings, who had their capital at Kālañjara. It served as their capital and it seems, whenever Kālañjara was occupied by the Muslims, the Chandēlla kings took refuge at Ajayagarh from where they pursued their fight against the invaders to recapture their capital.

The inscription, which has in all four lines of writing, occupies a space 3·5½" wide and 4' long on the rock. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century A. D. The *pṛishṭhamātrā* has been used for medial *ē*, but the *mātrā* for *ō* is indicated either by an *ūrdhva* and an *agra mātrā*, as in *Kālañjarō* in line 1, or by a *pṛishṭha* and an *agra mātrā*, as in *nāmadhēyō* in line 2. In the case of the *mātrās* for *ai* and *au*, no uniform system has been followed. The consonant following *r* is usually doubled. The forms of *ē* and *p* in *ēkātapatram* in line 3 and *y* in *mānyō* in line 2 are similar.

The mistakes in the text which appear to have crept in because of the carelessness of the scribe have been corrected either in the text or in foot-notes. The inscription ends abruptly and though the closing mark of the double *daṇḍa* is inserted at the end, the last verse remains incomplete.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and, except the invocation to Chaṇḍikā, it is in verse. There are in all eight verses of which the first two are in the *Vasantatilakā* metre and the remaining in *Upajāti*.

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[1] Read *Saṁ*, *Saṁvat* or *Saṁvatsarē*.

[2] The letter *n* in *nē* and the numerical figure that must have followed are completely broken away.

[3] The *aksharas ttaṁ pa* are broken away and have been conjecturally restored.

[4] The intended reading may possibly be *Kēśava*.

[5] Better read *padēshu*. The letter *d* in *dē* is damaged.

[6] There are traces of an *akshara* in this part below the concluding letters of line 4.

[7] Above, Vol. I, p. 325.

[8] Vol. XXI, p. 54.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Pipalāhika** to, and conferment of authority over the gates of the **Kālañjara** fort upon, **Mahēśvara** by king **Kīrttivarman** in recognition of, and as a reward for, the services that the former rendered to him when he was in distress at **Pītādri.** The Ajayagarh inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman also contains a reference to this fact and states that Mahēśvara earned the grant of the village named above and the title of *Viśisha* of Kālañjara for rendering service to Kīrttivarman in the Pīta-śaila *vishaya*.[1] The present inscription thus makes clear the meaning of the term *viśisha,* applied to Mahēśvara in the inscription of Bhōjavarman. *Viśisha* was apparently the designation of the officer who had authority over the gates of a fort and may be considered to be the commander of a fort.

The inscription opens with salutation to the goddess Chaṇḍikā. Verse 1, which is mutilated, appears to describe Kailāsa, the abode of Nīlakaṇṭha, and eulogises Kālañjara. Then follows the description of Brahmā (verse 2). Brahmā's son was Kāśyapa. From him, i.e., Kāśyapa, came into existence the family known as Vāstavya, adorned by illustrious men (verses 3-4). In this family was born **Jājūka**, who crossed the ocean of *Vidyā* (learning) consisting of *kalā, purāṇa, āgama, dharmaśāstra* and *sāhitya* and who was the very limit of *satya* (truth) and *sama* (justice) (verse 5). This Jājūka bestowed undisputed sovereignty of the world on king **Gaṇḍa** and earned from him as a royal grant the prosperous village of **Dugauḍa** (verse 6). The inscription of Bhōjavarman while referring to this grant adds that Jājūka, who had the title of *Ṭhakkura,* was appointed *sarvādhikāra-karaṇa* by king Gaṇḍa. This grant of the village of Dugauḍa to Jājūka, according to the same source, was recorded on a copper plate, which has not yet been discovered. There was then born in that family Mahēśvara whose glory was sung by the wives of the Siddhas and who restored the golden age of virtue by establishing the laws of Manu (verse 7). The last verse (v.8) gives the details of the grant made to Mahēśvara.

The inscription apparently belongs to the time of the **Chandēlla** king Kīrttivarman, who was the great grandson of Gaṇḍa. The earliest known date of Kīrttivarman from an Ajayagarh inscription is V. S. 1147, Māgha śukla saptamī, Rēvatī nakshatra=Thursday, 10th January, 1090 A.D.[2] and the last known date is V. S. 1154, Chaitra-sudi 2, Ravivāra=Sunday, 7th March, 1098 A.D.[3]

The present inscription and the Ajayagarh inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman speak of the misfortune which befell Kīrtivarman at Pītādri or Pīta-śaila when Jājūka rendered him help. This is obviously reminiscent of the long struggle between the Chandēllas and the Kalachuris for mastery over the Bundelkhand region. The Rewah stone inscription of Vappulaka dated in K. S. 812 (1060-61 A.D.) and belonging to the reign of Kalachuri Karṇa shows that Pītādri was under the occupation of Karṇa in that year.[4] Vappulaka claims to have "held the sword in the valley of the yellow mountain (*Pīta-parvata-talē*), having conquered the forces of Trilōchana and the goddess of fortune of the ascetic Vījjala". The crushing defeat the Chandēllas had suffered at the hands of Karṇa is referred to in the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*[5] of Kṛishṇa Miśra and the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* of Bilhaṇa.[6] Who this Chandēlla king defeated by Karṇa was, it is not possible to determine precisely. The Chandēlla contemporaries of Karṇa (1042 to 1071-72 A.D.) were Dēvavarman, whose known date is 1051 A.D.[7], and Kīrttivarman, younger brother of

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 333. The name occurs as Mahēśvara in the present inscription; but it is Māhēśvara in the inscription of Bhōjavarman.

[2] *ARASI,* 1935-36, p. 93.

[3] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XVIII, p. 238.

[4] *MASI,* No. 23 p. 132.

[5] I. 6.

[6] XVIII, 93.

[7] Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions* No. 120.

the former, for whom the dates known so far are 1090 and 1098 A.D. The Chandēlla king defeated and uprooted by Karṇa may be, as suggested by R.D. Banerji,[1] identified with Dēvavarman. In that case the date of this event has perhaps to be placed sometime after 1051 A.D. It may be that Dēvavarman was crushed at the time of the battle fought at Pītādri in 1060-61 A.D., referred to in the Rewah inscription of Vappulaka.[2] Trilōchana defeated by Vappulaka was evidently a Chandēlla general and not Trilōchanapāla of Lāṭa as suggested by R. D. Banerji.[3] The defeat of Karṇa at the hands of Chandēlla-Kīrttivarman referred to in several inscriptions[4] and the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*[5] has to be placed after the battle in the valley of the Pīta-parvvata described in the Rewah inscription of Vappulaka in 1060-61 A.D. and before 1071-72 A.D. when Karṇa abdicated his throne.[6] It seems that the decisive battle against Karṇa was also fought at the Pīta-śaila as indicated by the present inscription and the Ajayagarh inscription of Bhōjavarman, which speak of the distressed condition of Kīrttivarman and the help rendered by his loyal officer Jājūka. In the light of the above discussion it may be suggested that Kīrttivarman ascended the throne sometime after 1061-62 A.D. and before 1071-72 A.D

The Vāstavya family of the Kāyasthas mentioned in this inscription also figures in a number of Chandēlla inscriptions. The genealogical details of the family occur in fuller detail in the Ajayagarh inscription of Bhōjavarman, which states that these Kāyasthas, who were engaged in *karaṇa-karmma,* resided in thirty-six towns, of which Ṭakkārikā was most excellent. At Ṭakkārikā lived a person called Vāstu and his descendants were known as Vāstavyas. As regards the ' thirty-six ' towns, Kielhorn observed that it " would lead one to look for some territorial name such as Chhattīspur, but I find only Chhattīsgaḍh". There is, however, no difficulty in identifying the ' thirty-six ' towns, of which Ṭakkārikā was one, with Chhattisgaḍh in Madhya Pradesh.[7] Ṭakkārikā was the name of a city and a district now forming part of Chhattīsgaḍh, which is so called because of the thirty-six forts situated within its area. Of these thirty-six forts, 18 were situated on the one and the other 18 on the other bank of the river Śivanātha, which flows through Chhattīsgaḍh. A number of Kāyastha families are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Tummāṇa.[8]

Four place-names are mentioned in the record, viz., Kālañjara, Dugauḍa, Pītādri and Pipalāhika. Of these the first is well-known. Dugauḍa is the modern Digaura (Dogora of the map). It is situated some 15 miles from Ṭīkamgarh on the Orccha-Ṭīkamgarh road, in 24° 58′ N. and 78° 55 E. The ruling family of Orccha hailed from the village Digaura, old Dugauḍa, and was therefore known as the Digaura family (*Eastern States Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, p. 74.). Pītādri, Pīta-śaila or Pīta-parvvata may be identified with the Pīta hill (Pet hill of the map of Orccha State between pages 91-93 of the *Eastern States Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A), which is about 4½ miles south-east of the village of Digaura in the Baldeobagh *tahsil* of the former Orccha State, now included in Vindhya Pradesh. Pipalāhika cannot be identified.

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[1] *MASI*, No. 23, p. 19.

[2] Ibid., p. 132.

[3] Ibid., p. 24.

[4] Above, Vol. I, pp. 222, 327 ; *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 39 ; Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 676 ff.

[5] Canto I, vv. 5-6 and the prose passages in between the two verses.

[6] Above, Vol. XII, p. 205.

[7] *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, pp. 19 ff., p. 52 ; *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 47. We have actually a list of the thirty-six forts. Even though the list is based upon tradition, the fact remains that the name Chhattīsgaḍh is derived from that basis.

[8] *IHQ*, Vol. I, pp. 409 ff. ; above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff. ; Vol. I, pp. 39 ff, 45 ff., 332 ; *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 62 ; Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. III, Pl. XXI, 1.

TEXT[1]

1 ॐ[2] नमश्चण्डिकायै । कैलासशैलमसमं प्रवरं गिरि(री)णां — — ◡ —
◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ स नीलकंठ । कालञ्जरो जयति [सं]स्पृहणीयवासः स्वर्गौकसामपि
विमुच्य दिवं मनोज्ञः ॥१॥ आविर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव विवु(बु)धैरपि माननीयः
पद्माश(स)नस्त्रिभुवनामलसूत्रधारः । कल्पान्तरस्त्रि(स्थि)-

2 तिमिता [अ*]पि यत्प्रणीतशीलैश्चरन्ति कृतिनो विमलस्वभावाः ॥२॥ तस्यात्मजः
कस्य(श्य)पनामधेयो मान्यो मुनीनामभवन्महर्षिः । यदादिमुर्व्वीमपि संवदन्ति
न कस्यं व(ब)न्धः सुचरित्रशी(सी)मा ॥३॥ वंशस्ततोभून्महनीयः(य)कीर्त्ति-
वास्तव्यनामा सुचरित्रकेतुः । विसु(शु)द्धमुक्ता-[3]

3 मणिवद्विरेजुर्यस्माद्वरालंकरणाः पुमान्शः(न्सः) ॥४॥ कलापुराणागमधर्म्मसा(शा)स्त्र-
साहित्यविद्याम्वु(म्बु)धिपारद(ग)श्च । दयानिधानं समसत्यशी(सी)मा जाजूकण(ना)मा
जनि तत्र धीमान(न्) ॥५॥ एकातपत्रं जगतीपतित्वं वितीर्य गण्डाय महीश्वराय ।
ग्रो(ग्रा)मो दुगौडा जनता[स]मृद्धो ये-

4 नार्ज्जितं सा(शा)श(स)नमाविभाति ॥६॥ सिद्धाङ्गनागीतयशा महौजा महेश्वरस्तत्कुल
आविराशी(सी)त(त्) । यो मानवाचारविधिन्दधान[:*] संपूर्णपुण्यं युगमा-
निवा(ना)य ॥७॥ आराध्य प्री(पी)तादृ(द्रि)गतम्वि(तं वि) पत्सु श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्माणमथ
प्रपेदे । कालञ्जरद्वारवराधिकारङ्ग्र(ङ्ग्रा)मञ्च रम्यम्पिपलाहि ॥(हि[कञ्च ॥८॥*][4])

No. 18—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF PRAMADI ; SAKA 1064

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions about the beginning of the year 1954, I visited the Kēdārēśvara (Śiva) temple at **Bhubaneswar** in the Puri District of **Orissa on** the 31st of January. There I found three inscriptions engraved on both sides of the doorway of the temple, one on the left side and two on the right. The inscription on the left side of the doorway of the Kēdārēśvara temple is a fairly big one. The writing is unfortunately almost completely rubbed out. Of the two records, incised one below the other, on the right side of the doorway, the

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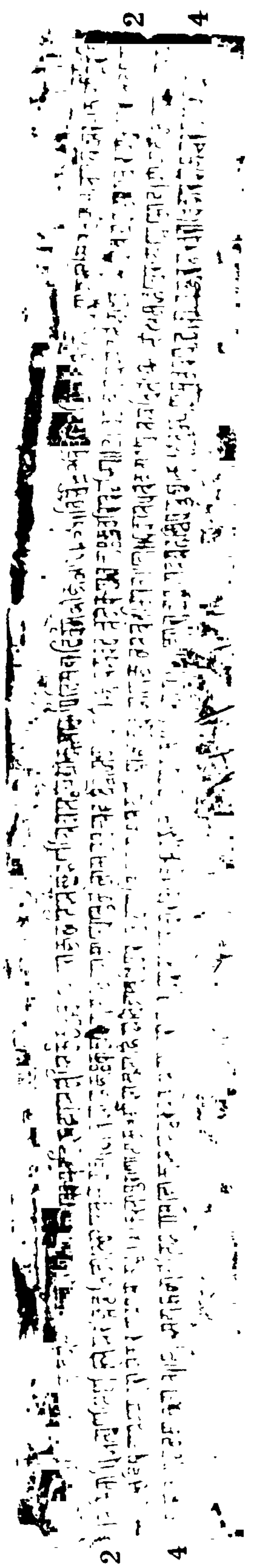
[1] From an impression.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] At the end of the line there is a sign like a fork.

[4] The inscription ends abruptly ; the scribe apparently left out the last letters *kañcha* which has to be conjecturally restored.

AJAYAGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHANDELLA KIRTTIVARMAN



SCALE: ONE-FIFTH

letters of the lower one, consisting of eight lines of writing in Gauḍīya characters and covering an area of about 31 inches by 15½ inches, are more or less obliterated, although a few lines of the record can be confidently deciphered. The preservation of the other inscription on this side is, however, fairly satisfactory, even though it suffers from a crack in the right half of the stone, which has damaged a letter or two in every line of writing in the epigraph. This inscription has been recently edited in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2 (July 1952), pp. 7-8. Unfortunately the published transcript of the epigraph is not free from errors and omissions. The editor of the record also admits that its latter part is unintelligible to him. Moreover he does not notice the interesting fact that the chief, whose donation is recorded in the inscription in question, is already known to the student of South Indian epigraphy from a number of other records. For these reasons, I re-edit the inscription in the following pages.

The inscription covers a space of about 32½ inches in length and 12 inches in height. It contains seven lines of writing. The **characters** belong to the Gauḍīya alphabet as prevalent in Orissa about the twelfth century A.D. The **language** is corrupt Sanskrit, although the record is couched in a poetical style of prose composition as noticed in a few other similar inscriptions from Orissa.[1] It seems that the author, who was a poor Sanskritist, was eager to impart the idea that the record was composed by him in verse. Little calls for special notice in regard to the **orthography** of the epigraph. The **date** of the inscription, expressed in words in lines 1-2, is the 15th day of the dark half of the month of Karkaṭaka (solar Śrāvaṇa) in **the expired Śaka year 1064 corresponding to 1142 A.D.**

The **object of the inscription** is to record the gift of a perpetual lamp to the god Kēdārēśvara, described as the lord of the three worlds (*tri-bhuvana-vibhu*) by *Rājan* **Pramāḍi** who is stated to have been the *anuja* (younger brother) of king **Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.** Pramāḍi is also described as one who regarded Lord Kēdārēśvara to be the Supreme Being (*bhagavach-chhrī-Kēdārēśvar-aika-para*). It is further stated that the inhabitants of the village of **Nāgagarbhā** in the **Paiṁḍā** *vishaya* (district), headed by the *Pradhānī* (headman)[2] named Śaṇḍa, received five *Māḍhas* of gold, apparently from the donor of the perpetual lamp, viz., *Rājan* Pramāḍi. The inscription then goes on to say that the villagers receiving the money had to pay interest at the rate of one 'quarter' per month (*māsa-pādika-kalā*), the amount payable by them monthly being five 'quarters' (*pañcha-pāda*) for the five gold *Māḍhas*. The word *pāda* meaning 'a quarter' may of course be taken here to indicate one quarter of a gold *Māḍha* which is believed to have been a coin weighing forty *Ratīs* that was prevalent in medieval Orissa. In that case the monthly interest for the five gold *Māḍhas* would be 1¼ gold *Māḍhas*; that is to say, the interest was calculated at the rate of 25 per cent. per month. But, although the rate of interest was very high in ancient and medieval India, the rate suggested by the above interpretation of the record appears to be quite abnormal especially in view of the fact that usually the interest on a permanent endowment (like the one referred to in our inscription) was considerably lower than the normal interest on a similar amount. According to a rule, when nothing was pledged as security the rate of monthly interest payable by the ancient Indian debtor of respectively the Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra communities was 2, 3, 4 and 5 per cent., while there is epigraphic evidence to show that the monthly

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[1] Cf. above, pp. 22-23, 31-32, etc.

[2] Hunter explains the Pradhānī tenure as prevalent in Orissa in the following words: "*Pradhān* is a Sanskrit word meaning chief or head-man. Besides the tenure-holders now known as Pradhāns, all the Mukaddams, except those created after the Muhammadan conquest of the Province, were originally Pradhāns, i.e., village-officials appointed by the villagers, with the approval of the ruling power, to represent them before Government and the superior revenue officers, and to collect for them and pay to the divisional officers the revenue assessed on their villages. I have explained above how from being mere officials they gradually developed into quasi-proprietors and were, under the British administration, moulded into a homogenous body of village proprietors" (*A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 116).

interest on a permanent endowment was sometimes calculated at the rate of 1 per cent. or ¾ per cent.[1] It seems therefore that the word *pāda* has been used in the inscription under review in the sense of a quarter of the standard silver coin or currency prevalent in medieval Orissa or more probably a quarter of the standard measure of oil or clarified butter (required for feeding the perpetual lamp), for the provision of which the endowment was essentially created.

The donor of the grant, viz., Pramāḍi claiming to be a younger brother of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), is also mentioned in the inscription engraved immediately below the one discussed above. The first three lines of this record read as follows :—

1 Siddham[2] Śākāvdā(bdā)nāṁ pramāṇē muni-rasa-viyach-chandra-saṁkhyā-pra[m]ātō ||[3]

2 su(sū)nuḥ Pramāḍidēvasya Chōḍagaṅga-nāmakō d[ī]paṁ(pam) ||[4]

3 [vyadh]ād=a[kha]ṇḍaṁ Kēvā(dā)[rē]śvara-[n]ām[n]ē dē[vāy]=ā[ta]ndra[m=a]-

It is clear from the above that Pramāḍi's son, Chōḍagaṅga, made the gift of another perpetual lamp to the god Kēdārēśvara a few years after the date of Pramāḍi's own record of Śaka 1064 (1142 A.D.). The date of the son's grant is given in chronogram as the Śaka year counted by *muni* (i.e., 7), *rasa* (i.e., 6), *viyat* (i.e., 0) and *chandra* (i.e., 1), which, according to the principle *aṅkānāṁ vāmatō gatiḥ*, would give Śaka 1067 (1145 A.D.). The intervening period between the two grants of the father and the son is, therefore, only about three years.

It is very interesting to note that both Pramāḍi, who claimed to be an *anuja* or younger brother of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, and his son Chōḍagaṅga, apparently named after the Gaṅga monarch, are known from a number of inscriptions found outside Orissa. A Mukhalingam (Srikakulam District, Andhra State) inscription[5], dated the Kanyā-saṅkrānti in Śaka 1054 (1132 A.D.) and the 58th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva (i.e., Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga) records the gift of 5 *Māḍhas* made for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Madhukēśvaradēva (Śiva) by Ulagiyavanda-Permaḍidēva, younger brother of Chōḍagaṅgadēva. Another inscription[6] at the same place is dated Tuesday, the 8th of the bright half of the month of Dhanus in Śaka 1056 (1134 A.D.) and the 60th regnal year (the year opposite the 59th) of Anantavarmadēva, and records a similar grant in favour of the god Madhukēśvara made by Māṅkama-mahādēvī who was the wife of Ulagiyagoṇḍa-Permāḍidēva, younger brother of Chōḍagaṅgadēva. There are several similar inscriptions in the Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara (Śiva) temple at Nārāyaṇapuram in the Bobbili Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District. One[7] of these is dated in the 37th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva and records the gift, made by Permāḍi, of a piece of land for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Nīlīśvara (modern Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara) at Niḍuñjeruvu (modern Nārāyaṇapuram) for the prosperity of Chōḍagaṅgadēva. Two other inscriptions[8] at the same place, the first dated Śaka 1053 (1131 A.D.) and the 57th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva and the second dated the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti in Śaka 1054 (1132 A.D.) and the 59th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva, record similar gifts of perpetual lamps in favour of the same god by Chōḍagaṅgadēva's younger brother named Ulaggayagoṇḍa-Permāḍi or Ulayigaṇḍa-Permāḍi. An inscription[9] in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drāksha-

[1] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 158.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Read *pramātaḥ* 1.
[4] The lines appear to be in verse although the metre is defective.
[5] *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1015.
[6] Ibid., No. 1019.
[7] Ibid., Vol. X, No. 656.
[8] Ibid., Nos. 674, 679.
[9] Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 1186.

rāma in the Godabari District, dated Śaka 1075 (1153 A.D.), records a *Śrāvaṇa-patra* in regard to the sale of a piece of land by a number of Brāhmaṇas, who had received it from Parāntakadēva (a son of Kulōttuṅga I, *circa* 1063-1120 A.D.), during the reign of Kulōttuṅgadēva (i.e., Kulōttuṅga II, *circa* 1133-50 A.D.). The said land was purchased from the Brāhmaṇas by Ulaguyyavaṁdda-Permāḍi and his *dēvī* Vallava-mahādēvī[1] by paying 120 *Māḍhas* through Gaṅgagoṇḍachōḍa-v· ırāgiyāṇḍāri and was made a gift in favour of Bhīmēśvara-mahādēva for worship and offerings. The inscription also says that Peddajiyyanāyani-Chōḍagaṅga, son of Permāḍi, made provision for a perpetual lamp in the temple of the god although it is difficult to determine whether this Permāḍi is the same as Ulaguyavaṁda-Permāḍi. One set[2] of the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1057 (1135 A.D.), records that the Gaṅga monarch granted the localities called Sumuḍa and Tilliṅgi in the Sammaga *vishaya* within Kaliṅgadēśa in favour of Chōḍagaṅga, son of Permāḍirāja from his wife Māṅkamadēvī. There is little doubt that Permaḍi or Permāḍi, mentioned in this and other records, is the same as Pramāḍi of the Bhubaneswar (Kēdārēśvara temple) inscription under study.

Two[3] of the Nārāyaṇapuram inscriptions, the first dated the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti of Śaka 1051 and the other dated the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti of Śaka 1061, record the gifts of perpetual lamps in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara made by Rājēndrachōḍadēva, son of Pedda-Permāḍirāja. If this Pedda-Permāḍirāja is identical with the Pramāḍi of our inscription, Rājēndrachōḍa may be regarded as a brother of his other son Ghōḍagaṅga. Subba Rao is inclined to think that the names Rājēndrachōḍa and Chōḍagaṅga were born by one and the same person who was the son of Permāḍi.[4] A Nārāyaṇapuram inscriptions[5] of Śaka 1039 (1117 A.D.) records the grant of Vīra-Permāḍi, son of Aytaya, while another epigraph[6] of the same place, dated the Vishuva-saṅkrānti on Monday, the 13th of the bright half of the month of Mēsha in Śaka 1040 (1118 A.D.), records a gift made by Sūrama, wife of Permāḍiarāja. It is difficult to determine whether Permāḍi of these records is the same as the one who claimed to have been an *anuja* of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. As will be seen below, the evidence of one of these records mentioning Permāḍi as the son of Aytaya does no: tally with that of the Palaṁgaṛa grant[7] of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1040.

The said copper-plate charter records the grant of the village of Palaṁgaṛa (modern Palāgara in the Bobbili Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District) in the Samba *vishya* (same as the Samvā *vishaya* of a set of the Vizagapatam plates and the modern Śaṁbhām Pargana in the Chipurupalle Taluk of the same District), made by the Gaṅga king in favour of Ulagiyagoṇḍa-Perumāḷ, son of Vajjidēva from his wife Āḷapiṛandār and the grandson of Chōḻiyar (resident of Urattūru in Raṭṭa-maṇḍla located either in the Pudukoṭṭai or in the Puṅganūr region) and his wife Śriyādēvī. *Permāḍi* and *Pramāḍi* are contractions of the Tamil compound expression *Perumāṇaḍi*, the first component of which, i.e., *Perumāṉ*, may be another form of the word *Perumāḷ*. *Ulagiyagoṇḍa* and its variants are similarly derived from Tamil *Ulaguyyakkoṇḍa*. It is again interesting to note that in the Plaṁgaṛa grant the donee is described as the *priya-bāndhava* of the donor, viz., the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. It has also to be noticed that the word *anuja* does not necessarily mean a co-uterine younger brother and that the word *bāndhava* may also indicate 'a brother'. Under the circumstances, C. R. Krishanamacharlu may be right in

[1] Her name suggests that she was a princess either of the Pallava or of the Vallabha (i.e., Chālukya) family.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 172 ff.
[3] *SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 672, 692.
[4] *History of Kalinga* (offprint), p. 144.
[5] *SII*, Vol. X, No. 658.
[6] Ibid., No. 659.
[7] *ARSIE*, 1935-36, pp. 61-63.

identifying Ulagiyagoṇḍa Perumāḷ of the Palaṁgara grant with Ulagiyagoṇḍa-Permāḍi of the Mukhaliṅgam and Nārāyaṇa puram inscriptions and in suggesting that the person was a younger cousin of Gaṅga Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga on the latter's mother's side.[1] It is well known that the Gaṅga king's mother was the Chōḷa princess Rājasundarī, daughter of Rājēndrachōḷa (probably Vīrarājēndra, *circa* 1063-70 A. D.).[2] Subba Rao's suggestion[3] that Permāḍi was a co-uterine younger brother of the Gaṅga king seems to be extremely doubtful.

It appears that Perumāḷ or Permaḍi or Permāḍi or Pramāḍi was serving his relation, the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, in the capacity of a provincial governor. It may be supposed that he had been originally employed as viceroy of one of the southern districts of the Gaṅga empire but was later transferred to the Puri region. Such a conjecture is not entirely unsupported by the dates of the various inscriptions which record his donations and have been discussed above. The same may also have been the case with his son, Chōḍagaṅga. Of course Pramāḍi and Chōḍagaṅga might have also visited the Kēdārēśvara temple at Bhubaneswar in the course of tours of pilgrimage. Another interesting fact is that both the father and the son appear to have remained staunch devotees of the god Śiva even after their relative and patron, Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, had renounced his original leanings towards Śaivism and become an ardent devotee of the god Vishṇu in the form of lord Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Puri.[4]

The inscription mentions two geographical names. They are the district called **Paiṁdā-vishaya** and the village called **Nāgagarbhā-grāma**. The name of the district no doubt suggests its identification with the Paenda Paragna in the Cuttack District of Orissa. I am not sure about the location of the village.

TEXT[5]

1 Siddham[6] **Śakasya gata-varshāṇāṁ daśānāṁ śatānāṁ chatu[ḥsha]shṭhi(shṭi)-sa[mva]tā**[7]-

2 m=adhunā **Ka[r]kā(rka)ṭaka-māsasya** kṛishṇaśche[8] dasa(śa)-pañcha[k]ē śrīmad-**Ananta-**

3 **varmmaṇaś=Chōḍagaṅg**-ādhipasy=ānujō bhagavataḥ[9] śrī-[Kē]dārēśvarau(r-ai)-

4 ka-paraḥ rājā śrī-**Pramāḍi**-nāmnaḥ(mā) tṛi(tri)bhuvana-vī(vi)bhavē śrī-Kēdārēsarō-[10]

5 grataḥ di(dī)paṁ prādād=akhaṇḍakaṁ Pai[ṁ]dā-vī(vi)shay[ī]ya-Nāga[gar]bhā-grāmīya-pra-

6 [dh]ānī(na)-[Śa]ṇḍa-prabhṛitibhiḥ grāma-nivāsibhiḥ grīhi(gṛihī)ta-sai(sau)varṇṇaka-pa[ñcha]-māḍhānā[ṁ m]āsa-

7 [pādi]ka-kalā pañcha-pāda k[r]ity=ētai[11] dēyam[12]=ā-chandra-tārāya [vai][13] || o ||

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[1] See *ARSIE*, 1935-36, p. 63; *SII*, Vol. X, p. 359, note.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 46.

[3] Op. cit., p. 136.

[4] See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 239 ff.

[5] From impressions.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Read *saṁvatā°*. There appear to be traces of an unnecessary *anusvāra* of the Bengali type after *tā*.

[8] Read *kṛishṇē cha*.

[9] Better read *bhagavach=chhrī*.

[10] Read *tribhuvana-vibhu-śrī-Kēdārēśvar-ā.°*

[11] Read *pañcha-pādam kṛitv=aitaiḥ.*

[12] Read *dēy=ā.°*

[13] Read *°tāram=iti.*

BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF PRAMADI; SAKA 1064



SCALE: ONE-FOURTHS

No. 19—SEVEN VATTELUTTU INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KONGU COUNTRY

(*3 Plates*)

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, COIMBATORE

Here are edited seven **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** inscriptions from the **Koṅgu** country. I am indebted to the Government Epigraphist for India, for sending me the impressions of these records. The first of them comes from Koḍuvāy and the rest from Piramiyam. Both the villages are situated in the Dhārāpuram Taluk of the Coimbatore District. A few words may be said here about Piramiyam where six out of the seven inscriptions edited below were found. It is an insignificant village situated on the bank of the Amarāvatī river[1] and is 8 miles north-east of Dhārāpuram, the Taluk headquarters.[2] While the seven sacred temples of the Koṅgu province,[3] celebrated in the hymns of the canonised Śaiva saints Tirujñānasambandhar, Appar and Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār, have failed to provide us with their history owing to their original structures having disappeared without leaving any vestiges of their past and having been replaced by new ones of later times, Piramiyam preserves one of the most ancient structural monuments of the province.[4] This monument is dedicated to Śiva and is attributable to at least the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

Tradition asserts that the region in which Piramiyam is situated was variously known as Dārukāvanam, Karṇikāravanam and Puṉṉāgavanam, that Brahman performed *Yajña* at this place to propitiate Śiva and that the sage Agastya set up a *liṅga* in the place and blessed it to remain for all time under the name Valañjuḷinātha. It is further pointed out that Koṅgaṇa, the son of a Magadha king, came here, gave himself up to austerities and became a *siddha* and was called Koṅgaṇasiddha and that it was also hallowed by being the place where Iḍaiñāni, a shepherd sage, spent most of his life time.

Vīrasaṅgāta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam is the name given in inscriptions to Piramiyam and it is said to be a *brahmadēya* in Teṉkarai-nāḍu. The affix *chaturvēdimaṅgalam* and *brahmadēya* indicate that it was originally given to Brāhmaṇas studying the four Vēdas and the prefix Vīrasaṅgāta shows that it was called after a chief, king or general who had the distinction of being known as Vīrasaṅgāta (i.e., Vīrasaṅghāta), ' the slaughterer of warriors or heroes '. There is no direct evidence to show when the village came into existence. In one[5] of the inscriptions edited below there figures a person holding the position of a minister and he is styled Vīrasaṅgātan Śūṟṟiyadēvaṉ Vāṇavaṉ Uttaramantri *alias* Nānādēśiyanāṭṭu-Cheṭṭi. In the name Vīrasaṅgātaṉ Śūṟṟiyadēvaṉ, the first part might indicate the patronymic of the person and, if so, it may be said that the village owed its name to the benefaction of this minister; and the village may be said to have been formed at the end of the 10th century A.D. when, as will be shown in the sequel,[6] Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka-Perumāḷ, who must have been the immediate predecessor of Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa-Kōnāṭṭāṉ, flourished. The inscriptions of the place inform us that this Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, like the others of its class, was subject to the assembly of the *sabhā*. The modern name Piramiyam of the village

[1] This river is also called Amabānadī, Āṉporuṇai or Āṉporundam or Amarāvatī. It is said to take its rise from the Varāha hills.

[2] Sewell's List, Vol. I., p. 220.

[3] Tiruchcheṅgōḍu, Koḍumuḍi, Veñjamākkūḍalūr, Karuvūr, Bhavāni, Avanāśi and Tirumurugaṉpūṇḍi.

[4] The foremost among the monuments so far known in the Koṅgu country are the two rock-cut temples at Nāmakkal, both dedicated to Vishṇu. These temples of about the latter half of the seventh century A.D., are of exquisite workmanship and were perhaps executed by craftsmen who drew their inspiration from the master sculptors of the neighbouring Pallava territory, who had displayed their powerful imagination, deep learning in Āgamic lore and high talent in wielding the chisel.

[5] *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 183.

[6] See page 100, below.

may be derived from *brahmadēyam* which in Tamil would be written *piramadēyam*, and this in colloquial usage would easily change into Piramiyam by the elision of *dē*. The god in the temple at the place is called Tiruvalañjuḻi-Mahādēva (or -Paramēśvara) and Āḷuḍaiyār-Tiruvalañjuḻi-Nāyaṉār. Tiruvalañjuḻi here may show that the temple is situated on the bank of the river whose water forms here a clockwise eddy.

Piramiyam has contributed 28 inscriptions[1] to the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1920. The peculiarity about these inscriptions is that while they are all in the Tamil language, some (nine) are engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet[2] and the rest (nineteen) are in the Tamil alphabet.[3] This feature of the inscriptions enables us to know and distinguish at sight which of them are earlier and which later.

The earliest inscriptions of Piramiyam in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters are Nos. 208 and 209 engraved on a slab lying in a field near the village. The former belongs to the reign of *Sārvabhauma* Varaguṇa-Parāntaka of the Chandrāditya *kula* and is dated in the 6+9th year and the latter bears the date 6+16th year, evidently of the same king's reign as could be gathered from the double date, though his name is lost. Of the rest, two belong to the reign of Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka-Perumāḷ and are dated in the 17th and 24th years of his reign[4] and four belong to the reign of Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa and are dated in the 20th, 32nd, 41st and 42nd years of his reign.[5] These six inscriptions along with another from Koḍuvāy dated in the 14th regnal year of Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka-Perumāḷ are edited here.

This being the first time any inscription of the Koṅgu country and also of the kings noticed herein, is being edited, I may say a word about the country and the dynasty to which the kings belonged. Koṅgu as a common noun means 'honey' or 'flower-dust or pollen'. The term must have been applied to the country that abounded in it.

The Koṅgu country is one of the oldest territorial divisions of South India. It was bordered on the west and, to some extent on the south, by the Chēra country, on the south by the Pāṇḍya country, on the east by the Chōḷa country and Kōnāḍu, and on the north by the territory of the Adigaimāns. If the last named territory is treated as forming part of Koṅgu, for which there is no warrant as we find the co-existence of the two (i.e., Koṅgu and the territory of the Adigaimāṉ) from the earliest days, the northern boundary would be the Pallava dominions. Having these territories as boundaries, the central region of Koṅgu was sheltered by a series of mountain ranges of considerable height such as the Palni hills, the Kollimalai ranges, part of the Sherveroys, the Anaimalais and the Nilgiris, and was watered by the Kāvērī river with its numerous tributaries—the northward flowing *haḷḷas* (streams) in the Kollegal Taluk, the Bhavānī, the Noyyal (or Kāñchimānadī) and the Amarāvati flowing south to north. In spite of these several streams and rivers that were in the country, water scarcity was greatly felt in the region at all times.

In ancient times a highway called Koṅga-peruvaḻi led to this country from the east, and it seems to have been an early trade route. The wealth of the territory lay in its hill produce, silk and beryl, the last of which was produced in large quantities at a place called Paḍiyūr, six and a half miles north-west of Kāṅgayam.[6] A very good breed of bulls and cows from Kāṅgayam is celebrated in the Saṅgam works.[7]

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[1] *ARSIE*, 1920, Nos. 182 to 209.

[2] Ibid., Nos. 183, 185, 187, 189, 190, 204, 207 to 209.

[3] Ibid., Nos. 182, 184, 186, 188, 191 to 203, 205 and 206.

[4] Ibid., Nos. 189 and 204.

[5] Ibid., Nos. 187, 190, 183 and 185.

[6] Sewell's List, Vol. I, p. 220.

[7] *Padiṟṟuppattu*, vv. 22 and 77.

The connotation of the word Koṅgu may be noted here. This term has a more limited application than the similar ones Chēra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, etc. While each of the latter conveys to our mind not only a particular country, but also a *kula* or race, its people and its king, the former, i.e., Koṅgu, means exclusively a country; it does not denote any *kula* or race or king. We hear of *Śōḷa-kula, Pāṇḍya-vaṁśa, Pallav-ānvaya*, etc., but not of *Koṅgu-kula.*[1] It may be noted, however, that the words *Koṅgar* and *Koṅgar-kō* are applied to the people and the king of Koṅgu, but that none of the later kings of the Koṅgu country called himself a Koṅgu-dēva or Koṅgudēva-Mahārāja, or of being of *Koṅgu-kula.*

The difference in the connotation of the word Koṅgu from other similar ones pointed out above seems strongly to indicate that the country did not belong to, and was not ruled by, any particular dynasty of its own. It will be noticed in the sequel that a number of kings held sway over the Koṅgu country in later times and that none of them had any distinguishing epithet, surname or title, such as Māṟaṉ, Śaḍaiyaṉ, Vaḻudi and Pāṇḍyadēva of the Pāṇḍyas; Vaḷavaṉ, Śembiyaṉ, Rājakēsari, Parakēsari and Śōḷamahārāja of the Chōḷas; or Villavaṉ, Śēramāṉār and Kēraḷa of the Chēras. Instead, we often find the rulers of Koṅgu (from the earliest times to the latest) calling themselves by Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya names, and adopting their surnames, epithets and titles, sometimes indiscriminately. Some chiefs of the 13th century even declared themselves to be the lineal descendents of very early Chēra kings who were the first rulers of the northern part of Koṅgu. We have yet to discover if even those kings that were invested with the hereditary rule of the province of Koṅgu had at any time any distinct and distinguishing emblem of royalty.

The only source of reliable information for the early history of South India beyond the ken of epigraphy is the Tamil Saṅgam literature. This, in respect of Koṅgu, is unfortunately very meagre and does not shed as much light as it does on other parts of the country. In spite of this, it may be said that it does not contradict the result that we have arrived at in our enquiry. On the other hand, it leads us to think that in early times the Koṅgu country was subject to the government of its own people. We find a number of references to the people of Koṅgu, but not a single one to the king of the land. And every foreign king that subdued the country came to be styled *Koṅgar-kō*,[2] i.e., the king of the Koṅgu people. One of the Chēra kings is said to have brought under his subjection the country of the Koṅgar or the Koṅgu country (*Koṅgar-nāḍ-agappaḍutti*).[3] Here Koṅgar need not necessarily mean the people. It may as well stand for Koṅgu of which it is only another form. It is said of an Āy king that he used innumerable missiles and drove the Koṅgu people to the western ocean (*Koṅgar-kuḍa-kaḍal-ōṭṭiya*).[4] The Chōḷa king Kurāppaḷḷit-tuñjiṉa Kiḷḷi Vaḷavaṉ is reported to have seen the back of the people of Koṅgu (*Koṅgu-puṟam-peṟṟa*).[5] All these references to the Koṅgu people and the country, and the complete absence of mention of any Koṅgu sovereign by name seem strongly to suggest that the country was subject to 'people's government'. In this connection it is worth noting that in speaking of the persons or kings that set up images of Kaṇṇagi in their territories, the Tamil work *Śilappadigāram* does not mention any king of Koṅgu by name but only *Iḷaṅkōśar*, by which must be meant a people, not a monarch. The plural used is worth noting.

Though the Koṅgu country seems, as shown above, to have had the people's government, in the earliest days, it is necessary to note that the northern part of it, or what is more likely the territory that lay north of it, was subject to the rule of a king who was styled Adigaimāṉ or Adigaṉ or Adiyar-kōmāṉ and had his capital at Tagaḍūr, identified with Dharmapuri in the Salem District. A division called after the village Tagaḍūr also existed. These Adigaimāṉs are

[1] [Cf., however, *SII*, Vol. V, No. 241, lines 9-10.—Ed.]

[2] *Padiṟṟuppattu*, 88, l. 19; 90, l. 25.

[3] Ibid., 22, l. 15.

[4] *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, 130.

[5] Ibid., 373.

regarded as the rulers of Koṅgu, though at no time their rule extended to the whole of that territory. One of the greatest kings of the line was Adigaimāṉ Neḍumāṉ Añji.[1] He is called Maḻavar-Perumāṉ.[2] He is said to have fought against seven kings and chiefs, gained victory, and destroyed Kōvalūr.[3] One of his ancestors is stated to have introduced sugar-cane.[4]

In speaking of him one of the verses in the *Puṟam*[5] says, "like his ancestors, he had the garland of Palmyra". This reference is of importance as showing his descent from the Chēras. He is also said to have worn a garland of *tumbai* flowers and Aegle Marmelos.[6] His son was Poguṭṭeḻiṉi or Eḻiṉi.[7] The Chēra origin of the early Adigaimāṉ, as gathered from the *Saṅgam* works, is quite in agreement with and receives confirmation from what we find recorded in two later inscriptions of the time of the Chōḻa king Kulōttuṅga III. One ot them comes from Kambayanallūr in the Salem District and the other from Pōḷūr in the North Arcot District. In these inscriptions[8] the later Adigaimāṉ chief Viḍukādaḻagiya-Perumāḷ (Sanskrit 'Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjvala') is called a lineal descendent of the Kēraḷa or Chēra Eḻiṉi (Skt. *Yavanikā*).

The Adigaimāṉs did not maintain cordial relationship with the Chēras even in earlier days. The Chēra king Peruñ-Chēral Iṟumpoṟai is said to have fought a battle on the top of Kollikkūṟṟam and won a victory over the two kings, i.e., the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḻa, along with an Adigaṉ who commanded an army of several battalions, to have seized their war drums, parasols and crowns, and to have destroyed Tagaḍūr which was guarded by powerful warriors.[9] But this cannot be a bar to Adigaimāṉ's descent from the Chēra which is well established by the references cited above. That the Adigaimāṉs continued to exist will be clear from the following.

An Adigaṉ chief is reported, in the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman,[10] to have fought against Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ at Ayirūr, Āyiravēli and Pugaḻiyūr, and another is said, in the *Periyapurāṇam*, to have fought against Pugaḻ-Chōḻa.[11] The Nāmakkal cave inscription speaks of *Atiyānvaya*, 'a descendent of Adigaimāṉ', and of Atiyēndra.[12] From all that we have pointed out above it will be clear that the Adigaimāṉs or Adiyar were quite different from the Koṅgar and were lords of a different locality coexistent with Koṅgu. But the fact that the Adigaimāṉs were of Chēra origin, as proved by Tamil literature and inscriptions, may suggest that at some remote age the Chēras overran the northern part of the Koṅgu country and set up a member of their family there, to act as a kind of restraint on the Koṅgu people from advancing northwards, and the Pallavas from pushing south. If this was the case, we can regard the territory of the Adigaimāṉs as having been originally included in Koṅgu. But there is no means of knowing what exactly was the earliest extent of the Koṅgu country as it is not specified in the Saṅgam works.

It would appear further that when the Pallavas settled the Western Gaṅgas in the south,[13] much of the territory of the Adigaimāṉs had passed into their hands. Gaṅga rule further south than the northernmost part of the Gōpicheṭṭipāḷaiyam Taluk of the Coimbatore District is not warranted by facts and hence we must regard as incorrect the statement of the *Koṅgudēśarājāk-*

[1] *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, 92.
[2] Ibid., 90.
[3] Ibid., 99.
[4] Ibid., 392.
[5] *Niṉ muṉṉōr pōla iḍuiyaṅ-kaḻar-kāl irum-paṉam-puḍaiyal* (ibid., 99).
[6] Ibid., 96 and 158.
[7] Ibid., 96 and 392.
[8] Kielhorn's Southern List, Nos. 833 and 834.
[9] See *Padigam* of the Eighth ten of *Padiṟṟuppattu* and also 78, ll. 8 f.
[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 73.
[11] *Pugaḻ-Chōḻa*, vv. 17 ff.
[12] *ARSIE*, 1906, p. 76.
[13] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 335.

kaḷ[1] that the Gaṅgas had their sway in Koṅgu. On the other hand, there is ample evidence of early Chēra rule throughout Koṅgu, e.g., the place names Ravimaṅgalam and Kōdaimaṅgalam, in addition to the two early inscriptions of Veḷḷalūr[2] and the whole dynasty of kings styling themselves Kēraḷa.[3]

We have at the outset indicated some grounds for holding that in the earliest days Koṅgu was subject to 'people's rule' and that it was often subject to invasions by the neighbouring powers among whom the foremost was the Chēra, who claimed to be its ruler. But the real government must have been held by the 'Koṅgar' and the settlement of the 'Adiyar' must have resulted in limiting the extent of the Koṅgu territory.

In about the 8th century A.D., Koṅgu seems to have passed into the hands of some personal ruler. This is reflected in a statement of the Vēḷvikuḍi plates[4] which records that a daughter of a Gaṅga king of the time of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan was brought and offered to the king of the Koṅgu people, and that it gave an occasion for the Pūrvarāja to march forth with a large army to give battle, etc. Excepting this, there are no further references to any ruler of Koṅgu and it might be that the rulership, if any, did not last long. On the other hand, there are evidences of Chēra rule or supremacy over Koṅgu before the advent of the Chōḷa. At the end of the ninth century, Āditya of the revived Chōḷa line is stated in the *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḷ*[5] as having subjugated Koṅgu, and his son Parāntaka ruled over that part of it where his inscriptions are found. It is known that friendly relations existed between the Chōḷa Āditya and the Chēra Sthāṇu Ravi and that both conjointly conferred honours on a certain chief whom they termed Śembiyaṉ-Tamiḷavēḷ.[6] This must have been for some service rendered to both the kings during the upheaval of Chōḷa revival. But it was given to the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I to set up practically a personal ruler over Koṅgu. The country was at the same time made a part of the Chōḷa empire and invested with a new name 'Vīraśōḷa-maṇḍalam', after one of his wnn surnames. From the Nāmakkal copper plates of Vīra-Chōḷa, of which plates I and IV are still to be discovered, it is gathered that Vīra-Chōḷa, who was probably a Kēraḷa prince, was ruling over a portion of Koṅgu as a feudatory of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman, probably Parāntaka I.[7] He seems to have become the progenitor of a hereditary line of kings that ruled over a part of Koṅgu. The records of his descendents are traceable at Paḷani and its vicinity. These may well be termed Koṅgu kings of the Kēraḷa family. Another part of Koṅgu was under the rulership of a different line.

Now about the family to which the two kings, whose inscriptions are here edited, belonged. In the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* the chiefs of this family are styled Koṅgu-Chōḷas. This term is not an ancient one, but is the one now given to the line of kings which included in it Vīra-Chōḷa-Kalimūrkka-Perumāḷ and Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa, Abhimāna-Chōḷa and others and serves the purpose of distinguishing these members from those of the regular line of Chōḷas descended from Vijayālaya or from the later Chāḷukya-Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga I. Though it serves this purpose very well, it is not quite appropriate. First of all there is no indication anywhere that these kings were of the Chōḷa stock, though they adopted Chōḷa names. Chōḷa officials and subordinates

[1] Madras Government Oriental Series, No. VI, pp. 3 ff.

[2] *ARSIE*, 1910, Nos. 147 and 148.

[3] *Contra* Foulkes, *Salem Manual*, p. 16: 'I have not met with anything in support of a conquest of Koṅgu by Chēra. The *Kēraḷōtpatti* does not claim any such conquest nor does the Koṅgu chronicle contain any reference to one. On the other hand, the Koṅgu chronicle has repeated statements of conquests of Kēraḷa by Koṅgu'. He cites Śangunni Menon.

[4] The text reads *Gaṅgarājaṉadu kaṉyāratnam Koṅgar-kōṟkuk kuṉarndu koḍuppa ārpp-aṟā-aḍaṟ-ṟāṉai-p-pūrvarājar pugaṉṟ-eḻundu.* Above, Vol. XVII, p. 303.

[5] P. 10.

[6] *SII*, Vol. III, p. 221.

[7] *ARSIE*, 1906, para. 32.

assumed, or were given, names and surnames of ruling Chōḷa kings, and from the names alone one could say whose officials or subordinates they were. Such a practice is impossible in the case of the kings called Koṅgu-Chōḷas. Secondly, the term Koṅgu-Chōḷa might very naturally indicate that the members were of the Koṅgu country, and it will be shown presently that though these kings ruled over the Koṅgu country, they were not of that country but came from outside. It is worth noting that the two earliest kings had the name, surname or title Kalimūrkka and the other called himself Kōnāṭṭāṉ.[1] The earliest use of the title Kalimūrkka is found in a record of the 5th year of Pallava Dantivarman found at Kuṉṉāṇḍārkōyil in the Kuḷattūr Taluk (Pudukkōṭṭai). In it, it is stated that a tank called Vāli-ēri was constructed by a chief named Vāli-Vaḍugaṉ *alias* Kalimūrkka-Iḷavaṟaiyaṉ, who calls himself a servant of Māṟppiḍuvaṉār *alias* Pēradiyaṟaiyaṉ evidently of the Muttaṟaiyaṉ family. From this inscription it is clear that Vāli-Vaḍugan was of a family of local chiefs as indicated by the titular surname Kalimūrkka Iḷavaṟaiyaṉ, and that he was the subordinate of one of the principal chiefs of the Pallava king Dantivarman. We note the distinction which the inscription makes between *Iḷavaraiyaṉ* and *Pēradiyaraiyaṉ*. It is needless to say that almost the whole of the Kuḷattūr *taluk* was included in one or the other of the divisions of Kōnāḍu. We know that, after the revival of the Chōḷas, the Kōnāḍu chiefs, among others, transferred their allegiance to the Chōḷas, when Āditya I acquired the whole of the Pallava dominion, and adopted the titles and surnames of their new overlords. This surbordinate family of Kōnāḍu, just like the main line of Iruṅgōvēḷs or Irukkuvēḷs, must be regarded as belonging to the Yādava stock. It will be better and more appropriate to call this family of rulers of Koṅgu by the name Koṅgu Kōnāṭṭār than by any other.

There is no need for examining the palaeography of the inscriptions to arrive at the time of the records, as we know for certain the date of Vikrama-Chōḷa of these epigraphs from his Tiṅgaḷūr inscription which combines his 40th regnal year with Śaka 967.[2] It is enough to say that the characters in which the inscription of Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka-Perumāḷ are engraved are almost similar to those of Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa's epigraphs and therefore Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka must be either a predecessor or a successor of the other. And, though it is not quite easy to trace any marked differences in the characters of the epigraphs of the two kings, yet a close examination of the palaeography of the inscriptions of the former (Nos. II and III below) found at Piramiyam as compared with that of the latter (Nos. IV to VII) discovered in the same place seems to me to show that the former must be slightly earlier than the latter. Besides, the engraving on separate slabs, door posts, etc., of Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka's inscriptions also point to the same fact. Tentatively therefore we may assign Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka to the end of the tenth century A. D. and consider him to be the immediate predecessor of Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa whose accession took place in 1005 A.D., and who reigned for at least 42 years, i.e., till 1047 A.D. At worst, Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka may be regarded as the immediate successor of Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa. He is decidedly not later. This, it may be noted, is a positive proof afforded by the Vaṭṭeḻuttu and Tamil inscriptions occurring at Piramiyam which has happily preserved the records of five of their successors.[3] We have also to take note of the fact that 'Kalimūrkka' occurring in the double names

[1] See for instance No. IV below which is a proclamation by the king himself and which commences with the words "Hail ! I am Vikrama-Chōḷa, the Kōnāṭṭāṉ. This is the 20th year of my reign".

[2] *ARSIE*, 1905, No. 614.

[3] (1) One of Abhimāna-Chōḷa Rājādhirāja dated in the 10th year of reign (No. 202), (2) two of Rājādhirāja Uttama-Chōḷa dated in the 8th and 17 + 1st years (Nos. 198 and 205), (3) one of Rājādhirāja Vīra-Chōḷa dated in the 5 + 1st year (No. 192), (4) two of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa dated in the 9th and 11th years of reign (Nos. 201 and 194), (5) twelve of Vīrarājēndra ranging in date between the 3rd and 19th years (Nos. 184/3rd, 186/5th, 197/6th, 193/7th, 188 and 199/8th, 200/13th, 182/14th, 191 and 206/19th, 195 and 205 date lost), and one of Parakēsarivarman Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-uḍaiyāṉ Vikrama-Chōḷa dated in the 13th year (*ARSIE*, 1920, No. 196).

of the two kings under notice has come to denote a name rather than a title that it originally was, just as ' Rājādhirāja ' a few years later. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1920, p. 109, it has been stated that Vīra-Chōḷa-Kalimūrkka was earlier in point of time than Parakēsarivarman Vīra-Chōḷa ' who ruled the two Koṅgus '. It has also been suggested that Vīra-Chōḷa-Kalimūrkka might have been the son of Rājādhirāja Vīra-Chōḷa. But Parakēsarivarman Vīra-Chōḷa ' who ruled the two Koṅgus ' was the successor of Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga whose reign extended from 1149 to 1183 A.D. and the predecessor of Rājakēsari Vīrarājēndra whose accession took place in 1207. A.D. As such, he must have reigned in the period 1183-1207 A.D., and his inscriptions are all in Tamil of the twelfth century A.D. The records of Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka-Perumāḷ are all in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the 10th-11th centuries A.D. Neither could Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka be made the son of Rājādhirāja Vīra-Chōḷa. His records and those of his father Abhimāna-Chōḷa Rājādhirāja are also definitely of the 12th century A.D. It may be noted that some of the records of Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa-Kōnāṭṭāṉ found in places other than Piramiyam are in Tamil, and his reign marks the transition period from Vaṭṭeḻuttu to Tamil.

Two of the inscriptions edited hereunder (Nos. VI and VII) contain the historical introduction (*meykkīrtti*) of the Kōnāḍu chief Vikrama-Chōḷa. They present no differences in reading. They tell us that Vikrama-Chōḷa ' held his sceptre righteously, fertilized the country, removed the sufferings of the distressed, received only a sixth share (of produce as tax), punished the wicked, guarded his subjects from external ills, and protected them as a mother would her babe '. The description clearly points to the fact that the reign of Vikrama-Chōḷa was a peaceful one and that he was perfectly mindful of his duties as a just ruler. Inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōḷa Kōnāṭṭāṉ are found at Aṉṉūr, Mūlaṉūr and Tiṅgaḷūr, besides Piramiyam. Of the four inscriptions found at Aṉṉūr, two are dated in the 2nd year[1], one in the 4th[2] and the other in the 27th year[3] of the king's reign. The last one records the presentation of a metallic statue by a resident of Kavaiyaṉputtūr, i.e., Kōvilpāḷayam, of himself and his wife and registers also a gift of gold. The Mūlaṉūr epigraph[4] stops with the mention of the king's name and date. It bears the 27th year. The Tiṅgaḷūr inscription,[5] besides furnishing a Śaka date with regnal year, refers to the construction of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Pārśvanātha Jina, called Chandravasati, at the place.

Two others of the subjoined inscriptions (Nos. III and IV) reveal that the members of this branch of the Kōnāḍu chiefs, like those of the original line,[6] had matrimonial relationship with the royal house of the Chōḷas of the Vijayālaya line. No. III registers a gift by Nampirāṭṭiyār Vaḷavaṉ-Mādēviyār (*alias* Iṭṭiy Muttār). She is very probably one of the queens of Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka-Perumāḷ, and Vaḷavaṉ-Mādēviyār occurring in the descriptive part of her name shows that she was a princess of the Chōḷa family. No. IV, which registers a royal proclamation and gift made by Kōnāṭṭāṉ-Vikrama-Chōḷa on the occasion of the death of his daughter, tells us that she was one of the queens of the Chōḷa king Vikrama-Chōḷa. These marriage alliances clearly indicate the high status of this branch of the Kōnāḍu family.

Names such as Madhurāntaka-vaḷāgam in No. III, Vikramaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṉ, Parakēsari-*kāl*, and Parakēsari-*uḷakku* in Nos. II and V might reflect their having been so named after Parakēsari Uttama-Chōḷa and Parakēsari Vikrama-Chōḷa, i.e., Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, as the reigns of Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkka-Perumāḷ and Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa covered the latter half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century A. D. as shown above.

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[1] *ARSIE*, 1922, Nos. 591 and 597.

[2] Ibid., No. 593.

[3] Ibid., No. 594.

[4] Ibid., 1920, No. 215.

[5] Ibid., 1905, No. 614.

[6] The Kōnāḍu chief Bhūti's mother Anupamā was a Chōḷa princess, and Bhūti's daughter Āditta-Piḍāri was the queen of Chōḷa Ariñjaya.

Besides Vīrasaṅgāta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the following geographical items are mentione l :—

(1) Veḷḷakal-Veḷḷāṇūr in Kāṅgaya-nāḍu.

(2) Naṟaiyaṇūr-nāṭṭup-Parāntakapuram.

(3) Villiyaṇūr.

(4) Vaḍagarai Maḻa-nāṭṭu *brahmadēyam* Ayirūr.

(5) Kōnāṭṭu Ollaiyūrk-kūṟṟattu Maṇikaṇṭha-maṅgalam.

Of these, Kāṅgayam, which has given its name to a subdivision, exists under the same name and is 18 miles north of Dhārāpuram.[1] Kāṅgaya-nāḍu forms the northern part of the Dharapuram Taluk lying between the Noyyal and Nelali. Veḷḷakal is the modern village of Veḷḷakōyil, 11 miles ESE of Kāṅgayam and 18 miles NE of Dhārāpuram.[2] Veḷḷānūr is a hamlet near it.

One of the inscriptions of Kōnāpuram in the Dharapuram Taluk mentions Parāntakapuram *alias* Rājarājapuram,[3] and another of the time of Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāja calls Rājarājapuram as the capital of Koṅgu-maṇḍalam.[4] The place is evidently Dhārāpuram.

Villiyaṇūr is not traceable.

Ayirūr is one of the three places where the early Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ defeated the Adigamāṉ of Tagaḍūr, the others being Pugaḷiyūr and Āyiravēli. The subdivision of Maḻa-nāḍu had in it Māgāṇikkuḍi and Māṅguḍi and its situation was to the north of the Kāvērī river.

As regards the villages mentioned in Ollaiyūr-kūṟṟam, see above Vol., XXV, p. 95. Maṇikaṇṭha-maṅgalam is not traceable.

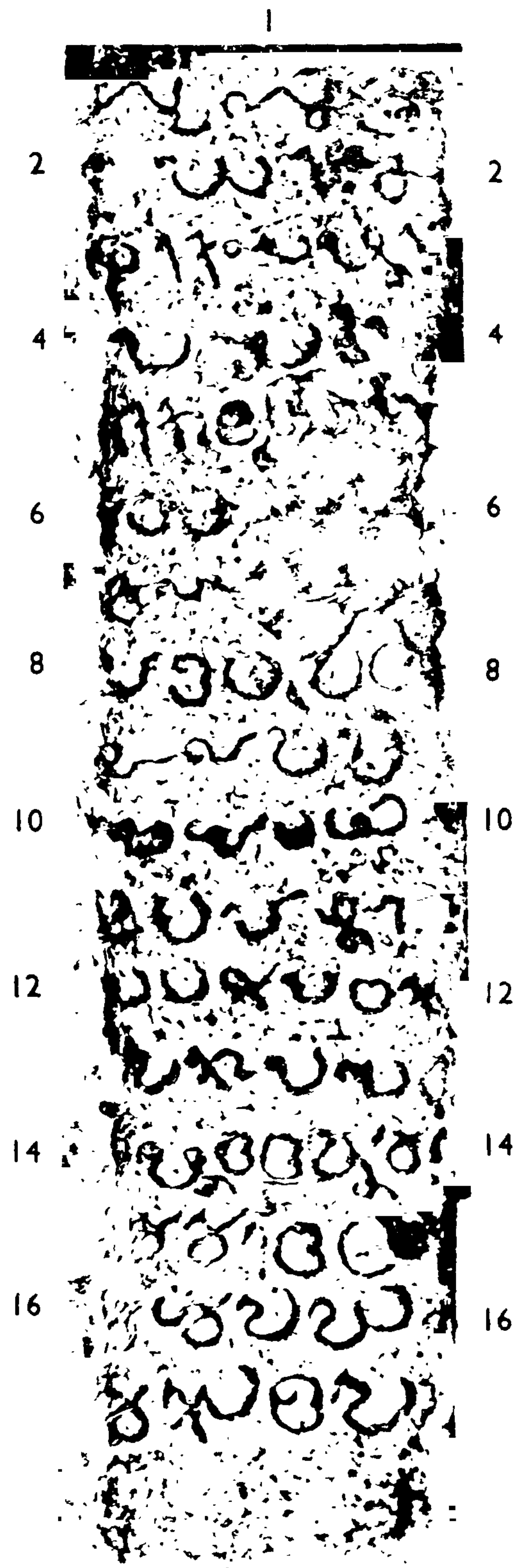
I.—Koḍuvāy Inscription of the 14th year of Vīraśōḻa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷ

The subjoined inscription[5] in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and Tamil language is engraved behind an image in the central shrine of the Viṇṇiṟainda-Perumāḷ temple at Koḍuvāy. It is damaged, and relates to the construction of a well by a resident of Kōnāḍu.

TEXT[6]

1 Svasti śrī [||*]
2 Vīraśō-
3 ḻa-kkalimūr-
4 [kka*]-pperumā-
5 [r]kku=tti[ruveḻu]
6 tt=iṭṭu=ch-
7 chel[lāniṉṟa]
8 yāṇḍu padi-
9 nālāvadu [|*]
10 [Kōnā]ṭṭ=iru-
11 ndu vāḻu[m]
12 [Ā]ṭkōvaṉ [Ka]-
13 ṅguppaiy
14 Mūtta-Āśā[r]-
15 chchārtti-
16 chchevvi(cheyvi) [ch-]
17 cha kiṇaṟu [||*]

[1] Sewell's List, Vol. I, p. 219.
[2] Ibid., p. 220.
[3] *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 139.
[4] Ibid., No. 213.
[5] Ibid., No. 111.
[6] From impressions.



SCALE · ONE-SIXTH

TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*Issued*) with the royal signature affixed, in the fourteenth year, current, of Viraśōḷa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāṉār. This well had been caused to be made by Āṭkōvaṉ Kaṅguppai residing in [Kō]nāḍu, on behalf of Mūtta-Āśār.

II.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 17th year of king Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷ

This inscription, in Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and Tamil language, is engraved on the base of the south wall of the central shrine of the Tiruvalañjulināthasvāmin temple at Piramiyam. It records a gift of land purchased from the wife of a certain Vikramaśōḷap-Pallavaraiyaṉ and Tirumāḍalaṉ Parāntakaṉ, residents of Villiyam, by Nārāyaṇaṉ-Māṟaṉ *alias* Āśārakānta-Brahmādhirājaṉ of Ayirūr, a village in Vaḍagarai-Maḷa-nāḍu.

Grantha letters are used in writing *svasti śrī*, *brahma*°, *śrī*, *mahā*° and *sa* (l. 1) °*ndhi*, *abhishē*°, *brāhmaṇa*, *brahmadēya* and *brahmā*° in lines 2 and 6, and *brahmādhi*° (line 7).

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti śrī [||*]Kō-Vīra[śō]ḷa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷuk[ku] tiruveḻutt-iṭṭu=[ch*]chellāniṉṟa yāṇḍu padinēḻā[2]..........ḍu Teṉkarai-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam śrī-Vīrasaṅgāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu Tiruvalañjuḷi-Mahādēvarkku niśadamum mūṉṟu-sa-

2 ndhiyum abhishēkam-śeyyum brāhmaṇaṉukkum Āḻvārkku tirumeyppuchchuch.......
..[Va]ḍagarai-Maḷa-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Ayirūr=kKavuṇiyaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ-Māṟaṉ-āṉa Āśārakānta-Brahmādirāśa[nē]ṉ i-vVīrasaṅ-

3 gāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattil Vi[ll]iyatt=irundu vāḻum veḷḷāḷan [Śō]ma ....kkiramaśōḷa-pPal[l*]avaraiyaṉ maṉavāṭṭi..dināgai pakkal vilaikoṇḍa paṅg=iraṇḍum ivv-ūrt-Tirumāḍalaṉ

4 Parāntakaṉ...tti pakkal i-chchadukkattu vilaikoṇḍa paṅgu.[3] āga=ppaṅ[4]..........
[pam baḍu kūṟum] sva-deṟṟi[5]yum para-deṟṟi[5]ppēṟum i-ppaṅgu suṭṭivanda nilam e....[6] paṭṭadum i-[t*]-

5 Tiruvalañjuḷi-Mādēvarkku tirumeyppūchchu śandanakkāppukkum...........kkum-āga śandirādittaval niṟka śey[du]kuḍuttēṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ-Māṟa[ṉ-ā]ṉa Āśārakānta....[7] śaṉēṉ [|] I-ppaṅ-

6 gu mūṉṟukkum vanda iṟaiyum=echchōṟṟukkūṟṟu- variyum iravum veṭṭive..........[8] [kaḍa-] mai eppērppaṭṭadukkum-āga Nārāyaṇaṉ-Māṟaṉ-āna Āśārakānta-Brahmādirāśaniḍai Parakē[sari-ka]llā(l)ṟ-ruḷai-niṟai

7 śem poṉ pa[ḍiṉai]ṅ-kaḻañju....[9] ḍuppichchu kaikkoṇḍu iṟaiy-iḻichchu sa[10]...........ttōm ivv-ūr sabhaiyōm[|*]=Idu śandirādittaval niṟka śeydukuḍuttēṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ-Māṟa[n][11]..
[Āś]ārakānta-Brahmādhirāśanē[ṉ*] [||*]

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[1] *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 189.

[2] The date which is in letters has been read as thirteen instead of seventeen in *ARSIE*.
The gap may be filled with the letters *vadu ivvān*.

[3] The word *oṉṟu* required here seems to be indicated in figure.

[4] Some of the letters lost here are °*gu mūṉṟu*.

[5] Read *datti*.

[6] The gap may be filled up with °*ppēr*.°

[7] The *aksharas Brahmādirā*° may be supplied here as at the end of l. 7.

[8] The letters lost after *ve* cannot be determined.

[9] The dotted portion is not clear in the original, but may be filled up with the letters *poṉnum ku*°.

[10] The gap may be filled up with °*ruvamāniyam=āga kuḍu* or °*ndirādittaval nirka kuḍu*°.

[11] The letters *āṉa* may be supplied here.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*Issued*) with the royal signature in the [seventeenth] year, current, of the reign of king Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷ. Kavuṇiyaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ-Māṟaṉ *alias* Āśārakānta-Brahmādhirājaṉ of Ayirūr, a *brahmadēya* in Vaḍagarai-Maḷanāḍu purchased three shares of land in all,—two shares from .... dināgai, the wife of the Veḷḷāḷa Sōma....Vikramaśōḷa-Pallavaṟaiyaṉ of Villiyam residing in Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and one share from Tirumāḍalaṉ Parāntakaṉ,—and gave them as *svadatti* and *paradatti* for the *Brāhmaṇa* who performs, thrice daily, the bathing of the god in the temple of Tiruvalañjuḷi-Mahādēva at Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Teṉkarai-nāḍu, and for the sandal paste to be applied to the body of the Āḷvār. The gift was to last as long as the moon and the sun endure.

For meeting the annual royal dues such as *iṟai*, *echchōṟṟukkūṟṟu-vari*, *iravu*, *kaḍamai*, etc., the assembly of the village demanded from the donor Nārāyaṇaṉ-Māṟaṉ *alias* Āśārakānta- Brahmādhirājan and obtained fifteen *kaḻañju*, as weighed by *Parakēsarikkal*, of fine gold (*coins*) having proper marks (i.e., impressions) and weight, and exempted the land from payment of taxes.

III.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 24th year of Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷ

The following inscription,[1] in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and Tamil language, is engraved on a door post lying within the central shrine of the same temple. It is dated in the 24th year of the reign of king Vīraśōla-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷ and registers a gift of land, as *tirumeḻukkuppuṟam* (i.e., for washing the floor with cow-dung), made by queen Vaḷavaṉ-Mādēviyār. The queen is said to have purchased the land from the assembly (*sabhā*) of Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Mention is made of Madhurāntakavaḷāgam.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī[2] [||*] Kō-Vī
2 raśōḷa-kKalimūrkkap-
3 Perumāḷukku=tti[ru]-
4 veḻutt=iṭṭu=chchel[lā]
5 ninṟa yāṇḍu 24
6 ivv-āṇḍu Vīrasaṅ-
7 gāda-chcharuppēdimaṅ-[3]
8 galattu=t Tiruvalañju-
9 ḷittēvarkku tirume-
10 ḻukkuppuṟam-āga sa-
11 bhaiyār-pakkal nambirā-
12 ṭṭiyār Vaḷavaṉ-Mādē-
13 viyār-āṇa [Iṭṭiy]-
14 [mū]ttār vi[lai]kku ko-
15 ṇḍu vaichcha būmi [|*] Madu-
16 rāntaka-vaḷāgattu Nāra-
17 ṇaṉ-Madurāntaka...
18 [māvi]...ten-mēlai o-
19 ru-mā araikkāṇiyu-
20 m Vīrasaṅgādan
21 mēṟtalaiy-aḍaiya=
22 kkāṇi araikkā-
23 ṇiyum=āga nila-
24 m oru-māv-arai-
25 yum tirume-
26 ḻukku iḍuvā-
27 rukku [|*]

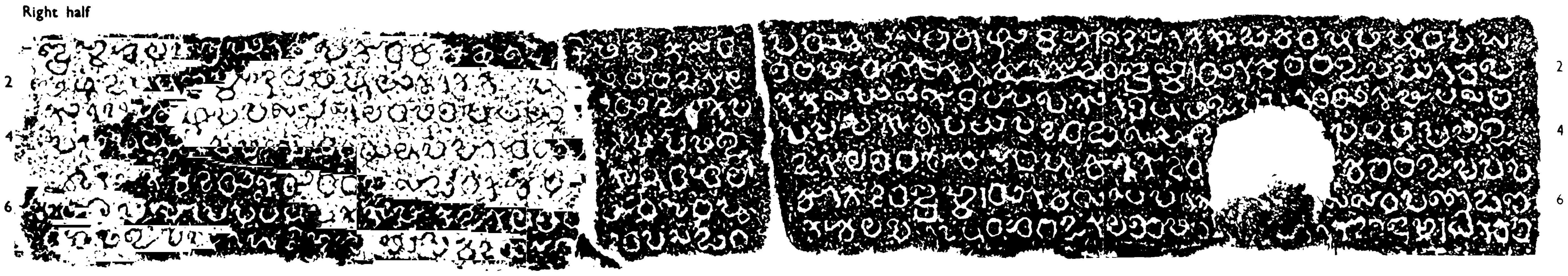
[1] *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 204.
[2] Written in *grantha* characters.
[3] Tamil variant of *chaturvēdi*.

II

Left half



Right half



SCALE: ONE-FIFTH

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*Issued*) with the royal signature in the 24th year, current, of the reign of king Vīraśōḷa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷ. In this year, queen (*nambirāṭṭiyar*) Vaḷavaṉ-Mādēviyār *alias* Iṭṭiymūttār purchased from the members of the asembly and gave the following land as *tiru-meḷukkuppuṟam* (i.e., for the requirement of washing with cow-dung) to the temple of Tiruvalañjuḻidēva at Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam :—

One *mā* and half a *kāṇi* of land in Madurāntakavaḷāgam on the south western side of the land of Nāraṇaṉ Madurāntaka .... and one *kāṇi* and a half of land adjoining the land (*called*) Vīrasaṅgādaṉ-mērtalai,[1] in all one *mā* and a half of land was given for the requirement of persons that wash the temple with cow-dung.

IV.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 20th year of Kōnāṭṭāṉ-Vikrama-Chōḷa

The subjoined inscription, in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and Tamil language, is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine of Tiruvalañjuḻināthasvāmin temple at Piramiyam. The peculiarity of this inscription consists in the fact that at the outset, immediately after the auspicious opening words ' Hail ! Prosperity ! ' the king himself proclaims his name, country and the year of his reign :— " I am Vikrama-Chōḷa of Kōnāḍu (Konāṭṭāṉ). (This is) the twentieth year of my (reign) ". It then proceeds to say (using the first person plural) that he deposited 12 *kaḻañju* of gold, as weighed (or tested) by the *nagarak-kal*, with the *ūrār* of Veḷḷakal-Veḷḷāṉūr in Kāṅgaya-nāḍu and enjoined that the *ūrār* should measure out annually 90 *nāḻi* or 45 *kāṇa-nāḻi* of oil (at the rate of one *uḻakku* of oil per day) to the assembly of Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and that, receiving this quantity of oil, the assembly should burn a perpetual light in the temple of Tiruvalañjuḻi-Mahādēva at Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, for the merit of the king's daughter who was the Chōḷa queen (*Śōḻamādēviyār*), wife of Vikrama-Chōḷa.

The whole record from the announcement of the king's name and country to the very end of the grant is a statement made by the king himself and the grant was made by him for the merit of his daughter. The statement of *ARSIE* for 1920[2] that ' the lamp was ordered to the temple by Vikramaśōḷaṉ-Śōḷamādēviyār ' is therefore not correct. The occasion for the endowment is contained in the word *pramādikka*. Though the word *pramāda* is generally used in the sense of ' carelessness or blunder ', it seems to indicate here some accident or calamity resulting in the death of the king's daughter who is stated to be the queen of Vikrama-Chōḷa. In this sense, the word is found used in an inscription of Vikrama-Chōḷa relating to the accidental death of a calf by the chariot of Manu-Chōḷa's son.[3] The word also occ rs in anoth r inscriptoin edited here (No. VII, line 4).

It is gathered from this record that the year consisted of 360 days, that 4 *uḻakku* made ne *nāḻi* and that a *kāṇa-nāḻi* had double the capacity of a *Parakēsari-nāḻi*.

As the 40th year of the reign of king Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa of Kōnāḍu corresponded to Śaka 967 (1045A.D.), the date of the present inscription *i.e.* the 20th year of reign must be 1025 A.D. The Chōḷa king at the time was Parakēsarivarman Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. That he had the surname Vikrama-Chōḷa was known previously but that he had married the daughter of Kōnāṭṭāṉ Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa was learnt only from this inscription which relates also her death.

The word Kōnāṭṭāṉ preceding the king's name clearly indicates that his original home was Kōnādu, one of the big districts of South India that had several subdivisions in it. It bordered

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[1] This may also be rendered as ou the western side of the land of Vīrasaṅgādaṉ'.

[2] See remarks against No. 187 of App. C

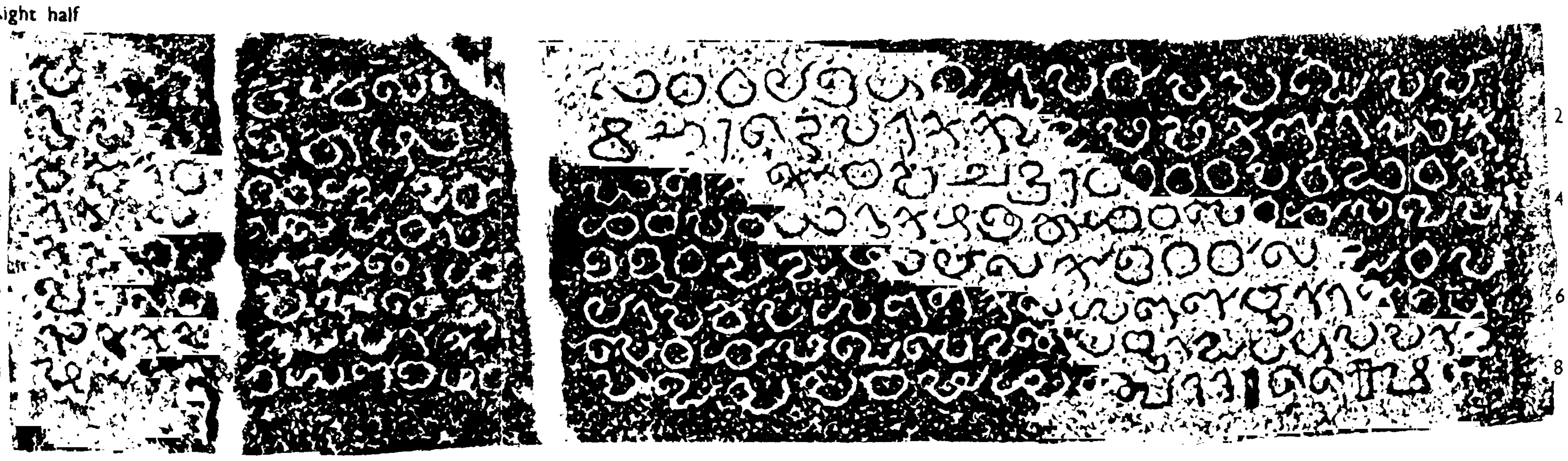
[3] *SII*, Vol. V, No. 456.

IV

Left half



Right half



SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

V.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 32nd year of Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa

The following inscription[1] of king Kalimūrkka śrī-Vikrama-Chōḷadēva is engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and Tamil language on the base of the south wall of the central shrine of Tiruvalañjuḻināthasvāmin temple at Piramiyam. It is dated in the 32nd year of reign of the king (1037 A.D.) and registers a gift of twelve *kaḻañju* of gold, as tested by *Parakēsarikkal* and having proper impress and weight, made by Aṇukkan Śēndan *alias* Eriyum Viṭaṅka-Chetti of Maṇikaṇṭhamaṅgalam in Ollaiyūr-Kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Kōnāḍu, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tiruvalañjuḻi-Paramēśvara at Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Teṉkarai-nāḍu. This inscription evinces the interest taken by the people of Kōnāḍu in the country under the rule of this king. Grantha letters are used in *svasti śrī*, *śrī-Vikrama-Chō°* and *dē°* (l. 1), *brahma°* and *śrī-Vī°* (l. 2), *Paramēśvara* and *Chandrādi°* (l. 3), *sabhaiyā°* (l. 4), *°ntra* and *sabhaiyā°* (l. 5), *sabhai* (l. 6) and *i dharmma Panmāyēśva°*, *rakshai* (l. 7). The peculiar use of *idaṉukku tiruviḻakkukku* for *i-ttiru°* is noteworthy.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [|*] Kō-Kalimūrkka-śrī-Vikrama-Chōḷadēvarkku=
ttiruveḻutt=iṭṭu=chchellāniṉṟa yāṇḍu 32 āvadu Kōnāṭṭu
O[l*]layūr-

2 kkūṟṟattu-Maṇikaṇṭa-maṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ Aṇukkaṉ
Śēndaṉ-āṉa [E] riyum Viṭaṅka-chChеṭṭiyē[ṉ] Teṉkarai-
nāṭṭu brahmadēyam-āṉa śrī-Vī-

3 rasaṅgāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu Tiruvalañjuḻi-
Paramēśvaraṟkku [cha]ndrādittavaṟ śella vaitta tiru-
nondāviḷakku oṉṟu [|*] idaṉukku (tiruviḷak)-

4 (kukku) i-vVīrasaṅgāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu
sabhaiyār-vaśam eḍuttu=kkoḍutta poṉ Parakēsari-
kkallāl tuḷai-nirai-śempoṉ 12 paṉṉiru=

5 kaḻañju(m)[|*]i=ppoṉ 12 paṉṉiru-kaḻañjinālum
śantrādittavaṟ i-ttirunondāviḷakk=oṉṟu i-
Vīrasaṅgāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyārē śe-

6 luttakkaḍavarāga i-ttirunondāviḷakku vaittēṉ
Aṇukkaṉ Śēndaṉ-āṉa Eriyum Viṭaṅka-chChеṭṭiyēṉ=
ippaḍi poṉ koṇḍu kal-veṭṭivittōm sabhai-

7 yōm [|*] i-dharma[m] panmāyēśvarar rakshai ||

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the 32nd year of the reign of king Kalimūrkka Vikrama Chōḷadēva, I, Aṇukkan Śēndaṉ *alias* Eriyum Viṭaṅka-Chetti of Maṇikaṇṭhamaṅgalam in Ollaiyūr-kūṟṟam of Kōnāḍu provided for the maintenance of one sacred perpetual lamp till the moon and the sun endure in the temple of Tiruvalañjuḻi-Paramēśvara at Śrī-Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a

[1] *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 190.

brahmadēya in Teṉkarai-nāḍu. For this lamp, pure gold (*coins*), 12 (twelve) *kaḻañju* in weight as weighed by the *Parakēsarikkal*, and having the proper impress and weight, was given to the members of the assembly of the said Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. That, with (*the income arising from*) this twelve *kaḻañju* of gold the members of the assembly of this Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam may maintain this one sacred perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun endure, I Aṇukkan Śēndan *alias* Eriyum Viṭaṅka-Cheṭṭi provided for this sacred perpetual lamp. In this wise, the assembly having received the gold had it engraved on stone. The (*assembly*) of all Māhēśvaras shall protect this gift.

VI.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 41st year of Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on the north wall of the central shrine of the Tiruvalañjuḻināthasvāmin temple of Piramiyam. It contains eight long lines of writing in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet. The language is Tamil. A few letters at the right end of each line are damaged but can be made out satisfactorily. The inscription is dated in the 41st year, expressed both in figures and letters, of the reign of king Kalimūrkka śrī-Vikrama-Chōḷadēva and contains a short introduction in the Tamil *agaval* metre, the object of which is to say that Vikrama-Chōḷa was one of the best of kings, possessed all kingly virtues, governed the country with justice and effected agricultural improvements. The *praśasti* writer describes in the words of the *Kuṟaḷ* that the king wielded his sceptre righteously, held up his silver-white parasol, made the lands of the country fertile, gave relief to the suffering inhabitants, received only his one-sixth share (of the produce of land), removed sins (or punished the wicked) and, seated on the royal throne (or sitting in council), afforded protection to his subjects from external evils and was as tenderly attached to them as the mother to the child she had given birth.

The *Kuṟaḷ* verses are cited below to enable the reader to compare the wording of the *praśasti* with that of the *Kuṟaḷ* which it follows :—

Koḍai-aḷi śenkōḷ kuḍiy-ōmbal nāṉgum

Uḍaiyāṉām Vēndark=koḷi (ch. 39, v. 10) ;

Kuḍi-puṟaṅkātt=ōmbi=kkuṟṟaṅ-kaḍidal

vaḍuv-aṉṟu vēndan=ṟoḻil (ch. 55, v. 9) ;

Aṟaṉ-iḻukkād=allavai nīkki maṟaṉ-iḻukkā

māṉam-uḍaiyad=araśu (ch. 39, v. 4).

It will be noted that the phrase *allavai kaḍindu* of the inscription occurs in the form *allavai nīkki* in Kuṟaḷ 39, v. 4, and *kuṟṟaṅ-kaḍidal* in 55, v. 9. *Allavai* cannot mean remainder as noted on p. 108 of *ARSIE* for 1920. The juxtaposition of the phrases *āṟil-oṉṟu koṇḍu* (receiving onesixth of the produce as tax) and *allavai*[2] *kaḍindu* (punishing the wicked or removing sins), showshow the latter followed the former as cause and effect and reminds one of the *Smṛiti* text

अरक्ष्यमाणाः कुर्वन्ति यत्किंचित्किल्बिषं प्रजाः ।

तस्मात्तु नृपतेरर्धं यस्माद्गृह्णात्यसौ करान् ॥ *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I. 337

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[1] *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 183.

[2] *Parimēlaḻagar* commenting on this word equates it with *kolai kaḷavu* (murder, stealing) ; cf. *Kuṟaḷ*, ch. 39, v. 4.

Nāḍu-vaḷampaḍutti, i.e., ' making the lands of the country fertile ', is one of the duties of a good ruler and we may also note the occurrence of *vaṇḍamiḻ-nāḍu vaḷampaḍuttu* in *Śēkkiḻār's Mūrtti-Nāyaṉār Purāṇam* (verse 13). With the phrase *peṟṟa-kuḷavikkuṟṟa naṟṟāy pōl* of the inscription compare *Kuḷavi koḷbavariṉ ōmbumadi* (*Puṟam* 5, l. 7), and *Kuḷavi Koḷvāriṉ-kuḍipuṟam tandu* (*Padiṟṟuppattu*, 6th *Padigam*, l. 9) and स्याद्राजा भृत्यवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता (*Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I. 334).

It will be seen that in the reading and interpretation of this inscription as given here, ' Vēndi-nāḍu ' and its conquest by Vikrama-Chōḷa noticed at p. 108 of *ARSIE* for 1920 find no place.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of 55 *kaḻañju* of gold (coins) as weighed by (the stone weight) *Parakēsarikal*—each coin bearing clear marks and having proper weight—made by Vīrasaṅgādan Śūṟṟiyadēvan-Vāṇavaṉ-Uttaramantri, a Nānādēśiya-nāṭṭu-Cheṭṭi of Nandiyanallūr iṉ Vaḍagarai-Tirukkaḷumala-nāḍu. This quantity of gold was received by the members of the assembly (*sabhā*) of Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Teṉkarai-nāḍu who bound themselves to meet from the annual income of one hundred and ten *kalam* of paddy for *kār* and *paśāṇam*, arising from the deposited amount, (1) the expenses of 90 *kalam* of paddy per year for feeding daily 3 *brāhmaṇas* at the rate of three *kuṟuṇi* calculated at one *kuṟuṇi* each,[1] (2) eighteen *kalam* and nine *kuruṇi* of paddy per year, at the rate of 5 *nāḻi* by the *parakēsari* measure per day, for the man who cooked the meals ; and (3) one *kalam* and three *kuṟuṇi* for cloth to the latter.

In the phrase *Parakēsari-kallāl-tuḻai-niṟai-śempoṉ aimbattaiṅ-kaḻañju*, the last term *aimbatt-aiṅ-kaḻañju* (55 *kaḻañju*) is qualified by two adjuncts *Parakēsari-kallāl* and *tuḻai niṟai śempoṉ* of which the first denotes the stone called after *Parakēsari* for weighing gold ; every one of the three words *tuḻai*, *niṟai* and *śempoṉ* of which the second adjunct is composed indicates that the gift consisted of gold coins, *tuḻai* standing for the marks and impressions on the obverse of coin, *niṟai* for the proper weight of the coin, and *śempoṉ* for the name of the gold coin, the whole meaning ' gold coins having proper weight and marks or impressions'.

Grantha letters are used in *svasti*, *śrī*, *śrī*, *Chōḷadēva* (l. 1), *brahmadēyam śrī*, *chaturvē°* and *sabhaiyō°* (l. 4), *Paramēśvara* and *brāhmaṇa* (l. 5), and *Chandrādityavat*, *sabhaiyō°*, *i-ddharmam rakshai*, *śrīpādam* and *°n-māhēśva°* (l. 8).

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [|*] Kō-kKalimūrkka Śrī-Vikkirama-Chōḷadēvaṟkku=
ttiruveḻutt=iṭṭu=chcheṅkōl=ōchchi veḷḷi-veṉ-kuḍai miḻirav=
ēndi nāḍu vaḷam-paḍuttu naiya[2] kuḍiy=ōmbi āṟil oṉṟu koṉ-

2 ḍ=allavai kaḍindu kō-vīṟṟ-irundu kuḍi-puṟaṅ-kāttu=ppeṟṟa-
kuḷavikk=uṟṟa naṟ-ṟāy pōl=ttiru-migu-śiṟappiṟ=chellā-
niṉṟa tiru-nalli-yāṇḍu [41]nāṟpatt-[oṉṟā]vadu

3 vaḍagarai=tTirukkaḷumala-nāṭṭu Nandiyanallūr=uḍaiyāṉ
Vīrasaṅgādaṉ Śūṟṟiyadēvaṉ Vāṇavaṉ=uttaramandiriy-āṉa
Nānādēśiya-nāṭṭu-chCheṭṭi-pakkal Teṉkarai-nāṭṭu bra-

[1] Besides three vegetable curries including *kummāyam*, each *Brāhmaṇa* had to be served daily with half a *kāṇa nāḻi* of rice, one and a half *piḍi* of ghee, two areca nuts and five betel leaves.

[2] Read *naiyum*. The *ai* sign of *nai* looks like *e* in the original.

4 hmadēyam **Śrī-Vīrasaṅgāda**-chaturvēdimangalattu sabhaiyōm
ivar-**pakkal koṇḍa** poṉ Parakēsari-kkallāl tuḻai-niṟai-chchem-
poṉ **aiymbatt-aiyṅ-kaḻañju** [|*] i-ppoṉ aimbatt-aiyṅ-kaḻañ-

5 jiṉāl vanda aḷavay śela kār paśānam āṇḍ-eḍuttu nūṟṟ-
orupadiṉ=kalamuṅ=koṇḍu Tiruvalañjuḻi-Paramēśvarar
kōyililē Brāhmaṇarkku uṇṇa vaichcha kalam mūṉṟukku
[niśadam] Pa-

6 rakēsari-kkālāl=kkuṟuṇiy-āga mūṉṟu-kalattukkum nichcham
mūṉṟu-kuṟuṇiyāl nel āṇ[ḍ-eḍuttu]=ttoṇṇūṟṟu-kkalamum nichcha[m]
aḍum Brāhmaṇaṉukku nichcham Parakēsari aññāḻi[yāl]
[āṇḍ-eḍuttu padineṉ-kalanē i]-

7 ru-tūṇi-kkuṟuṇiyum āṭṭ-oru puḍavaikku nel=kkalanē mu-
kkuṟuṇiyum=āga nel nūṟṟ-orupadiṉ-kalattālum, i-kkalam
mūṉṟukkum kummāyam=uḷḷiṭṭu mūṉṟu kaṟiyum oru-
kalattukku kāṇattāl=arai......

8 m oru-piḍi-arai neyyuṅ=[kiḻānam]pērāl
iraṇḍu pākkum añju veṟṟilaiyum ippaḍi
chandrādityavat niṟka mūṉṟu-kalamum
ūṭṭuvadānōm sabhaiyōm Vāṇavaṉ-uttaramandariyārkku [|* i-
dharmmam rakshippāṉ śrī-pādam en talai mē[lē] [|*] idu
pan-māhēśvara-rakshai [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*Issued*) with the affixture of royal signature, in the excessively growing prosperous year 41, forty one, current, of (*the reign of*) king Kalimūrkka the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,—who weilded his righteous sceptre, held up his silver-white parasol with splendour, made (*the lands of*) the country fertile, relieved the sufferings (*of*) people,[1] received only one sixth (*of produce as tax*), removed sins (or punished the wicked, i.e. perpetrators of crimes), and who sitting in council (or on the royal throne), protected his subjects from external evils[2] with the intense love of a mother to the child born to her,—

We, (*the members of*) the assembly of the illustrious Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Teṉkarai-nāḍu, received from Vīrasaṅgādaṉ Śūṟriyadēvan-Vāṇavaṉ-Uttaramantri, a Nānādēśiya-nāṭṭu-Cheṭṭi and resident of Nandiyanallūr in Vaḍagarai-Tirukkaḻumala-nāḍu, fifty five *kaḻañju*, as weighed by (*the stone weight called*) *Parakēsarikal* of gold (*coins bearing clear*) marks (*and having proper*) weight.

With the income of one hundred and ten *kalam* of paddy, arising, during *kār* and *paśāṇam* of every year, from these fiftyfive *kaḻañju* of gold (*coins*), we, (*the members of*) the assembly, bound ourselves on behalf of Vāṇavaṉ-Uttaramantri to give annually (1) ninety *kalam* of paddy as

[1] *Kuḍi-ōmbal*, according to Parimēlalagar, is done by not levying excessive taxation, receiving the due taxes when there is no distress and remitting them when necessary. Cf. *Kuṟaḷ*, 390.

[2] These refer to those arising from officials and enemies, according to Parimēlaḻagar (see under *Kuṟaḷ*, 387).

measured by the *Parakēsarikkal*,—(*which is required*) for feeding, as long as the moon and the sun endure, Brāhmaṇas in the temple of Tiruvalañjuḷi-Paramēśvara,—(*calculated at the rate of*) three *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per day for the three *kalam* at one *kuṟuṇi* for each *kalam* (dish) to be supplied with half a *kāṇa-nāḻi* of rice, one and a half *piḍi* of ghee, two areca-nuts, and five betel leaves, all these inclusive of *kummāyam* and three curries, i.e., vegetables; and (2) eighteen *kalam*, two *tūṇi* and one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy calculated at the rate of five *nāḻi* per day for the Brāhmaṇa who cooked meals, and one *kalam* and three *kuṟuṇi* of paddy to provide for his cloth.

The feet of the person who protects this charity shall rest on my head. This charity shall be under the protection of (*the assembly of*) *Panmāhēśvaras*.

VII.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 42nd year of Kalimūrkka-Vikrama-Chōḷa

This inscription, also in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and Tamil language, is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine of the Tiruvalañjuḷināthasvāmin temple at Piramiyam. It is dated in the 42nd year of the reign of king Kalimūrkka śrī-Vikrama-Chōḷadēva, contains the same introduction as in the previous inscription and registers a gift of 15 *kaḻañju* of gold (coins) by Nakkan-Viṭaṅkan *alias* Vikramaśōḷa-Pallavadaraiyan, one of the *araiyar* (chiefs) of the *perundanam* of the Perumāḷ, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tiruvalañjuḷi-Paramēśvara at Vīra-saṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Teṉkarai-nāḍu for the merit of Emaḍi Nakkan-Kunṟan, who had met with an accidental death. The *sabhā* is said to have been entrusted by the donor with the gold so that they may maintain the lamp (as *aṇukka-viḷakku*). The *sabhā* having received the gold agreed to burn the lamp and had the gift engraved on stone.

Grantha letters used are *svasti śrī*, *śrī-Vikrama-chōḷadē°* (l. 1), *pramādi°* (l. 4), *brahmadēyam śrī*, *chchaturvvē°*, *Paramēśva°* and *chandrādityavat* (l. 5), *sabhai* (l. 6), *chandrādityavat* and *sabhai* (l. 7) and *i dharmma Panmāhēśvara rakshai* (l. 8).

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti śrī [|*] Kō-kKalimūrkka śrī-Vikrama-Chōḷadēvarkku=
ttiruveḻutt=iṭṭu=chcheṅkōl=ōchchi

2 veḷḷi-veṇ-kuḍai miḻirav=ēndi nāḍu vaḷam-paḍuttu naiya-
kuḍiy-ōmbi āṟil=oṉṟu koṇḍ=allavai

3 kaḍindu kō-vīṟṟ-irundu kuḍi puṟaṅ-kāttu=ppeṟṟa-
kuḷavikk=uṟṟa naṟ-ṟāy pōl[2]=chchellā-niṉṟa tiru-nall-
iyāṇḍu 42-vadu Perumāḷ perun

4 daṇatt=araiyarkaḷil Nakkaṉ-Viṭankaṉ-āṇa Vikkirama-
śōḷa-pPallavadaraiyanēn Emaḍi Nakkaṉ-Kuṉṟan
vyāpiyā-pramādittamaiyil avanai-chchātti=t Te

5 nkarai-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam śrī-Vīrasaṅgāḍa-
chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu=tTiruvalañjuḷi-pParamēśvara
[r]kku aṇukka-viḷakkāy cha[ndrā]dityavat niṉr=eriya
vaitta ti-

[1] *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 185.
[2] The expression *tirumigu-śiṟappil* has been omitted here.

6 runondāviḷakk=oṉṟukkum vaichcha Parakēsari-
kka[l]lā[l]=t tuḷai-niṟai-śempoṉ padinaiṅ-kaḻañjum
sabhaiyār vaśam eḍuttu=kkuḍuttēṉ Vikkirama[śō]-
7 ḷa-pPallavadaraiyanēṉ [|*] ivariḍaiy-i=ppon koṇḍu
i-vviḷakk=oṉṟum chandrādityavat erippadāy kal-
veṭṭi=kkuḍuttōm sabhaiyōm [|*] Nakkaṉ-Ku-
8 ṉṟanai=chchā[r*]tti [|*] i-dharmma[m*]
Panmāhēśvarar rakshai [||*]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1 to 3. From *Svasti śrī* to *yāṇḍu*, the wording is the same as in the previous inscription.

Ēmaḍi Nakkaṉ-Kuṉṟaṉ having met with a fatal accident, I, Nakkaṉ-Viṭaṅkaṉ *alias* Vikramaśōḷa-Pallavadaraiyaṉ, one of the chiefs (*araiyargal*) (*belonging to*) the *Perundanam* of the king, endowed for his merit, fifteen *kaḻañju* as weighed by (*the weight*) *Parakēsarikkal*, of gold (*coins bearing clear*) impressions (*and having proper*) weight, for burning one perpetual lamp, till the moon and the sun endure, in the temple of Tiruvalañjuḻi-Paramēśvara at Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Teṉkarai-nāḍu. I, Vikramaśōḷa-Pallavadaraiyaṉ, gave these gold (*coins*) to (*the members of*) the assembly. Receiving these gold (*coins*) from him and agreeing to burn a lamp, as long as the moon and the sun endure, for the merit of Nakkaṉ-Kuṉṟaṉ, we, (*the members of*) the assembly, had this (*endowment*) engraved on stone. This charity shall be under the protection of (*the assembly of*) the *Panmāhēśvaras*.

No. 20—NINGONDI GRANT OF PRABHANJANAVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In or shortly before the year 1928, a set of three inscribed copper plates appears to have been discovered somewhere in the Parlakimedi Taluk of the Ganjam District, formerly in Madras but now in Orissa. The actual findspot of the inscription is unknown, nor have we any knowledge about the circumstances leading to its discovery. It seems, however, that soon after the discovery of the inscription, the seal-ring holding the three plates together was removed. Some time in the year 1928, information regarding the discovery of the epigraph reached the ears of the late Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb, Raja of Tekkali. The late Raja Saheb, who used to take great interest in the study of epigraphic material, succeeded in tracing the three loose plates of the inscription in the village of Āḍabā in the Parlakimedi Taluk and that of Kānnāyāvalasā (also called Kānnēvalasā or Kānnaivalasā) about nine miles from Tekkali, now in the Srikakulam District of the Andhra State. The first and third of the three plates were found in the possession of a goldsmith of **Āḍabā**, while the second of them in that of a gentleman of **Kānnāyāvalasā**, named Patnaikuni Gopalakrishna Varma. The Raja Saheb then studied the inscription with the help of the original plates as well as a few sets of impressions of the record, which had been prepared by him. The plates were returned to their owners.

In 1930, the Raja Saheb of Tekkali published a paper on the above inscription in the June issue of the now defunct journal *Vaitaraṇī* (Vol. IV, 1930) which was published from Cuttack by Messrs. L. N. Sahu and B. Singh Deo. Unfortunately the paper (without any facsimile of the inscription) failed to attract the attention of scholars, which it so highly deserved. In spite, therefore, of the fact that the record in question reveals very valuable informations regarding the ancient royal family of the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga, writers (including myself) on the early history of Kaliṅga, who published the results of their study during the last two decades, had to work in absolute ignorance of its existence.[1] My attention was recently drawn to the Raja Saheb's paper on the Āḍabā-Kānnāyāvalasā plates in the *Vaitaraṇī*, Vol. IV, June, 1930, pp. 293 ff., as well as to a few sets of impressions of the inscription lying in his possession. Unfortunately my attempts to trace the original plates were not crowned with success. Considering therefore the importance of the inscription as well as the fact that the Raja Saheb's paper on the subject is neither free from errors of reading and interpretation nor easily available to scholars, I am editing the record in the following pages from a set of impressions kindly supplied to me by the Raja Saheb,[2] a few months before his sad demise in August 1953.

The three plates, on which the inscription in question is incised, measure 7·1 inches by 2·15 inches each. Their thickness and weight are not recorded. Apparently, however, the thickness was not very considerable. All the plates have a hole about the left margin for the seal-ring to pass through ; but, as said above, the ring with the **seal** was never traced. The first and third plates have writing only on the inner side, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether sixteen lines of inscription, four lines on each one of the inscribed faces of the plates. The preservation of the first and third plates is not very satisfactory.

The **characters** employed in the record belong to the Southern Class of alphabets and may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the **fifth** or **sixth century A. D.** They closely resemble those employed in other records of the same period coming from the ancient Kaliṅga region lying in the eastern coastal area of India, especially the inscriptions of the Māṭharas and the Pitṛibhaktas.[3] The **language** of the inscription under review is Sanskrit and, with the exception of three benedictory and imprecatory verses about the end of the charter, the entire record is written in prose. As in point of palaeography, so also in regard to language and **orthography,** our record resembles such other inscriptions indicated above as the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman[4] and nothing calls for special mention. The **date** of the inscription under review is quoted in lines 15-16 as the twelfth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika without the usual reference to the regnal year of the issuer of the charter. The absence of the year seems to be due to the inadvertence of the scribe of the document or the engraver of the plates.

The charter begins with the word *svasti* and the reference to the victorious city of **Siṁhapura** whence it was issued. It then introduces the reigning monarch who was responsible for the issue of the grant as the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Prabhañjanavarman.** The king is described as the son of **Śaktivarman** and grandson of **Śaṅkaravarman.** *Mahārāja* Prabhañjanavarman was a devotee of Bhagavat-svāmi-Nārāyaṇa, i.e. the god Vishṇu. He is also described as the increaser of the

[1] See *Suc. Sāt.*, 1939, pp. 74 ff. ; *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, 1946, pp. 79 ff. ; B. V. Krishna Rao, *Early Dynasties of Andhradēśa*, 1942, pp. 384 ff., etc.

[2] After the preparation of this paper, I came to learn that the second of the three inscribed plates of the set, which contains only details regarding the grant, was received for examination by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy from the Collector of Ganjam and was registered as C. P. No. 1 of 1928-29 (see *ARSIE*, 1928-29, pp. 4, 65). One of the impressions of the said plate, prepared by that officer and now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, has been utilised in illustrating my paper.

[3] See above, Vols. IV, pp. 142 ff. ; XII, pp. 1 ff. ; XXIII, pp. 56 ff.; XXIV, pp. 47 ff., etc. For other references, see *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 76 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

fame of the **Māṭhara** family, the ornament of his own family and the lord of the entire Kaliṅga country. Neither his father Śaktivarman nor his grandfather Śaṅkaravarman is endowed with the title *Mahārāja*; but that Śaktivarman certainly and Śaṅkaravarman probably were ruling monarchs is indicated by an epithet saying that Śaktivarman (not called a *Mahārāja*) ruled the land lying between the rivers Kṛishṇavēnnā (Kṛishṇā) and Mahānadī as if the inhabitants of that region were his own offsprings. Śaktivarman moreover is none other than the ruler of that name who issued the Rāgōlu plates in the thirteenth year of his reign. His epithet referred to above is on a par with Prabhañjavarman's claim to have been the lord of the entire Kaliṅga country. In his own record, Śaktivarman also is described as the lord of Kaliṅga. The implication of Śaktivarman's epithet in the record under review is that Kaliṅga lay on the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the lower courses of the Kṛishṇā and Mahānadī rivers. As pointed out by me elsewhere,[1] such claims do not point to the actual position of the rulers in question but to the political ideal of the period which may not have been always realised in practice. It has also been pointed out that many of the Kaliṅga kings of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. called themselves *Kaliṅgādhipati* and a few even *sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati* (as in the case of *Mahārāja* Prabhañjanavarman in our record) and that the latter title at least points to the rule of most of the *Kaliṅgādhipatis* only over parts of the Kaliṅga country. This fact is clearly borne out by the known facts of history. We know that the Māṭharas and their rivals holding sway over Central and Southern Kaliṅga had little to do with the Puri-Cuttack region of Northern Kaliṅga. It may also be noticed that not the Kṛishṇā but the Gōdāvarī was usually regarded as the southern boundary of Kaliṅga. The above *Kaliṅgādhipatis* had evidently not much to do with the land between the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī where the Śālaṅkāyanas and Vishṇukuṇḍins were ruling in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

The king's order regarding the grant of a piece of land was addressed to the cultivators assembled at the locality called Astihōṇa-Rāmagrāma. He made the grant of a locality called Niṅgōṇḍi which either abutted on or formed a part of Astihōṇa-Rāmagrāma and was bounded by Rukmapati on the north, Vyāghraprastara together with a mole-hill by a *Śālmalī* tree on the west and the sea (Bay of Bengal) on the south. The eastern boundary is not mentioned unless it is believed that the word *pūrvēṇa* is inadvertently omitted before the reference to the *Śālmalī* tree and the mole-hill mentioned in connection with the western boundary. The gift land was thus situated on the shore of the Bay of Bengal. The locality called Niṅgōṇḍi was made a permanent *agrahāra* by the king and granted in favour of some Brāhmaṇas belonging to different *gōtras* and *charaṇas*. Unfortunately, as in several other charters[2] of this kind, the names of the donees are not mentioned in the document. The cultivators are advised to attend on the donees according to the established custom and to offer them regularly the *mēya* (share of the produce) and *hiraṇya* (tax in cash). Future rulers are then requested to protect the grant and such protection of grants made by previous rulers is said to be the *sva-dharma* of kings. Three of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses are next quoted as *Vyāsa-gīta-ślōkāḥ*. In line 15 reference is made to the annual rent fixed at two hundred *paṇas* probably of cowries. We know that 80 cowries made one *paṇa*. Thus 200 *paṇas* were equal to 16,000 cowries. This amount was apparently payable by the donees to the king every year in advance (cf. the word *agra* used in this connection) inspite of the fact that Niṅgōṇḍi was evidently given away free to the Brāhmaṇas as an *agrahāra*. Such *agrahāras* were usually revenue-free gifts. But we have many records among the early epigraphs of Orissa, which record gifts or gift-deeds entitled *kara-śāsanas* and specify the annual rent (usually much less than what the normal rent of the lands in question would be) payable by the donees to the king. I have elsewhere[3] discussed the nature of a large number of such documents.

[1] *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 81.
[2] Cf. above Vol. XXVII, p. 35 (text, lines 7-8).
[3] See *Itihāsa* (Bengali), Calcutta, Vol II (B. S. 1358), pp. 115-20; *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4-10.

In connection with the passage *sāṁvatsarika-kara-paṇ-āgra-śatau(tē) dvau(dvē)* pointing to the annual cess or nominal rent fixed for the *agrahāra* granted by our record, reference may be made to a passage of exactly similar import occurring in the Bobbili plates of Chaṇḍavarman edited by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal.[1] Unfortunately, Mr. Ghoshal entirely missed the real meaning of the passage in question, while an editorial note thereon from the pen of the late Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu hardly went far to improve upon his reading and interpretation. The passage in question runs as follows: °*Chaṇḍavarmmā Tiriṭṭhāṇagrāmē sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbinaḥ bhōjakāṁś=cha samājñāpayaty=asty=ēshō(sha) grāmō=smābhir=ātmanaḥ puṇy-āyur-yyaśasām=abhivṛiddhayē ā-samudr-ādṛi(dri)-śaśi(śi)-tārak-ārka-pratishṭhamaṁ=agrahāraṁ kṛitvā sarvva-karā-parihārais=cha parihṛitya shaṭṭriṅśa(ttriṁśa)d-agrahāra-sāmānyaṁ ch=āgrahāra-pradēya[ṁ*] sāṁba(sāṁva)tsarikaṁ sa(pa)ṇ-āgraṁ śata-bhu(dva)yan=ch=ā[ṁ*]śaṁ ch-ōpanibandhyaḥ(dhya) Tiriṭṭhāṇa-vāṭak-āgrahāra[ḥ*] Brāhmaṇānāṁ nānā-gā(gō)tra-sabrahmachāriṇāṁ samprattaḥ.* The meaning of the passage is quite clear. It should be noticed that the number 36 has been used here in the sense of 'many' or 'all' as in expressions like [Bengali] *chhatriś-jāt* ('the 36 castes',[2] i.e. all the castes or most of the castes), [Hindi] *Chattīs-gaṛh* (literally, 'the 36 forts', a name applied to an area originally consisting of 'many' forts), etc. It may be pointed out in this connection that a copper-plate grant[3] of the Sūryavaṁśī monarch Kapilēśvara (1435-70 A.D.) uses the passage *āvēdanāni shaṭ-triṁśat-tyaktvā* in connection with a gift of land. The word *āvēdana* (found in the form *avadāna* or *āvadāna* in some Oriya records) no doubt indicates the royal dues, thirtysix kinds of which are vaguely referred to in the passage. The number 36 is used here evidently in the sense of 'all'. Similar significance of other numerical expressions such as 18 has been discussed in our paper on the Kanās plate of Lōkavigraha.[4] Thus the section *shaṭtriṁśad-agrahāra-sāmānyañ=ch=āgrahāra-pradēyaṁ sāṁvatsarikaṁ paṇ-āgraṁ śata-dvayañ ch=āṁśaṁ ch=ōpanibandhya* would mean 'having registered the amount payable for the *agrahāra* in advance annually at 200 *paṇas* as in the case of all other *agrahāras*'. The same thing is no doubt indicated also by the passage *shaṭtriṁśad-agrahāra-sāmānyaṁ=kṛitvā* occurring in line 6 of the Bṛihatprōshṭha grant[5] of Umavarman. Thus the usual custom referred to seems to have been the grant of *agrahāras* on a cess or nominal rent of 200 *paṇas* a year. As shown in my article on the *kara-śāsanas* referred to above, the amount fixed for annual payment was sometimes styled *kara* or rent; but often the grant was specifically declared to have been made rent-free and the payment was given the style *triṇ-ōdaka* which was the name of a particular cess. The Bobbili plates refer to the grant of the *agrahāra* as rent-free and therefore mention the amount payable by the donees annually as the *agrahāra-pradēya aṁśa*.

The inadequately quoted date of the charter, already discussed above, comes in lines 15-16. The document ends with the mention of the *ājñapti* or executor of the grant, whose name seems to be Jyēshṭha. He is called a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (possibly, a police officer) who acted as a *dūta* (envoy or representative) of the *Mahāpratīhāra* (officer in charge of the palace gate). The name of the *Mahāpratīhāra* is not mentioned. But it appears that he was originally entrusted with the work of executing the king's grant, but that he did the work through another officer who may have been one of his subordinates.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 33-36.

[2] The *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa*, Uttarakhaṇḍa, Chap. XIII, speaks of the number of the mixed castes, otherwise called Śūdra, specifically as 36, but gives a list in which no less than 40 such castes are enumerated. See R. P. Chanda, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 194-95.

[3] See *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. VI, p. 107 (text, line 173). Dr. K. B. Tripathi points out to me that the corresponding Oriya passage in line 188 of the same record, wrongly read by the editor of the inscription, actually reads *chhattisī āvadānā madhyakari chhāṛī.*

[4] Above, Vol, XXVIII, p. 330.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XII, p 5.

I have elsewhere[1] discussed the history of the various dynasties that ruled in Kaliṅga during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. There were several ruling families flourishing in different parts of the country. The three kings, named Umavarman, Chaṇḍvarman and Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman, who are called *Pitṛibhakta* in the legend of their seals and are endowed with the title 'lord of Kaliṅga' or 'lord of the entire Kaliṅga', issued their charters from Siṁhapura as well as from Sunagara, Vardhamānapura and Sārapallikā. Of these Siṁhapura has been identified with modern Siṅgupuram near Srikakulam. Of the Māṭharas, who were contemporaries of the Pitṛibhaktas, only two kings, viz. Śaktivarman and Anantaśaktivarman, both called 'lord of Kaliṅga', were so long known to scholars from their own records. Their earlier records were issued from Pishṭapura, modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District, while Siṁhapura was the place of issue of their later charters. The Māṭharas thus appear to have originally had their capital at Pishṭapura in South Kaliṅga but removed their headquarters to Siṁhapura in Central Kaliṅga after having subdued the Pitṛibhaktas. It was known from the evidence of the records of the Māṭhara kings Śaktivarman and Anantaśaktivarman that the former was a near predecessor of the latter ; but the relationship between the two was unknown. Anantaśaktivarman was usually regarded as the son or grandson of Śaktivarman, while there was also a view identifying Śaktivarman and Anantaśaktivarman. But the inscription under review shows that the above Śaktivarman was preceded on the Māṭhara throne by his father Śaṅkaravarman and was himself succeeded by his son Prabhañjanavarman. It now seems therefore that Anantaśaktivarman, who was a near successor of Śaktivarman according to the evidence referred to above, was the son of Prabhañjanavarman and grandson of Śaktivarman.[2] Closely associated with the Pitṛibhaktas and Māṭharas were the Vāsishṭhas who originally ruled in Central Kaliṅga but later extended their power over the southern part of the country. The Vāsishṭha king Guṇavarman was the lord of Dēvarāshṭra which has been identified with the modern Yellamanchili Tāluk of the Visakhapatnam District. Guṇavarman's son and successor was Prabhañjanavarman who was himself succeeded by his son Anantavarman. The Vāsishṭha king Anantavarman, called 'the lord of Kaliṅga', issued one of his charters from Dēvapura (apparently in the Yellamanchili area) and another from Pishṭapura. Thus the Vāsishṭhas of Central Kaliṅga appear to have conquered South Kaliṅga from the Māṭharas. Another ruler associated with the Pitṛibhaktas, Māṭharas and Vāsishṭhas, was king Viśākhavarman who issued his charter from Śrīpura (modern Siripuram in the old Vāvilavalasa Zamindari of the Visakhapatnam District), although his exact relation with the rulers of the above dynasties cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It will be seen from the above analysis that the history of Kaliṅga in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. was marked by the struggle between the royal houses of Central and Southern Kaliṅga for the supreme authority over the country. When these kings were thus struggling for supremacy, the Gaṅgas established themselves about the close of the fifth century at Kaliṅganagara, usually identified with modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam, and gradually became the strongest power in Central Kaliṅga. In South Kaliṅga, we find at a slightly later date the throne of Pishṭapura under king Pṛithivīmahārāja who was the son of Vikramēndra and grandson of king Raṇadurjaya. This king or one of his immediate successors was overthrown by the Chālukya king Pulakēśin II of Bādāmi sometime before 634 A.D. But the relation of Pṛithivīmahārāja's line with the kings of the Māṭhara and Vāsishṭha families, who earlier ruled from the same city, cannot be determined.

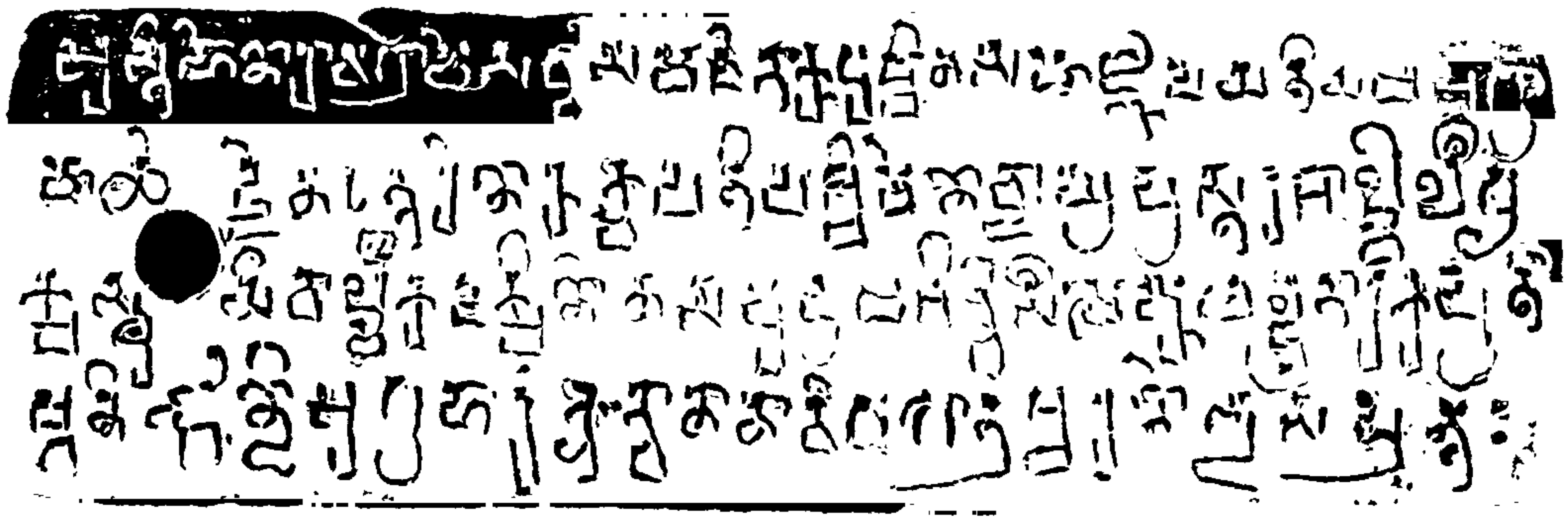
Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the identification of Kaliṅga and Siṁhapura has been indicated above while the Kṛishṇavēṇṇā (Kṛishṇā) and Mahānadī are well-known rivers. I have not succeeded in locating Astihōṇa-Rāmagrāma and Niṅgōṇḍi. Astihōṇa-

[1] See *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 76 ff.

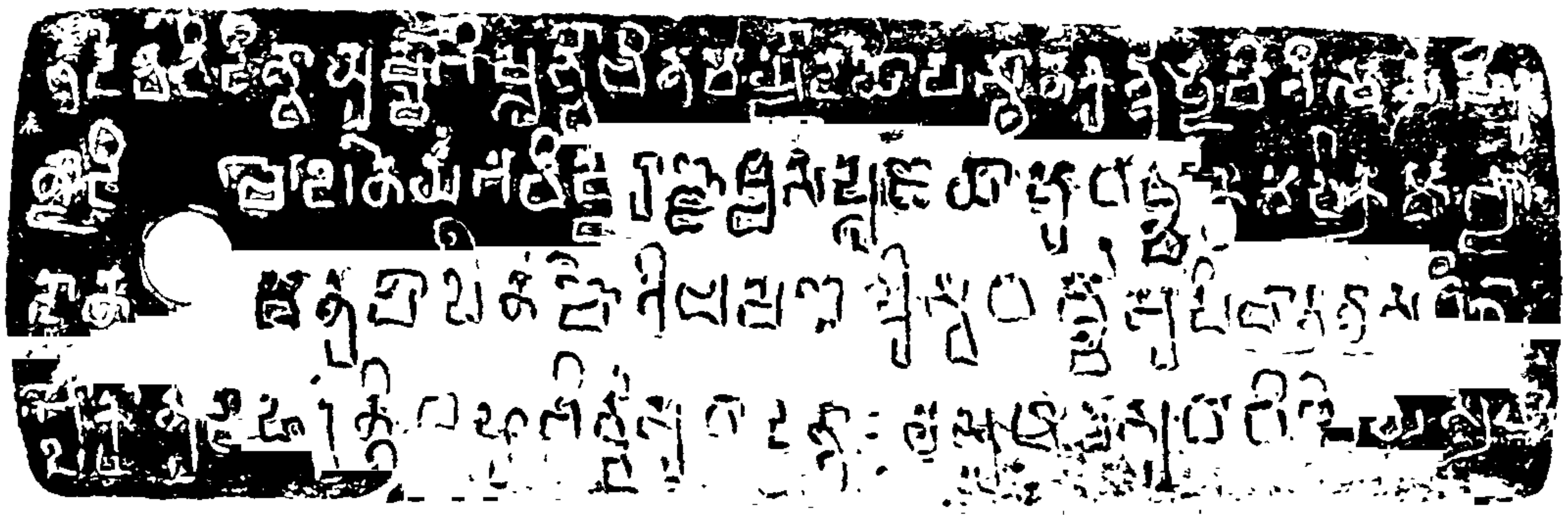
[2] That Anantaśaktivarman was a grandson of Śaktivarman is also suggested by the evidence of the former's Andhavaram plates, recently analysed by Mr. M. Venkataramayya. See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 230-31.



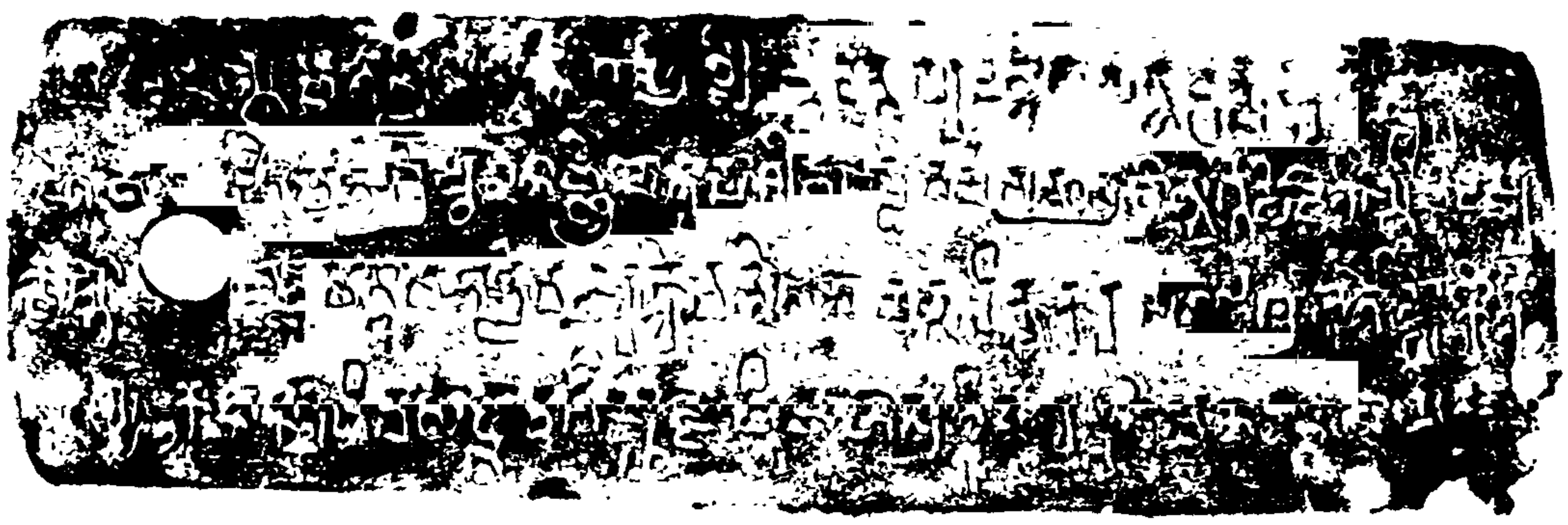
ii,a.



ii,b.



iii.



N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO

SCALE, FOUR-FIFTHS

Rāmagrāma may actually be the joint name of two adjacent places called Astihōṇa and Rāmagrāma. With the name of Astihōṇa may be compared that of the village Astihavēra mentioned in the Tekkali plates of Umavarman.[1] The localities mentioned as lying on the boundaries of the gift land, except the sea or the Bay of Bengal, cannot be identified.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 **Svasti** [||*] **Vijaya-Siṅgha(Siṁha)purāt** bhaga[va][t*]-svāmi Nārāyaṇa-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ **Mā-**

2 **ṭhara-kula-kīrtti**-varddhanakara[ḥ] śrī-Śaṅkaravarmmaṇa[ḥ*] pautra[ḥ*] **Kṛishṇavēnnā-Ma-**

3 **hānady-antara[ṁ]**[3] sva-prajā-dharmmēṇ-[ā*]nuśāsina[ḥ*] śrī-Śaktivarmmaṇa[ḥ] **pu[t]ra[ḥ*] sva-**

4 **kul-ālaṅkarishṇus** [sa]kala-**Kaliṅg**-ādhipati[ḥ] śrī-mahārāja-**Prabhañjanavarmmā**

Second Plate, First Side

5 **Astihōṇa-Rāmagrāmē** sarvva-samavētā[n*] kuṭumbina[ḥ*] samājñāpayati [|*] ya ēsha **grā-**

6 **m-āchhē(chchhē)dyēna** uttarēṇa **Rukmapati[ḥ*]** paśchimēṇa(na) Vyāghraprastara-śālmalīvṛi-

7 **ksha-sthu(sthā)yi-vā(va)lmīka(kaḥ)** dakshiṇēna samudra [4]ēbhir vvē sīmai ā-chandra-tāraka-**prati-**

8 **shṭha[ṁ*]** Niṅgōṇḍi[ḥ*] agrahāraṁ kṛitvā[4] nānāvidha-gōttra-ścha(cha)raṇēbhya[ḥ*][5] saṁ-**pratta[ḥ |]**

Second Plate, Second Side

9 **tad=ēvaṁ** viditvā yushmābhi[ḥ*] pūrvv-ōchita-maryyāday ōpasthānam karttavyam iti **mēya-hira-**

10 **ny-ā(ṇy-ā)di** ch ōpanēyam [6]bhavishya-rājñaś cha sampūjayā su dharmma-krama-vikra-**mābhyāṁ**

11 **dānam=anupālanañ-ch**-ēti[6] [|*] ēsha khalu sva-dharmma[ḥ |*] api ch ātra Vyāsa gītāḥ(tān)

12 **ślōkān=udāharanti** [|*] Bahubhir vvasudhā dattāḥ(ttā) vasudhā[7] vasudh-ādhipa[ḥ |*] yasya **ya-**

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[1] See *ARSIE*, 1934-5, p. 52 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 302. I am not in favour of treating *asti* in these names as a separate indeclinable word. The word *asti* here may be a corruption of Sanskrit *hastin*, cf. *Attivarman*-*Hastivarman* (*Suc. Sāt.*, p. 58).

[2] From the impressions kindly supplied by the late Raja Saheb of Tekkali.

[3] The reading may also be °*ntara-sthā[nam*] prajā* or *ntara-stha-prajā*.

[4] The reading intended seems to be *ēbhiś=cha sīmabhiḥ avachchhinnaḥ Niṅgōṇḍiḥ ā-chandra-tāraka-pratishṭham-agrahāraṁ kṛitvā*. The word *sīma* is found in inscriptions for *sīman* (see Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.).

[5] The word *Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ* has been carelessly dropped.

[6] The passage is defective. In other records we have *bhavishyataś=cha rājñō vijñāpayāmi* (or °*payati*) ; *dharma-krama-vikramāṇām=idam dānam sad-dharmam-anupaśyadbhir ēshō grahaṇō=nupalyah*. Cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 5 (text, lines 8-10) ; XXVII, p. 35 (text, lines 10-13), etc.

[7] Read *bahudhā*.

Third Plate

13 .[sya yadā] bhūm[is]-tasya [tasya tadā] phalaṁ(lam ||) Sva-dattā[ṁ] para-dattāṁ vā yatnād= raksha Yu[dhi]shṭhi[ra | ma]-

14 hīṁ mahīmatām śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō-nupālanam(nam ||) Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhumida[ḥ |*] ā-

15 kshēptā [ch=ā]numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt | sā[ṁ*]vatsarika-kara-paṇ-āgra-śatau dv[au][1] [|*] Kārtti-

16 ka-śukla-paksha-divasō dvādaśī [|*] āj[ñ]apti[ḥ*] mahāpratihāra-dūtō mahādaṇḍanāyaka-[Jyēshṭha][ḥ ||*]

No. 21.—MUSANAGAR BRICK INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

A. S. ALTEKAR, PATNA

The brick tablet upon which the inscription published in this paper has been inscribed was lying for a long time with Sri Yadavendra Kumarji, Rajasaheb of Jaunpur, U. P. In 1945, he sent to me its inked impression, through the Maharajkumar of Santosh, for decipherment and I communicated to him the contents of the document. Later on in 1948, he was so good as to present the brick to the Museum of the Banaras Hindu University through the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Amarnath Jha. The brick is at present lying in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Museum of the said University. It is an antiquarian piece of great interest being the earliest brick inscription recording the performance of an Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Though the brick was lying at Jaunpur before its acquisition by the Banaras Hindu University, it was not found originally in Oudh. It was recovered by the *janaka* (as distinguished from the adoptive) father of the present Maharajasaheb of Jaunpur in his Zamindari in the Kanpur District in a mound near the village of **Musānagar.** The village contains one of the numerous archaeological mounds of our country, awaiting the spade of the excavator. The Rajasaheb of Jaunpur informs me that coins as also burnt barley are occasionally found in the mound after the rainy season. Locally the mound is believed to belong to the time of *Rājā* Bali.

The fire-burnt brick in question is 19″ long, 19″ broad and 4″ thick. Its dimensions are rather unusual, for we rarely come across such square bricks. It is interesting to note that the inscription is not inscribed on the square surface of the brick, but on one of its narrow sides, the other five faces being blank. It is not improbable that the brick was fixed in a structure, built in connection with the sacrifice it commemorates. This structure was most probably the ornamental platform round the sacrificial post or pillar (*yūpa*). In later centuries, we find Vedic sacrifices commemorated by inscribed stone *yūpas*.

The average height of the letters is one inch : but some letters like *a*, *k* and *śv* have a considerably greater height ranging from 1·5″ to 1·9″. The **palaeography** of the record would suggest its engraving during the century preceding or following the Christian era. The following peculiarites are worth noting The length of the verticals of *v*, *n* and *s* is considerably shorter than that in the Asokan script. The left and right verticals of *p* have equal height. *D* is still open to right

[1] Read °*śatē dvē*. Better read *karaḥ* instead of *kara*° in compound.

Ś has developed a rounded back and its central limb is hanging down from its left curve. *M* has got a round base (cf. °*mita*), but in the case of *v* it is round in some cases (cf. *vātāyani*) and nearly triangular in others (cf. *Aśva*° and *aśvamedha*[1]). The lower portion of *t* is no longer angular as in the Aśokan inscriptions ; it has become pronouncedly round as in the Pabhosā and Hāthigumphā inscriptions. Medial *ā* is shown by a straight stroke to right (cf. °*vātā*°) ; but medial *e* is indicated by a slanting stroke to the left of the letter (cf. °*medha*). Medial *i* is denoted by a straight upward stroke slightly bent at the base and attached to the top of the letters (cf. °*yani* and °*mita*). The palaeography of the inscription is nearest to that of the Pabhosā inscription, both the records belonging to the Allahabad region. We may therefore refer it to a date about the first century B. C.

The **language** of the record is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. There is a punctuation mark similar to the so-called Ujjain symbol at the right end of the record. It is therefore clear that it ended with its present last word. Two letters at the beginning are damaged and we cannot altogether rule out the possibility of the inscription having begun on another brick, not yet recoverd. This possibility is, however, slight and it appears more probable that the inscription was a short record consisting of four words only.

Apart from the initial word, the record presents no difficulty in decipherment. It reads *Aśvavātāyaniputasa Devamitasa aśvamedha.*[2] There is a mark above *dha* which looks like a superscript *r*. Only the last two letters of the first word are clear ; they read *beke*. The preceding letter is incomplete ; it looks like a *cha* or *chā*. There was probably one more letter, which has been too badly destroyed to be deciphered. The first word ends in locative singular and probably denotes the name of the place where the sacrifice was performed. It ended with *beke*.

The inscription records an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice performed by **Devamitra**[3], who is simply described as the son of Aśvavātāyani. The sacrificer's mother obviously belonged to the Aśvavātāyana *gotra* and was therefore known as Aśvavātāyani (Sanskrit *Āśvavātāyanī*). The custom of naming the mother by her *gotra* name was quite common at the time of the record.

The only information which this record gives about Devamitra, who performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, is that his mother's *gotra* was Aśvavātāyana and that the sacrifice was performed at .... [cha]beka. It is remarkable that not a single royal title is associated with the sacrificer's name. If he had borne such a title, it would probably have preceded the expression *Aśvavātāyaniputasa*. But by no stretch of imagination can the extant first two letters be regarded as part of any royal title. It may be that Devamitra was either not even a king or that he did not care to put his title before his name, there being no space for it in the short space on the brick. The former alternative seems improbable ; we are yet to get an instance of a commoner performing the horse-sacrifice. It may be noted that most of the kings of Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Pañchāla content themselves with giving only their names on the coins, without prefixing any royal title to them. If, however, we assume that Devamitra was a king, we are not in a posititon to identify him with any known ruler of Madhyadeśa. A king named Devamitra flourished among the rulers of Ayodhyā, who issued coins of the Bull and Goose (or Cock) type ; he is known from a solitary specimen in the Indian Museum.[4] It is tempting to identify him with the sacrificer mentioned in this record : the provenance of the coin and the inscription would support this view. But the palaeography of the legend on the coin is decidedly much later than that of the brick inscription. *V* on the coin is not only triangle-based but also broad-topped, and *m* has neither a round nor a

[1] [Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the article.—Ed.]

[2] [See below p. 120, note 4.— Ed.]

[3] The *Gotrapravaramañjarī* gives this name in the Viśvāmitra group.

[4] *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Plate XIX, 18.

triangular base, but shows that form wherein we see two slanting lines meeting together on a horizontal base. This form of *m* is much later than its form in our record showing a graceful round base. Devamitra of the coin flourished at Ayodhyā probably not earlier than 200 A. D. There can be no doubt that Devamitra of our inscription ruled at least a couple of centuries earlier.

Cunningham refers to 394 coins found by him at Kauśāmbī, of which about 344 were of the early period.[1] Out of these about 30 were inscribed, of which sixteen bore the name of Bahasatimitra, two of Devamitra, one of Aśvaghosha and three of Jyeshṭhamitra. Unfortunately Cunningham neither described nor illustrated the coins of Devamitra. What happened to them we do not know ; for the British Museum, which acquired the entire collection of Cunningham, does not have in its Kauśāmbī collection any coins of Devamitra. If Cunningham's reading is correct and there was really a king named Devamitra at Kauśāmbī, it is very likely that he is identical with Devamitra of our record. The kings known from Cunningham's coins flourished in the period 150 B. C. to 50 B. C. The palaeography of the present record places our Devamitra also about the same period. Ancient Indian history shows that there were rulers like Ikshvāku Śāntamūla I, Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman and Kadamba Krishṇavarman I, who performed the horse sacrifice, though they did not rule over big empires.

Before concluding this paper, I may take the opportunity to refer to the inscribed brick tablets discovered in 1953 by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran at Jagatgram in the Dehra Dun District, U. P., within two miles of Kalsi, famous for its Aśokan rock inscriptions. These tablets reveal that a hitherto unknown king named Śīlavarman, who flourished in the latter half of the 3rd century A. D., as suggested by the palaeography of the records, performed four Aśvamedha sacrifices.

TEXT[2]

...... be[3]ke Aśvavātāyaniputasa Devamitasa[4] aśvamerdha(dhaḥ)[5]

TRANSLATION

The horse-sacrifice of Devamitra, son of Āśvavātāyanī, (*performed at*) ...... beka.

No. 22.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GAURI

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

1. *Chhōṭī Sādrī Inscription, Year 547*

In the course of my examination of the old estampages of inscriptions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I found one impression of an interesting stone inscription in October 1952. Nothing could be ascertained then as to the source from which the estampage was received in the office. The seventeen lines of writing in the epigraph were found to cover a space about 17½ inches by 11½ inches. But only the last five lines were completely readable on the impression, a large number of letters about the central portion of all the other lines being more

[1] *ASI*, Vol. X, p. 4.

[2] From the original brick.

[3] [The reading of this letter is doubtful on the impression.—D. C. S.]

[4] [The reading is *Devi*°. The name of the performer of the Aśvamedha was therefore *Devimitra*.—D. C. S.]

[5] [The reading of the last *akshara* seems to be *dhe* or *dham* which is followed by a cross symbol indicating the end of the writing —D. C. S.]

Musanagar Brick Inscription



SCALE : ONE-HALF

D. C. Sircar

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P. L. O.), Calcutt

or less effaced. The estampage gave the impression that the upper part of the inscribed stone was considerably rubbed out. The characters showed that the inscription must have been copied somewhere in Western India; but I was then entirely in the dark as regards the whereabouts of the original stone. No notice of the inscription could be traced in Bhandarkar's List. But the fact that the last few lines of the record, which were fully deciphered, contain very interesting information regarding the construction of a temple of the Mother-goddess by a king in the year 547, apparently of the Vikrama Saṁvat, encouraged me to secure the permission of the Government Epigraphist for India to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I noticed the document in a Bengali article published in the *Pravāsī* (Calcutta), Phālguna, B.S. 1359, pp. 559 ff. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, then Government Epigraphist for India, also referred to it in a Hindī article published in the *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā* (Banaras), Vol. LVII, V.S. 2009, pp. 149 ff.

In July 1953, the Government Epigraphist for India received a report on the epigraphical acquisitions of the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur, for the year 1952-53 from Pandit A. K. Vyas, Superintendent, Archaeology and Museums, Udaipur Circle, Rajasthan. The report dealt with only one inscription which had been acquired for the said Museum during the period in question and was accompanied by two impressions of the epigraph. The inscription was discovered by Pandit Vyas on the 24th December 1952 in a niche above a ventilator in the left wall outside the sanctum of the Bhāwarmātā (Bhramaramātā) temple, about 2½ miles from the town of **Chhōṭī Sādṛī** near the Neemuch station on the Ajmer-Khandwa railway line. The letters of the inscription were found covered with oil grit as a result of continuous oiling in the past. Pandit Vyas brought the inscribed stone to the Museum where it was properly cleaned. From the impressions of the record received along with his report the whole inscription could be read without difficulty. It was indeed a pleasant surprise for both Dr. Chhabra and myself to find that the epigraph was no other than the one, on an unsatisfactory estampage of which we had been working.

Pandit Vyas also noted in his report that the same inscription had been noticed by the late Pandit G. H. Ojha in his *Rājputānēkā Itihās* (Hindī), Vol. II, 1932, pp. 1442 ff. Ojha's notice is, however, full of inaccuracies while the text of the epigraph quoted by him contains, besides errors, a large number of lacunae. His remarks about the worn out condition of the inscribed stone as well as the imperfect nature of his transcript suggest that the text was read from an unsatisfactory impression of the record like the one preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Indeed it seems now very likely that the estampage of the inscription previously examined by me was received in the office from Ojha himself in or shortly after 1930 when, according to his work cited above, he visited the Bhāwarmātā temple near Chhōṭī Sādṛī.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Western variety of the so-called Gupta alphabet as used in the Malwa-Rajputana region about the fifth century A. D. and resemble those employed in the inscriptions of the Aulikaras of Mandasor.[1] Some letters have different forms; *e.g. gh* (cf. *gaṇōgha* in line 4 and *dīrggha* in line 7), *ch* (cf. *chala* in line 1 and *chitā* in line 12), *h* (cf. *pravāhā* in line 1 and °*my=aha*° in line 3). Subscript *ch* resembles subscript *y* (cf. *yaś=ch=āri* in line 7; °*tiś=cha* in line 9), while subscript *r* often resembles the medial sign of *ṛi* (cf. *drishṭi* in line 2). The vowel mark of *jā* (cf. *jātaḥ* in line 7, *prajānām* in line 11) is interesting to note. Medial *i* usually resembles a loop above the consonant; but a different form of the sign has been used in *ti* at the beginning of line 9. For the different types of medial *ū* employed in the record, see *bhrū* in line 2; *Pūnya*° in line 5; *mūrttiḥ*, *pūrṇṇ-ēndu*, *mayūkha*, *vibhūti* and *sūnu* in line 6; *pūnyaṁ* in line 14. Some difference can also be noticed in the forms of medial *ē* in *dēvī* (line 1), *dēh-ā*° (line 2), *prēmṇa*,

[1] Cf. the Mandasor and Biharkotra inscriptions of Naravarman, dated respectively V.S. 461 and 474 (above, Vol. XII, pp. 315 ff. and Plate; Vol. XXVI, pp. 130 ff. and Plate); Gangdhar inscription of Viśvavarman, dated V.S. 480 (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 74 ff. and Plate); Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman, dated V.S. 529 (ibid., pp. 81 ff. and Plate); Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman, dated V.S. 589 (ibid., pp. 152 ff. and Plate), etc.

snēhā and *°m=ēva* (line 3), *°shēkaḥ* (line 6), etc. In some of the cases, the sign looks like a *prishṭha-mātrā* while in some it is a *śirō-mātrā* ; cf. also the form of medial *ai* in *°sy=aisha* (line 10), etc.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory benediction, *Siddham*, and two sentences in prose at the end, the document, which is a eulogy, is entirely written in verse. Among **orthographical** peculiarities of the record, attention may be drawn to some of the numerous errors of spelling. Besides the use of *siṅgha* for *siṁha* (line 1), *aṅśu* for *aṁśu* (line 1), *°māṁ* for *°mān* (line 5), *ujvala* for *ujjvala* (lines 6, 12), etc., which are often noticed in epigraphic literature, we have in the record under discussion many cases of the confusion between *ṛi* and *ri* (cf. *drishṭi* in line 2, *adṛi* in line 13, etc.) as well as of the reduplication of the nasal sounds (cf. *bhrū-bhaṁṅga* in line 2, *maṁṇḍala* in line 6, etc.). Moreover it has to be pointed out that the author's style is weak as his knowledge of the Sanskrit language and skill in handling the metres were both very poor. The defects of the composition will be clear from the corrections inserted in the transcript of the inscription and the notes on the text ; but some points may be briefly discussed here. In a number of cases, the author has employed *sāpēksha-samāsa* not only unnecessarily but even quite wrongly. He has often taken the syllable preceding a conjunct as short and used the word *yaśa* for *yaśas* and probably also *vaksha* for *vakshas* and *vapusha* for *vapus*. Passages like *tēṇ=ēshaḥ śaśi°* (correctly *tēn=aisha śaśi°*), *yat=pūnyaṁ iha* (correctly *yat=puṇyam=iha*), etc., in verse 12 show how the author was struggling with his metre and was ready to sacrifice grammar to it.[1] The poverty of the author's style is demonstrated by the fact that he could have easily avoided a clash between his grammar and metre by writing instead, say, *tēn=āyaṁ śaśi°*, *yat=puṇyaṁ tv=iha*, etc. There are numerous cases of similar attempts of a desperate and ludicrous nature to save the metre at the cost of grammar, although in a few places the metre has been sacrificed for the sake of grammar.

The **date** of the inscription is given in the last stanza (verse 13) as the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the expired year 500 *plus* 40 *plus* 7 (i.e. 547), no doubt of the Vikrama Saṁvat. The date falls in **January 491 A.D.**

The inscription begins with the word *siddham* and two stanzas (verses 1-2) in praise of the Dēvī (i.e. the goddess *par excellence*, the Mother-goddess) described as the consort of Hara (i.e. Śiva). The second of the two stanzas refers to the Ardhanārīśvara conception. In verse 3, the poet says that, after having bowed down to the goddess, he is willing to describe the glory of a family of Kshatriya rulers belonging to the **Māṇavāyaṇi-kula** (probably *Mānavāyani°*). The name of the *kula*, Māṇavāyaṇi or Mānavāyani, appears to refer to the *gōtra* claimed by the family. The word seems to be derived from the name of Manu through the expressions *Mānava* and *Mānavāyana*. The name reminds us of the similar *gōtra* called *Mānavya* which is often found to have been claimed by royal families[2] probably of non-Aryan extraction. When a family did not find an opportunity of claiming any of the recognized *gōtras*, it was indeed easy for it to declare its descent from Manu Svāyambhuva, the mythical progenitor of human beings. It may be pointed out here that Paṇḍit G. H. Ojha, who succeeded in reading only *kul-ōdbhava-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-gaurāḥ* out of the passage *Māṇavāyaṇi-kul-ōdbhava-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-gaurāḥ*, explained the above passage of the third verse of the inscription as indicating the existence of a clan of Kshatriyas (Rājputs), called Gaura.[3] We find it difficult to agree with this view. It seems that the expression *vaṁśa-gaura* merely means a person who purified his family by virtuous acts or was himself illustrious owing to his birth in the family in question.

[1] Such cases remind us of Mallinātha's remarks on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIX, 23 : *atra ṅīb-antasy=āpi dūtī-śabdasya chhandō-bhaṅga-bhayād=dhrasvatvaṁ kṛitam "api māshaṁ mashaṁ kuryāch=chhandō-bhaṅgaṁ tyajēd=girām" ity=upadēśāt.*

[2] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 222 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 278, 337, etc.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 1443-44. Ojha also wrongly read *Gauriḥ* in verse 11 (line 14) of the record as *Gauraḥ* and took it to be the dynastic appellation of Yaśagupta (Yaśōgupta) described in verses 7-8 (lines 8-10). This view was partly due to Ojha's inability to make out even a word of verses 9-10 and a portion of verse 11.

Verse 4 introduces **Puṇyasōma** (wrongly read by Ojha as *Dhānyasōma*) described as the first king in the family of the **Māṇavāyaṇis** or Mānavāyanis. King Puṇyasōma's son and successor was **Rājyavarddhana** whose valour is described in verse 5. The following stanza (verse 6) mentions **Rāshṭra** who was the son of Rājyavarddhana. The next two stanzas (verses 7-8) describe Rāshṭra's son and successor **Yaśagupta** (Yaśōgupta). There is little historical importance in the description of the above rulers. Verses 9 ff. deal with the achievements of the son and successor of Yaśagupta (Yaśōgupta). The name of this king, called *Mahārāja*, is given in verse 11 as **Gauri**.

The main subject of the eulogy is found in verse 12 which says that king Gauri built a great temple for the Dēvī very probably for the merit of himself and his parents. The language of the stanza, as it stands, suggests that the king made the temple for the merit of the poet who composed the eulogy as well as of the latter's parents. But this is apparently unnatural and the confusion should better be attributed to the author's want of control over his language and metre. The last stanza (verse 13) of the inscription says how the said temple of the Mother-goddess was consecrated on Māgha-sudi 10 in the expired year 547 apparently of the Vikrama Saṁvat.

The first of the two sentences in prose, with which the record ends, gives the name of the poet who composed the eulogy in thirteen stanzas. He was **Bhramarasōma**, son of Mitrasōma and grandson of Jīvaddharaṇa.[1] Our interpretation of the sentence in question suggesting that Jīvaddharaṇa was the grandfather of the poet Bhramarasōma involves a case of *sāpēksha-samāsa* which is, however, quite common in the inscription under study. The sentence as it stands would suggest that Bhramarasōma was begotten by Jīvaddharaṇa but was the son (apparently an adopted son in that case) of Mitrasōma. But we are in favour of the first of the two alternative interpretations as that appears to be more natural. Bhramarasōma seems to have been the court poet of king Gauri. The Bhāwarmātā temple is a modern structure believed to be built on the ruins of an old shrine to which its sanctum is attributed. The inscription under study is naturally believed to have belonged to this old temple. Under the circumstances, it is not impossible to think that the name of the poet (Bhramarasōma), who composed the *praśasti* on the construction and consecration of the original shrine of the Dēvī by king Gauri, has in course of time somehow come to be associated with that of the goddess (Bhramaramātā).

The last sentence of the inscription says that the *pūrvvā* was written (*likhitā*) by Aparājita who meditated on (or, was favoured by) the feet of prince (*Rājaputra*) **Gōbhaṭa**. The word *pūrvvā* essentially means 'the above' (i.e. the above-quoted or above-mentioned thing in the feminine gender). But it is often found used with special reference to the words *tithi* (date) and *praśasti* (eulogy), although it has been suggested that the word has been used here as well as in similar other instances as a synonym of the word *praśasti*.[2] The word *likhitā* here does not apperr to have been used in the sense of 'engraved'. Aparājita very probably wrote down the eulogy on the piece of stone with some material for facilitating the work of cngraving. This practice was often followed to ensure the correctness and beauty of the work of the engraver.[3] Aparājita was apparently an officer serving under prince Gōbhaṭa. The relation of the prince with king Gauri has not been stated. But it is very probable that Gōbhaṭa was a son of the Māṇavāyaṇi (Mānavāyani) king.

The importance of the inscription under discussion lies in the fact that it reveals, for the first time, the existence of a new line of rulers who flourished about the second half of the fifth century and ruled over an area about the borders between Rajputana and Malwa. The relation

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[1] The name reminds us of that of king Jīvadhāraṇa of Samataṭa, who flourished in the seventh century A. D. Cf *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

[2] See *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*. Vol. LVII. pp. 559 ff.

of the Māṇavāyaṇis (Mānavāyanis) with the contemporary ruling family of the Aulikaras of Daśapura (modern Mandasor) in the same area will be discussed in connection with the second inscription of king Gauri edited below.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1-10 , 13 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 11 *Sragdharā* ; verse 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 Siddham [||*] Dēvī jayaty=asura-dāraṇa-tīkshṇa-śūlāḥ |[2] prōdgīrṇṇa-ratna-**makuṭ-āṅśu**-(ṭ-āṁśu)-chala-pravāhā [|*] siṅgh-ō(siṁh-ō)gra-yukta-ratham[3]=āsthita[4]-**chaṇḍa-vēgāḥ** |[5]

2 bhrūbhaṁ(bha)ṅga-dri(dṛi)shṭi-vinipāta-nivishṭa-rōshāḥ(shā) [|| 1*] **Bhūyō=pi sā jayati yā** śaśiśēkharasya dē[h-ā]rddham=udvahati bhaktatayā Harasya |

3 yā bhakta-vatsalatayā prabibhartti lōkān māt=ēva[6] [svā]kya[7]-suta-**prēmṇa[8]-vivri(vṛi)ddha**-snēhā [| 2*] Tasyāṁḥ[9] praṇamya[10] prakarōmy=aham=ēva jasraṁ[11]

4 kīrttim(rttiṁ) śubhāṁ guṇa-gaṇ-ō(ṇ-au)ghamayīn=nṛipāṇāṁ(ṇām) | yē **Māṇavāyaṇi[12]-kul**-ōdbhava-vaṁṅśa(śa)-gaurāḥ kshātrē padē satata-dīkshita-yuddha-śauṇḍāḥ [|| 3*] Tēshām=ayaṁ

5 kshapita[13]-kshatra-gaṇ-āri-paksha[ḥ*] grīmāṁ[14] yaś-augha[15]-suvibhūshita-chār[u]kshaḥ-(kshāḥ) [|*] prāk **Pūnyasōma**[16] iti[17] kshatra-gaṇasya maddhyē yō rāja-śabda-kri(kṛi)ta-mūrddhni[18] ghaṭi(ṭ-ā)bhi-

6 shēkaḥ [|| 4*] Tasy=āvabaddha-makuṭ-ōjva(jjva)la-dīpta-mūrttiḥ pūrṇṇ-ēndu-maṁ(ma)ṇḍala-mayūkha-vibhūti-vaktraḥ [|*] sū[19]nur=bbabhūva kila rājya-jita-pratāpō[20] yō **Rājyavarddhaṇa**-[21]

7 guṇaiḥ kri(kṛi)ta-nāmadhēyā(yaḥ) |[| 5*] | Tēṇ=āpi[22] ch=ōrjjita-jit-āri-jayaṁnta[23]-**pakshaḥ**-(kshō) jātaḥ sutō(taḥ) kari-kar-āyata-dīrggha[24]-bāhuḥ [|*] yaś=ch=āri-**rāshṭra-mathan**-ōdyata-dīpta-chakraḥ(krō)

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[1] From estampages.

[2] Read *śūlā* and omit the mark of punctuation which is represented by a slightly curved horizontal stroke. This stroke has been often used in the record as a mark of punctuation at the end of the feet of the stanzas.

[3] Better *rath-āsthita* ; but *samāsa* has been avoided for the sake of the metre.

[4] There appears to be an unnecessary *anusvāra* above *ta*. But the mark may be due to a flaw in the stone. A few other cases of this type occurring elsewhere in the record have been ignored by us.

[5] Read *vēgā* and omit the mark of punctuation as in foot-note 2 above.

[6] The reading of this expression was suggested to me by Dr. Chhabra.

[7] The word, evidently derived from *svaka*, has been used in the sense of *svakīya*.

[8] Read *prēmni* or better *prēma°*. The syllables preceding *prē* here and *snē* in *snēhā* have been taken to be short.

[9] Read *tasyāḥ* or better *tasyai*.

[10] For the shortness of the syllable *mya*, Cf. note 8 above.

[11] The word *jasram* has been used in the sense opposite to that of *ajasram*.

[12] Possibly *Mānavāyani*.

[13] Note that the syllable *ta* before *ksha* has been regarded as short.

[14] Read *śrīmān*.

[15] The word *yaśas* has been used as *yaśa*.

[16] Read *Puṇya°*.

[17] Note that the syllable *ti* preceding *ksha* has been regarded as short.

[18] Better read *mūrddha°*.

[19] An unnecessary *ā-matrā* is noticed with *sū*.

[20] The word *jita* seems to have been used in the sense of *jaya*.

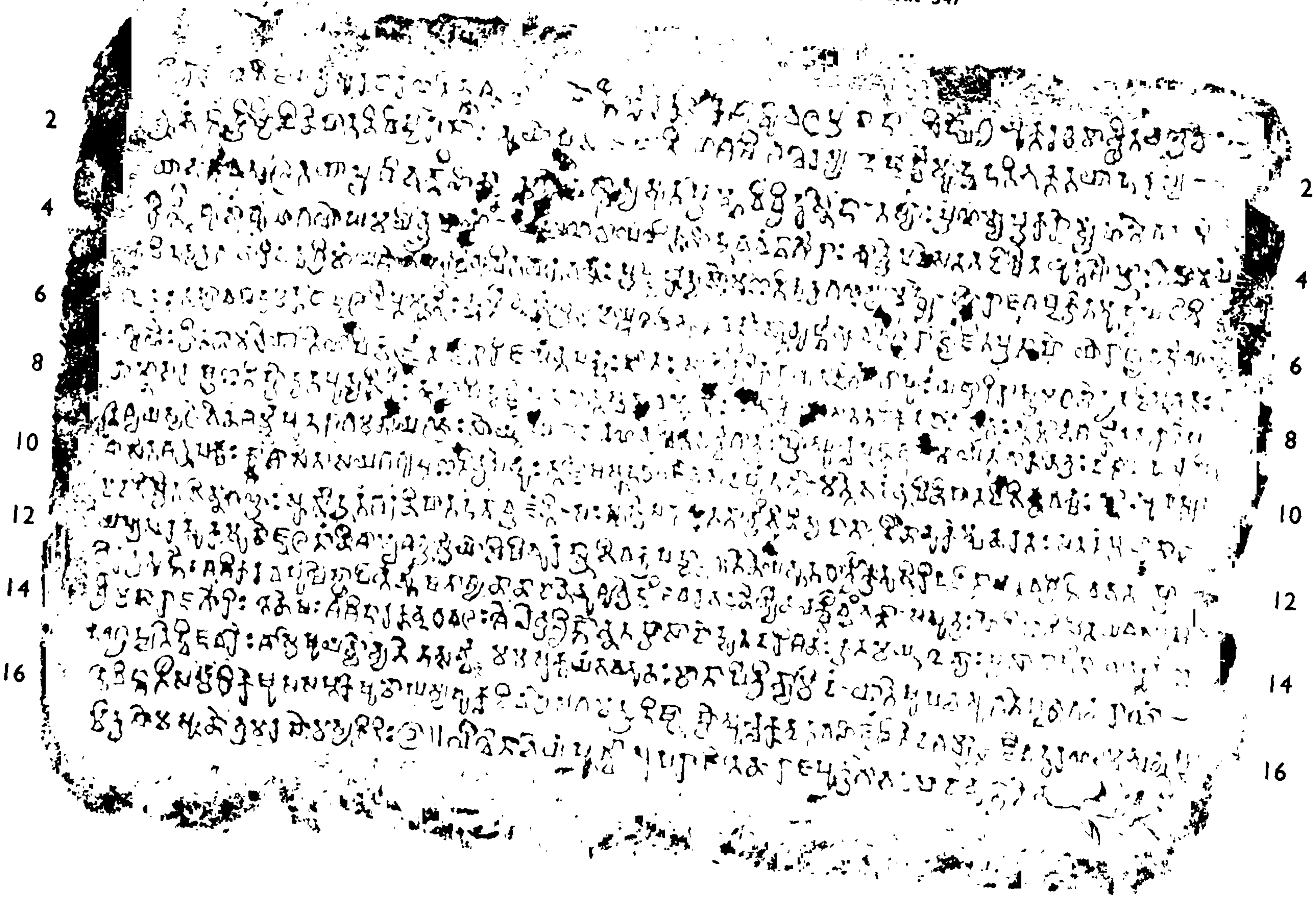
[21] Read *°varddhana°* or better *°varddhanō*, although the latter does not suit the metre.

[22] Read *tēn=āpi* or better *tasy=āpi*.

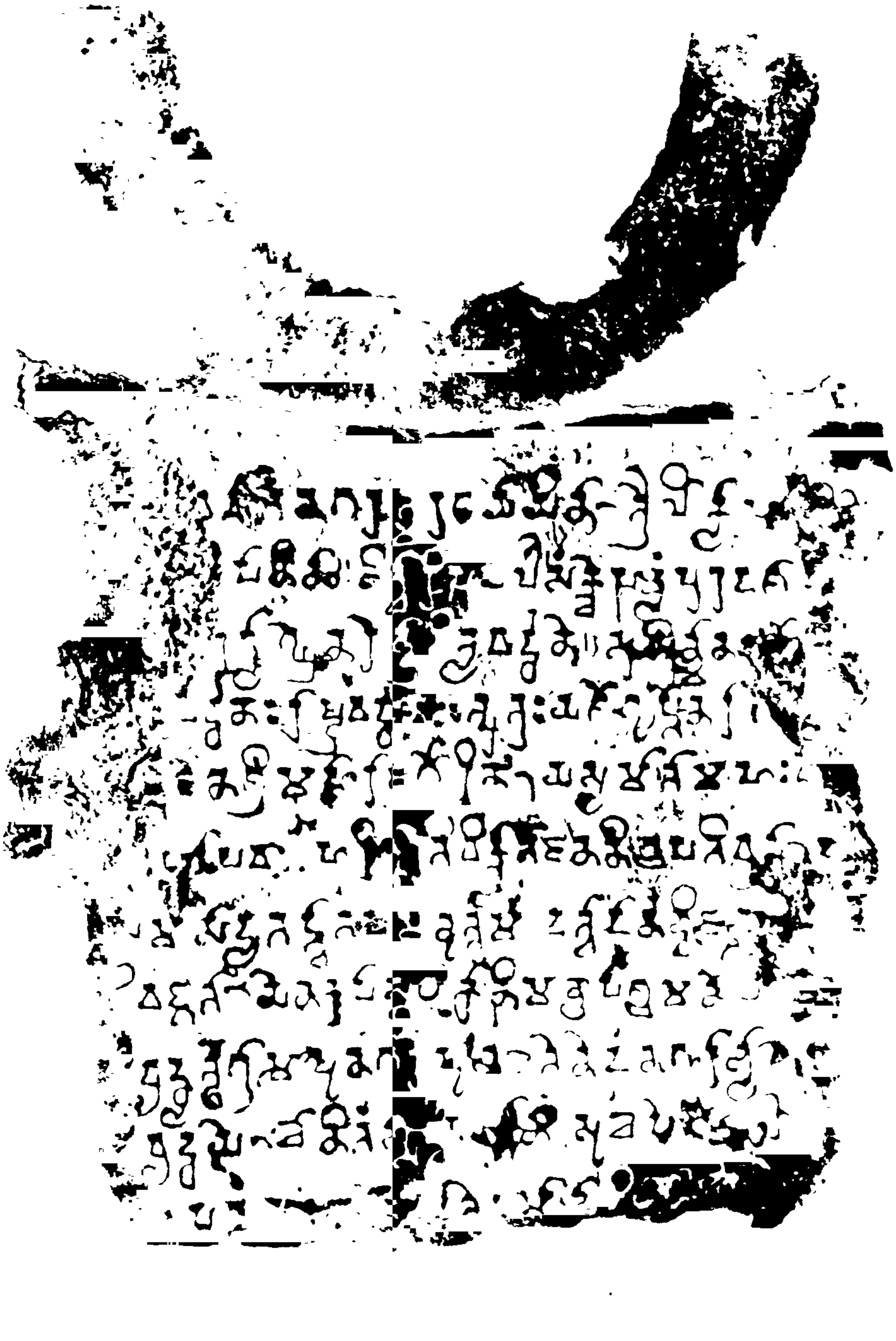
[23] Read *jayanta*. The author seems to have used the word in the sense of *jayat*. The usage may be supported by expressions like *jayanta-putra* used in the sense of *jaya-patra*.

[24] To avoid *punar-ukti-dōsha*, *āyata* has to be taken in the sense of 'big' and not in that of 'long' (*dīrggha*).

I. CHHOTI SADRI STONE INSCRIPTION ; YEAR 547



2. MANDASOR FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION



8 nāmnā sa **Rāshṭra** iti prōddhata-punya(ṇya)-kīrttiḥ [|| 6*] Tta(Ta)sy=āpi ddha(dha)rmma-suta[1]-śānta-svabhāva-mūrttiḥ[2] yajña-kriyā-satata-dīkshita-dāna-dakshaḥ [|*] āhvāna-śaṅkita-surādhipa-

9 tiś=cha yasya lēbhē na śarmma punar-āgamanāya Śa[kra]ḥ[3] [|| 7*] Sō=yam(yaṁ) yaś-ābharaṇa[4]-bhūshita-sarvva-gātraḥ prōtphulla-paṅkaja-sam-āyata-chāru-nētraḥ [|*] dakshō dayālur=iha

10 śāsita-śatru-pakshaḥ kshmā-śāsitā sa **Yaśagupta**[5] itī[6] nṛip-ēnduḥ [|| 8*] Tta(Ta)sy=aisha[7] āhava-gajēndra-sa(su)darppa-harttā |[8] matt-ēbha-daṁ(da)nta-vinipāta-vibhinna-vakshaḥ[9] [|*] [vyu(vyū)h]ēshu ya[sya]

11 mada-ni[ḥ*]sri(sṛi)ta-bhinna-gaṇḍāḥ(ṇḍā) ārttā drutaṁ śara-nipāta-hatā vrajaṁ(ja)nti [|| 9*] Saḥ[10] ssa(sa)rvva-satva(ttva)-[vi]tat-ārtthibhi[11] nitya-dātā dīn-ānukaṁ(ka)mpana-rataḥ satataṁ prajānām |

12 yasya[12] sarassu ka(ku)mud-ōjva(jjva)latāṁ niśā(śa)mya śatru-s[t]rīyō(yaḥ) sishichur=aṁṅsru-bhi[13] vaktra-padmān[14] ||[15] [10*] Tēn=ēyaṁ bhūtadhātrī kratubhir=iha chitā yūva(pa) śri-(śṛi)ṅgi(ṅg=ē)va bhāti |[8] prā[sā]-

13 dair=adṛi(dri)-tuṅgaiḥ śaśikara-vapushai[16] sthāpitair=bhūshitā ścha(cha) [|*] nānā-dān-ēn[d]u-śubhrai[r]=dvija-vara-bhavanair=yyēna lakshmī[r]=vvibhaktā[17] sa[t]-putraḥ sō=timānī sita-yaśa-vapushaḥ[18]

14 śrī-mahārāja-**Gauriḥ** [|| 11*] Tēṇ=ē(n=ai)shaḥ[19] śaśi-hāra-kunda-dhavalaḥ śail-ēndra-śri(śṛi)ṅg-ōnnata[ḥ*] prāsādō=dbhuta-dariśanaḥ[20] kṛitam[21]=ayam(yaṁ) dēvyāḥ prasād-ārtthinā | yat-pūnyaṁ[22] i-

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[1] The author seems to have used the expression *dharmma-suta* in the sense of 'virtuous son', although he may have had the comparison with 'Dharmma's son' (i.e. Yudhishṭhira) in his mind. If the expression is taken in the latter sense, a word meaning 'son' has to be added in the stanza. Cf. verse 9 below.

[2] Read *mūrttir=yajña*.

[3] In *kra*, *k* is imperfectly formed.

[4] The word *yaśas* has been used as *yaśa*. The reading is probably not *yaśō-bharaṇa*.

[5] The correct form of the name is *Yaśōgupta* which, however, does not suit the metre.

[6] The word *iti* is written as *itī* to satisfy the requirement of the metre. *Kshitīndraḥ* instead of *nṛipēnduḥ* would have served the author's purpose.

[7] A word having the sense of 'son' has to be added in the stanza to complete the sense. The author apparently thought that the use of the expression *sat-putraḥ* in verse 11 (line 13) below would serve the purpose.

[8] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[9] Properly *vakshāḥ*. But the passage seems to refer to the enemy's elephants injured by the king's own elephants. In that case, *vakshasaḥ* is required, although it does not suit the metre. Probably the word *vakshas* was taken by the author as *vaksha* exactly as in the case of *yaśa*. See verse 4 in line 5 above.

[10] The *visarga* has been wrongly retained for the sake of the metre.

[11] Read °*ārtthishu* ; °*ārtthibhyō* would not suit the metre.

[12] The metre requires a long syllable in the place of *sya*.

[13] The reading intended seems to be °*r=aśrubhir=va*° ; but this does not suit the metre.

[14] Properly *padmāni* ; but better read *padmam* to suit the metre.

[15] This is a double *daṇḍa* of the type often found in inscriptions. The first of the two *daṇḍas* has its head considerably curved towards the left.

[16] In the expression *vapushaiḥ*, the word *vapusha* may have been used in the sense of 'handsome'. But it is more probable that the author read the word *vapus* as *vapusha* and followed here a course altogether different from the case of *yaśas=yaśa*, because the correct form *vapurbhiḥ* would not suit the metre.

[17] There is an unnecessary dot here probably used as a mark of punctuation.

[18] As in the earlier half in the stanza, the word seems to be *vapusha* (with the first case-ending) and not *vapus* with the sixth case-ending. Here also *yaśa* has been used for *yaśas*.

[19] The *visarga* is wrongly retained for the sake of the metre.

[20] Read *darśanaḥ*.

[21] Correctly *kṛitō=ya*° ; but *kṛitam* has been wrongly used for *kṛitaḥ* for the sake of the metre.

[22] Correctly *puṇyam=i*° ; but the final *m* of *puṇyam* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* for the sake of the metre.

15 ha ṇyapyatē[1] dvijavaraiḥ śās[t]rēshu yach=ch=ōchyatē tat=sarvvam mama[2] akshayaṁ bhavatu naḥ[3] mātā-pitri(tṛi)bhyām=idaṁ(dam) |[| 12*] **Yātēshu paṁchasu śatēshv =atha vatsarāṇām** |[4]

16 **dvē viṅśa(viṁśa)tī**[5] **samadhikēshu sa-saptakēshu** [|*] **Māghasya śukla-divasē** sagamat[6]=pratishṭā(shṭhā)m prōtphulla-kunda-ddha(dha)val-ōjva(jjva)litē **daśamyām** [|| 13*] Jīvaddharaṇa-samutpannasya

17 Mitrasōma-sūnō[7] **Bhramarasōmasya** kri(kṛi)tiḥ ||[8] likhitā ch=ēyaṁ pūrvvā **Aparājitēna** |[4] rājaputra-**Gōbhaṭa**-pād-ānuddhyātēna ||[9]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) (*Let there be*) success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is the Goddess (i.e. the Mother-goddess) who bears a sharp spear that tears asunder the demons (or, the demon Mahishāsura) ; the lustre emitted from whose jewelled crown makes a tremulous flow ; whose rapidity is impetuous owing to her being seated on a chariot attached to a fierce lion (or, fierce lions) ; (*and*) whose anger is concentrated in her frowning glance.

(Verse 2) Victorious again is she who, out of her devotedness (*to the god*), assumes half of the body of the moon-crested Hara (*and*) who, out of her kindness to the devotees, sustains the worlds just like a mother full of tenderness arising from her affection for her own children.

(Verse 3) After having bowed down to her, I am dealing, just a little, with the bright glory of the kings ;—(*the glory*) that is made of a mass of good qualities ;—(*the kings*) who were born in the **Māṇavāyaṇi** (Mānavāyani) family (*and*) made their race pure (*by their deeds*) ; who dedicated themselves permanently to the dignity of the Kshatra (Kshatriya) status (*and*) were skilled in war.

(Verse 4) Amongst them, in the first place, was one named **Puṇyasōma** who was the extirpator of the enemy's partisans among the Kshatras (Kshatriyas) ; who was prosperous ; whose beautiful chest was well adorned with a mass of fame ; who, in the midst of (*all*) the Kshatras (Kashatriyas), enjoyed the anointment of his head with (*the waters of the auspicious*) jar, accomplished (*as it were*) by his title ' King ' (*which he had acquired by his valour*).

(Verse 5) His son was **[Rājyavarddhana]** whose figure was beautiful and radiant owing to the crown attached (*to his head*) ; whose face enjoyed the splendour of the rays of the circle of the full moon ; whose valour (*showed itself*) in conquering kingdoms (*of the enemies*) ; whose name indeed was so coined owing to his qualities that were (*responsible for*) increasing his sovereignty (or, kingdom).

(Verse 6) To him was born a son who was named **Rāshṭra** ; who conquered the victorious partisans of the enemies by his prowess ; whose arms were big and long like the trunk of an elephant ; whose excited army was active in destroying the kingdoms of enemies ; (*and*) whose pure fame rose high.

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[1] An expression like *khyāpyatē* is apparently intended ; but it does not suit the metre.

[2] The rules of *Sandhi* have been ignored here. Note also the abrupt change from the Third Person (the king) to the First (the poet). But this may have been forced on the author by the requirement of the metre and was probably not his real intention.

[3] Read *nō* ; but this word in the plural does not suit the context in which *mama* is used in the singular. One may suggest *mē*.

[4] The mark of punctuation is superflous.

[5] Properly *viṁśati-dvaya-samadhikēshu* as the author no doubt means 'exceeded by two scores' ; but *saṁhsa* has been avoided to satisfy the requirement of the metre.

[6] Read *tv-agamat*.

[7] Read *Mitrasōma-sūnōr=Bhramara°*, or better *Mitrasōmasya sūnōr=Bhramara°*.

[8] This is an ordinary double *daṇḍa*. It is preceded in the original by two concentric circles.

[9] There is here the ornamental design of a creeper to indicate the end of the record.

(Verse 7) His virtuous son had an undisturbed temperament and contented **appearance**; (*the son*) who was always engaged in sacrificial rites and was prompt in charities; whose call Śakra, the lord of the gods, feared and did not feel happy at (*the possibility of*) coming again (*to the earth from his heavenly abode*);

(Verse 8) this was he who was by name **Yaśagupta** (Yaśōgupta), the very moon among kings; whose whole body was decorated with ornaments that were his fame; whose eyes were big and beautiful like full-blown lotuses; who was honest (*and*) kind; who punished the partisans of the enemies on the earth; (*and*) who was the ruler of the world.

(Verse 9) This is his [virtuous son] who humbled the great arrogance of the best of war-elephants; whose rutting elephants tore asunder by the strokes of their tusks the chests (*of the war-elephants of the enemies*); the temples (*of the enemies' elephants*) were split open for the exudation of ichor, (*and*) they, when struck by the fall of arrows (*discharged by Yaśōgupta and his men*), became distressed (*and*) returned to the battle-arrays (*of the enemies*).

(Verse 10) He was always liberal to the supplicants among all living beings; (*he*) always delighted in being compassionate to the destitute among his subjects; having noticed the splendour of the water-lilies in his tanks, the wives of his enemies drenched their lotus-like faces with tears.

(Verse 11) This earth, being covered by him with sacrificial rites, shines here as if it has horns in (*the shape of*) sacrificial posts; (*the earth*) has also been adorned (*by him*) with palatial buildings which have been set up (*by him*), which are as lofty as mountains (*and*) have their structure (*as white as*) moon-light; by him wealth has been distributed by means of houses (*made over to*) the best of Brāhamaṇas;—(*the houses*) which are radiant like the moon owing to the various gifts (*offered by the king to the Brāhmaṇas*). He, the virtuous son (*of Yaśōgupta*), is the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Gauri** who is highly respected (*and*) has his body adorned with bright fame.

(Verse 12) By him, desirous of the grace of the Goddess (i.e. the Mother-goddess), has been built this palatial building (i.e. temple of the Goddess) of marvellous view, which is as bright as the moon, necklaces and *kunda* flowers (*and*) is as lofty as the peaks of the lord of mountains (i.e. the Himālayas). Whatever merit (*for the construction of the temple*) is declared by the best of the Brāhmaṇas and is stated in the scriptures—may all that inexhaustively belong to me[1] (*and also*) to our[2] parents.

(Verse 13) When **five hundreds of the years, exceeded by two scores together with seven, had well passed away,** (*the said temple*) was consecrated during the tenth *tithi* on the bright day (i.e. day of the bright half), which was white and bright like the full-blown *kunda* flowers, of the month of Māgha.

(Lines 16-17) (*This is*) the composition of **Bhramarasōma** who is the son of **Mitrasōma** begotten by Jīvaddharaṇa. And this above-quoted (*eulogy*) has been written[3] by Aparājita who meditates on (or, is favoured by) *Rājaputra* (prince) **Gōbhaṭa.**

2. *Mandasōr Fragmentary Inscription*

In the rainy season of the year 1946, heavy floods of the river Shivnā washed the town of **Mandasōr**, headquarters of a District of that name in Madhya Bhārat. As a result of this washing, an inscribed slab of stone came into view in a field belonging to a Muhammadan gentleman named Mirza Naim Beg. A farmer took the stone slab away and kept it for some time in the compound of his cottage standing near the field. While lying there, the slab attracted the attention of a local

[1] The intention of the poet seems to have been 'him' (i.e. the king) and not 'me' (i.e. the poet himself).

[2] The intention of the poet seems to have been 'their' or 'his' (i.e. the king's) and not 'our' or 'my' (i.e. the poet's own).

[3] This writing was meant for facilitating the work of engraving.

goldsmith named Harirām N. Sonī who takes interest in the antiquities of the area. A few years later, the news of the discovery of the inscription reached the ears of Mr. M. C. Chaubey soon after he had come to join the Government Intermediate College at Mandasōr as Lecturer in History. Mr. Chaubey took photographs of the inscription and sent them for examination to a few students of Indian history known to him. The inscription was next brought by Mr. Chaubey to the College premises where a small museum was started under the guidance of Mr. N. S. Purandare, Principal of the College. About the middle of 1954, one of Mr. Chaubey's photographs of the inscription reached the office of the Government Epigraphist for India through Dr. S. L. Katare, then Professor of the Jabalpur Mahāvidyālaya. In January 1955 I visited Mandasōr and copied the inscription.

The inscribed space on the stone slab covers an area about 10 inches in breadth and about 9 inches in height. The inscription is **fragmentary**. Some letters have broken away from both the left and right sides while the concluding lines of the original record, probably containing a date and the names of the scribe and engraver, are also lost. The extant portion of the inscription contains only eleven lines of writing ; but just a few letters of the eleventh line are now visible. Originally a line of the epigraph contained about twentyfour *aksharas*. Each *akshara* measures about ½ inch or more in height. In spite of its fragmentary nature, the record, when studied along with the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription edited above, throws some light on a rather dark period of the history of Daśapura which stood on the site of present Mandasōr.

The **characters** closely resemble those of the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription (491 A. D.) and the record has to be assigned to a date about **the end of the fifth century A.D.**, not only on palaeographical considerations but also for the fact that both the epigraphs were incised during the reign of the same ruler. The signs of medial *u* and *ū* (cf. *satputra* in line 4, *Hariśūr=ēti* in line 6, *anuttama* in line 7, *kūpāś=cha* in line 8, etc.) and subscript *ḍ* in *maṇḍapāś=cha* (line 8) are interesting to note. The end of the second and fourth feet of a stanza is often indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke. The ordinary double *daṇḍa* has, however, been placed at the end of verses 1-2, while at the end of a half stanza, apparently treated by the author as a full verse, in line 5, we have a *daṇḍa* with its upper part curved towards the left. The **language** of the inscription is Saṇskrit. It is written in verse, the metre of the extant stanzas being *Anushṭubh*. There is, however, not a single stanza which is fully preserved. The beauty of the composition of this small fragmentary poem in the simplest of Sanskrit metres is marred by a number of **orthographical** and grammatical errors as well as by the weakness of the author's style. Although such defects are more marked in the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription, which is a much longer record composed in several classical metres, it is possible to suspect that it was the same poet who was responsible for the composition of both the records. As regards orthographical and grammatical errors in the present inscription, attention may be drawn to *garutma-ratha* for *garutmad-ratha* (line 1), *saṁkkhē* for *saṁkhyē* (line 2), *varddhaṇa* for *varddhana* (twice in line 4), *putraḥ* for *putrō* (line 4) and *idam* for *ayam* (line 9). Mistakes like *datvā* for *dattvā* (line 7) and *satva* for *sattva* (line 10) are of course of common occurrence in early Indian epigraphs while *tapa* for *tapas* (line 7) is not unknown to Sanskrit lexicons. The following stylistic defects in the author's composition may also be noticed in this connection. The use of the seventh case-ending (*bhāvē saptamī*) in verse 2 in lines 2-3 suggests that the author is going to describe an event that happened during the reign of a ruling king mentioned in it. The event in question, however, is referred to in a stanza in lines 9-10 about the end of the epigraph and the intervening stanzas deal with facts which relate to the ancestors of the person responsible for the said event and mostly happened before the reign of the ruler referred to in verse 2. Then again, in line 5, a ruler is mentioned with the third case-ending suggesting that the author was going to describe some of his activities. But this expected description of his deeds is found only after two complete stanzas referring to facts that relate to the maternal grandfather and mother of the said ruler. As will be seen below, the first

of these two cases is responsible for some doubt regarding the interpretation of the evidence of the inscription under study, although the same style of introducing a subject is also noticed in some other inscriptions.

In the first half of verse 1 in line 1 we have the expression *Garutma[d*]-ratha-yāyinā*, preceded by the expression *tēna*, and the *aksharas vatā* which stand at the beginning of the line and appear to represent the latter part of the expression *bhagavatā*. *Garutmad-ratha-yāyin* means 'one who moves in a chariot that is Garutmat (Garuḍa)' and therefore refers to the god Vishṇu. The *aksharas pāṇinā* in the second half of the same stanza stand at the beginning of line 2 and suggest the word originally engraved to have been *Chakrapāṇinā*, Chakrapāṇi (literally, 'one holding the discus in his hand') being a well-known epithet or name of Vishṇu. There is thus little doubt that the stanza in question, with which the record begins, contained an adoration of *Bhagavat* Vishṇu. The lost verb to go with the name and epithets of the god in the third case-ending (*anuktē kartari tṛitīyā*) seems to have been *jitam* as in the *maṅgala* at the beginning of numerous epigraphic records.[1]

Verse 2 runs :

Jitvā ripu-balaṁ saṁkkhē(khyē) ramyaṁ pura[ṁ] daś-ādi[kam* |]

.... *[na]ra-vyāgghrē narēndr-Ādityavarddhanē* ||

The lost word at the beginning of the second half of the stanza seems to be something like *pālayati* or *praśāsati*. Thus the verse means : "When king **Ādityavardhana**, the best among men, is protecting the city with (*its name having the word*) *daśa* at the beginning, after having routed the enemy's army in a battle." This no doubt looks like a clause introducing the description of an event that happened during the reign of king Ādityavardhana of Daśapura (i.e. old Mandasōr). But, as has been already indicated above, the mention of this event, viz. the excavation of a tank by *Mahārāja* Gauri, comes about the end of the record and the intervening stanzas deal with Gauri's ancestry.

Verse 3 states how there was (*āsīt*) something called *Māna*... and how king **Yaśōgupta**, the worthy son of **Rāshṭravardhana**, was the *vardhana* (i.e. bestower of prosperity) to that thing. There is no doubt that the letters *māna* represent the first part of the name of the royal family to which king Yaśōgupta belonged. The Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription gives the name of this family as Māṇavāyaṇi, although it is difficult to determine the actual form of the name given in the present record from the traces of the *aksharas* following *māna*. Both Yaśōgupta and his father are mentioned in the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription ; but it gives the name of Rāshṭravardhana as Rāshṭra who is represented as the son of Rājyavardhana and grandson of Puṇyasōma. The next stanza (verse 4 which is actually half of a stanza) mentions *Mahārāja* **Gauri**, also known from the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription, as the son of Yaśōgupta. The name of Gauri is given in the third case-ending (*anuktē kartari tṛitīyā*) as the performer of a deed, although, as noted above, the said deed (viz. the excavation of a tank) is referred to in a stanza (verse 8) which comes after the intervening description of Gauri's maternal grandfather and mother as well as certain other activities of the king. This abrupt introduction (in parenthesis as it were) of the king's mother as the daughter of his maternal grandfather is due to the fact that the tank in question was apparently excavated for the merit of the queen mother who was then dead.

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[1] For the expression *jitam bhagavatā* as an introductory *maṅgala* in inscriptions, cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 197, 205, 294, 309. The Hebbaṭa grant of Kadamba Vishṇuvarman I begins with the following verse :

Jitaṁ bhagavatā tēna Vishṇunā yasya vakshasi |

Śrīs=svayaṁ bhāti dēvaś=cha nābhi-padmē Pitāmahaḥ || (ibid., p. 292).

Verse 5 speaks of Gauri's maternal grandfather whose name is lost but may have ended with the *akshara nta* and gives the name of his mother as Hariśūrā. The next stanza (verse 6) says that, after attaining something (the name of which is lost but which may be widowhood or old age) or reaching something like a place, the lady (queen mother Hariśūrā) performed penances, gave gifts to Brāhmaṇas and ultimately went to heaven.

Verse 7 takes up the thread from verse 4 and the sentence is continued in the following stanza (verse 8). The two verses 7-8 run :

Yēna kūpās=taṭākāni maṇḍapāś=cha manōha[rāḥ |]

. . . .*vṛiddhyartha[ṁ] grāmēshu nagarēshu cha* || [7*]

Tēn=ēdaṁ(n=āyaṁ) nagar-ābhyā[sē] . . . . . .*vṛiddhayē* |

khānitaṁ(ta)s=sa[rvva-satvā(ttvā)nāṁ] sukha-pē[yō ja]lā[śayaḥ ||] [8*]

The most probable restoration of the lost *aksharas* at the beginning of the third foot of verse 7 and of the second foot of verse 8, considering the context discussed above, appears to be ***kāritāḥ puṇya°*** and *mātuḥ puṇy-ābhi°* respectively. The stanzas therefore state as follows with reference to Gauri mentioned in verse 5 : " By whom wells, tanks and beautiful buildings [were made] in the villages and towns, for the increase [of his fame], by him has this tank, (*with waters*) to be drunk by all creatures with pleasure, been excavated in the vicinity of the city (Daśapura) for the increase [of his mother's merit]. " Of the next stanza (verse 9), only a few letters are visible and its purport is not clear.

It will be seen from the contents of the inscription analysed above that *Mahārāja* Gauri excavated a tank in the suburbs of Daśapura for the merit of his deceased mother, when *narēndra* Ādityavardhana had his headquarters there. This would suggest that the latter was the overlord of the former who excavated the tank at his overlord's capital at a considerable distance from his own residence. As it was the custom to excavate a tank where the funeral pile of the deceased person stood,[1] it is possible to think that the mother of *Mahārāja* Gauri died at the capital of her son's overlord. The language of verses 7-8 saying that king Gauri, who made wells, tanks and *maṇḍapas* in various villages and towns apparently in his own kingdom, excavated the particular tank in the neighbourhood of the city (meaning Daśapura) may, however, suggest that Daśapura was his own capital. In that case, Ādityavardhana was just another name of Gauri, although the unsatisfactory composition of the document, already discussed above, does not make this point clear at all. The second of the two interpretations suggested here may perhaps be supported by the fact that the more elaborate *praśasti* of Gauri in his other record from Chhōṭī Sādṛī (about 32 miles from Mandasōr), which lay within his own territory, does not speak of his overlord, while the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather, viz. Rāshṭravardhana and Rājyavardhana, render it possible that he had also a similar name ending in *vardhana*. Other possibilities will be discussed below in connection with the history of Daśapura in the period in question.

Although Daśapura is mentioned as a holy place of pilgrimage in an inscription[2] of the second century A. D., the city became famous as the capital of the Aulikara dynasty which flourished in West Mālwa after the country had passed to the Guptas when Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (376-414 A. D.) extirpated Śaka rule from West India about the close of the fourth century.[3] The early Aulikaras owed allegiance to the Gupta emperors who tolerated their use of the Mālava era in preference to the era of their own (i.e. the Gupta era). The extirpation of the Śakas by a Gupta Vikramāditya and the patronage of the Aulikaras of Mālava origin and of the Mālava era by

[1] *JAHRS*, Vol. XIX, p. 207.

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 161.

[3] Cf. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. xxxvii-xxxix.

the Gupta kings styled *Vikramāditya* led to the growth of the Śakāri Vikramāditya saga and to the tradition ascribing the foundation of the Mālava era to the Vikramāditya of Indian folklore.[1] The inscriptions[2] of the Aulikara king Naravarman (described as a follower or subordinate of Siṁhavikrānta identified with Chandragupta II, styled Siṁhavikrama), son of Jayavarman and grandson of Siṁhavarman, are dated in the Mālava years 461 (404 A. D.) and 474 (417 A. D.). His son Viśvavarman is known from an inscription[3] of the Mālava year 480 (423 A. D.), while both Viśvavarman and his son and successor Bandhuvarman are mentioned as feudatories of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (414-55 A. D.) in an inscription[4] recording the construction of and repairs to a temple at Daśapura respectively in the Mālava years 493 (436 A. D.) and 529 (473 A. D.). King Prabhākara, mentioned in another record[5] of the Mālava year 524 (467 A. D.), seems to have belonged to the same family and to have been a successor of Bandhuvarman. While all these rulers appear to have owed allegiance to the Imperial Guptas, the only known Aulikara king of a later date, viz. Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana, one of whose records is dated in the Mālava year 589 (532 A. D.)[6] was an independent ruler. This monarch claims to have ruled over territories that even the Hūṇas and the Guptas failed to conquer. This shows that Western Mālwa passed from the Guptas to the Hūṇas and from the Hūṇas to Yaśōdharman. King Yaśōdharman also claims to have subdued the famous Hūṇa king Mihirakula. That the whole of Mālwa passed from the Guptas to the Hūṇas about the close of the fifth century seems to be suggested also by the fact that a ruler of Airikiṇa (Eran in the Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh) acknowledged the supremacy of Budhagupta (477-95 A. D.) in the Gupta year 165 (484 A. D.) while his younger brother and successor acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hūṇa king Tōramāṇa, an inscription of whose son Mihirakula was found at Gwalior.[7]

The question is : what happened to the Aulikaras of Daśapura, who were the feudatories of the Guptas, when Gupta suzerainty was extirpated from Mālwa by the Hūṇas ? As the Eran inscription of the time of Tōramāṇa is dated in his first regnal year and Mihirakula's Gwalior inscription is dated in his fifteenth regnal year, Hūṇa occupation of Mālwa must have lasted at least for more than a decade and a half. This period has to be placed between 484 and 532 A. D. It is interesting to note that the Mānavāyani king Gauri was ruling over the district around Chhōṭī Sādṛī in 491 A. D. falling exactly in this period of the Hūṇa occupation of Mālwa. He therefore may have been a feudatory of the Hūṇas and not of a king of Daśapura, although the use of the Mālava era in the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription may point to his Mālava origin or association. As *Ādityavardhana* does not appear to be a secondary name of the Hūṇa monarchs Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula who moreover may not have their residence at Daśapura, it is possible to think that it was a second name of Gauri himself and that the Aulikaras were ousted from Daśapura and the Mānavāyanis established there as a result of the extirpation of Gupta suzerainty and the establishment of Hūṇa supremacy in West Mālwa. Another possibility is that Ādityavardhana was a hitherto unknown Aulikara king of Daśapura, of whom Gauri was a relation or feudatory. In this connection, the secondary name of Yaśōdharman, viz. *Vishṇuvardhana*, which is rather peculiar for the Aulikara family, is interesting to note. Did he get it from his association with the Mānavāyanis ? Since, however, his principal name, viz. *Yaśodharman*, is also equally peculiar for the earlier Aulikaras with names ending in *varman*, it is not possible to be definite on this point.

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[1] Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 165.

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 377 ; above, Vol. XXVI, p. 131.

[3] *Sel. Ins.*, p. 379.

[4] Ibid., pp. 288 ff.

[5] Bhandarkar's List, No. 7 ; above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 12 ff.

[6] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 386 ff. Some scholars suggest that Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana were different persons and that the latter was a feudatory of the former. But cf. op. cit., p. 386, note.

[7] See ibid., pp. 326 f., 296 f., 400 f.

Among **geographical** names, the fragmentary record under study mentions **only** ***daś-ādiku pura***, i.e. **Daśapura** which was the ancient name of modern Mandasōr.

TEXT[1]

1 ....[vatā[2] tē]na garutma-ratha[3]-yāyinā |[4] trailōky-ām[a]....[5]

2 ......pāṇinā[6] ||[7] [1*] Jitvā ripu-balaṁ saṁkkhē(khyē) ramyaṁ pura[ṁ*] **daś-ādi**....[8]

3 ......[9] [na]ra-vyāgghrē narēndr-**Ādityavarddhanē** ||[7] [2*] Āsīn=**Māna**........[10]

4 ....[11] varddhaṇaḥ(naḥ |) **Rāshṭravarddhaṇa(na)**-sat-putraḥ(trō) **Yaśōguptō nar-ā**....[12] [3*]

5 ....[13] [nū]jēna śrī-mahārāja-**Gauriṇā** |[14] [4*] Yasya mātāmahaḥ śr[ī]....[15]

6 ..[16][pratā]pavān[17] [|*] Hariś[ū]r=ēti vikkhyātā jananī cha pativra[t]ā ||[18] [5*]

7 ....[19] samāsādya taptvā tapam=anuttamaṁ(mam |) datvā(ttvā) dānaṁ dvijēbhya[ḥ] ..[20]

8 ....[21] divaṅ=gatā ||[22] [6*] Yēna k[ū]pās=taṭākāni maṇḍapāś=cha manō[harāḥ |[22]]

9 .... [23]vṛiddhyartha[ṁ] grāmēshu nagarēshu cha ||[22] [7*] Tēn=ēdaṁ[24] nagar-ābhyā[sē]

10 .... [25]vṛiddhayē |[22] khānitaṁ(ta)s=sa[rvva-satvā(ttvā)nāṁ] sukha-pē[yō ja]lā....[26] [8*]

11 ...... prada .... t=ēva mātā-pitrō ....

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Read *Jitaṁ bhagavatā*. There was probably the *Sidham* symbol at the beginning of the record before *Jitam*.

[3] Read *garutmad-ratha°*.

[4] This stop is indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke.

[5] About four *aksharas* are damaged here.

[6] We may suggest *Vishṇunā chakrapāṇinā*.

[7] This stop is indicated by a double *daṇḍa*.

[8] Read *daś-ādikam* ||

[9] We may suggest *pālayati* or *praśāsati*.

[10] The reference is to the family name given as Māṇavāyaṇi in the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription. But the reading *Mānavāyanīnām*, although tempting, does not appear to be supported by the traces of the damaged *aksharas*. The reading intended may have been *Mānava-gōtrasya*.

[11] The *akshara* before *va* may be *sya*.

[12] Read *nar-ādhipaḥ* ||

[13] We may suggest something like *tasy=ānēna tanūjēna*.

[14] This stop is indicated by a *daṇḍa* with its upper part curved towards the left.

[15] The word seems to be *śrīmān*.

[16] The letters of the name of king Gauri's maternal grandfather are lost with the exception of traces of the last *akshara* which may be *ntah*.

[17] The half *n* is incised above the line.

[18] This stop is indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke.

[19] May we suggest a word like *vaidhavyañ=cha* or *vārdhakyañ=cha* ?

[20] One *akshara* (*sā* ?) seems to be lost here.

[21] About four *aksharas* are lost here.

[22] This stop is indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke.

[23] We may suggest *kāritā puṇya-vṛiddhy-arthaṁ*.

[24] Read *tēn=āyam*.

[25] We may suggest *mātuh puṇy-abhivṛiddhayē*.

[26] Read *jalāśayaḥ* ||

No. 23.—DEVAPRAYAG BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(2 *Plates*)

B. Ch. Chhabra, New Delhi

In May 1948, I toured in those parts of the Himālayas that go by the name of Uttarākhaṇḍa. Owing to the difficulties of transport, I got stranded, so to say, at **Dēvaprayāg.** Every cloud, they say, has a silver lining. In the case of my enforced stay at the said holy place the silver lining appeared in the shape of a chance discovery of quite a number of short inscriptions in early characters, crowding a small area on a rugged rock, very centrally located.

The village of Dēvaprayāg is within the former Tehri State, ' situated in 30°10′ N and 78°37′ E, at the confluence of the Alakānandā and Bhāgīrathī rivers, the combined stream being then called the Ganges ; elevation 1,550 feet. The point of junction forms one of the five sacred confluences in the hills, and is annually visited by many devout pilgrims. The village stands 100 feet above the water's edge on the scarped side of a mountain, which rises behind it to a height of 800 feet.'[1] The accompanying sketch map will show the position of Dēvaprayāg in relation to some of the well-known land marks such as Badrīnāth and Kēdārnāth in the north-east, Dehradun in the north-west, and Hardwār in the south-west.

The rock bearing the inscriptions is situated behind the famous temple of Raghunāth, which is comparatively of recent origin. The rock forms the back wall of the rectangular courtyard of the temple. It contains about 40 inscriptions in characters of three different types : Brāhmī, ornamental Brāhmī and Dēvanāgarī. The inscriptions of the last type are very few. One of them is pretty long and is dated Saṁvat 1736. Those of the second type are more or less equal in number to those of the first type. In this article I deal only with the Brāhmī inscriptions. At the end I have given one of the inscriptions of the ornamental type as a sample This seems to read *Bhaddrabalaḥ*. The characteristic feature of the ornamental type of the script represented here is the use of a ' cone ' placed on the top of some of the letters, as may be seen in the present instance on the letters *ba* and *la*. I intend to deal with these ornamental inscriptions in a separate paper. Likewise, the later inscriptions will be dealt with separately.

The **Brāhmī script** represented in the inscriptions discussed here is of a period ranging from the 2nd to the 5th century A.D. The earliest variety is represented by the inscriptions Nos. XIV and XVIII. In the last mentioned inscription, the subscript *y* may be observed to retain its tripartite form, which is an indication of its being early. The flat and angular bases of *d*, *p*, *m*, *v* and *h*, etc., in some of the inscriptions also indicate an early period. The inscriptions Nos. XV and XVI illustrate what is known as the nail-headed or acute-angled variety of the late Brāhmī script. According to J. F. Fleet, the script represented in all these inscriptions will be ' a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central Indian alphabet of about the 4th century A.D.'[2] The letters *m*, *ś* and *h* here are throughout of the so called southern type. Since these inscriptions are in the north, we need not call the script as peculiar to Central India alone. The treatment of the *mātrās* in some of the inscriptions is worth noticing. Medial *ā* in the syllable *mā* in Nos. I, II and III is differently indicated. In No. I it rises from the left limb of the consonant and ends in a flourish. In No. II it is placed on the right limb and is bent downwards. In No. III it is attached to the right side of the consonant, not on the top, but a little below. The same *mātrā* in *dā* of No. IV is again different, bending like a hook. Medial *i* where its use is superfluous in No. III is ornamentally treated, while its normal form is seen in Nos. V, IX, X and XVI

[1] *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Vol. XXVI, *British Garhwal*, compiled by H. D. Walton, 1921, p. 214. The name of the village is more commonly spelt as Deoprayag.

[2] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 18.

Medial ī is plainly visible in the word *śrī* in No. VIII. It is open to the left. The same *mātrā* is also seen on the letter *h* in No. XI where, correctly speaking, it should be *ē* and not ī. The form of medial ī, open to the right, is to be seen in the word *śrī* in No. XIII. The form of medial *u* differs, as is well-known, in combination with different consonants. The examples of this sign found in these inscriptions are as follows: a straight downward stroke in *ṭu* (No. VI), a curved downward stroke in *gu* (Nos. IX, XI and XII) and *ru* (Nos. XIII and XVI), and a curved upward stroke in *tu* (No. XVIII). In the case of the medial *u* in *gu* of No. IX, it looks almost like the medial *u* in modern Nāgarī, but in reality the curved stroke which appears to be a continuation of the *u mātrā* is not joined with the *u* stroke. The form of the medial *ṛi* is to be seen in Nos. II, and XVI. In No. II, it ends in a loop; it is partly mixed up with an ornamental letter below. In No. XVI, it looks as it is in the modern Nāgarī script; but here some flaw in the stone is responsible for its modern look. In fact, it is more or less of the same type as is found in No. II, its curl descending from the right side of *v* and ending in a loop.

TEXTS

I
Mānaparvvataḥ

II
Mātṛidattaḥ

III
Mātri (tṛi)chēṭasya

IV
Īśvaradāsaḥ

V
Hiraṇya

VI
Kaṭukattaṁ[bha]

VII
Yajña

VIII
Śrī-Guhavarmmaḥ

IX
Guhavarm[m]a Ādityava[rmma]

X
Ādtiya

XI
Guhīśvaradattaḥ

XII
[Śrīmad-Gu]hēśvaradatta[s]ya

XIII
Śrī-Rudravarm[m]aṇaḥ

XIV
Skandadattaḥ

XV
Skandadattaḥ

XVI
Rudravṛiddhiḥ

XVII
[A]ḍhishṭhāṇa

XVIII
Chaturvy[ū]haḥ

XIX
Bhaddrabalaḥ

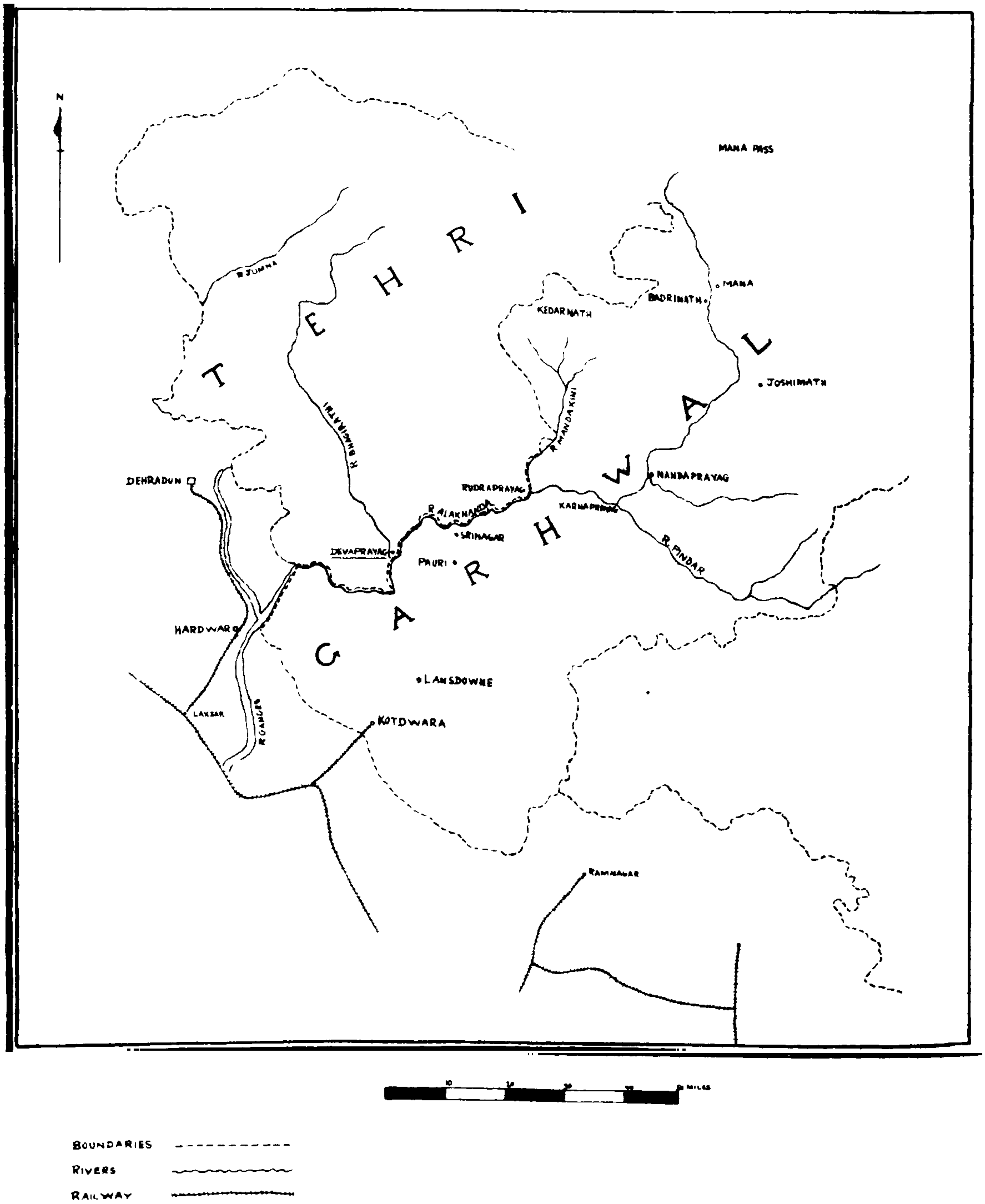
These short inscriptions contain only proper names and were possibly engraved on the rock by pilgrims who visited the holy place in olden days. Most of the names are typical of the Gupta period. Hence their importance. The first in our list, *Mānaparvata*, obviously refers to the Māna mountain or Māna pass which, as may be seen on the accompanying map, lies higher up in the Himalayan range, beyond Badrīnāth. The occurrence of the name on the rock in question, however, tends to indicate that the range of hills behind the confluence of the Alakānandā and Bhāgīrathī at Dēvaprayāg was also known as *Māna*. The personal name *Mātṛichēṭa*

Devaprayag Brahmi Inscriptions (I)



(From a Photograph)

SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF DEVAPRAYAG



reminds us of the early Buddhist author of that name, sometimes identified with Aśvaghōsha.[1] Many of the remaining names show that their bearers were followers either of Śaivism or of Vaishṇavism. Some of them are rather quaint as personal names, *Aḍhishṭhāṇa*, for instance. It may, however, be observed that *Adhisṭhāna* is known as one of the thousand names of Vishṇu :

Apāṁnidhir=Adhisṭhānam=Apramattaḥ Pratishṭhitaḥ[2].

Similarly the words *yajña* and *chaturvyūha* also figure among the thousand appellations of Vishṇu :

Yajña Ījyō Mahējyaś=cha Kratuḥ Sattraṁ Satāṁgatiḥ[3]

and

Yajñō Yajñapatir Yajvā Yajñāṅgō Yajñavāhanaḥ[4]

and

Chaturātmā Chaturvyūhaś=Chaturdaṁshṭraś=Chaturbhujaḥ[5]

and

Chaturmūrtiś=Chaturbāhuś=Chaturvyūhaś=Chaturgatiḥ[6]

The four *vyūhas* hinted at in the name *Chaturvyūha* are *Vāsudēva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha*, the significance of which is explained in the *āgamas* such as the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*.

It may be noted here that the name *Chaturvyūha* is engraved, not on the rock behind the Raghunāth temple, but lower down, at a distance, on a boulder along the steps leading to the water's edge where the pilgrims now take bath at the confluence of the two rivers. There is no other engraving on this boulder.

It may further be observed that the rock behind the Raghunāth temple, near the point where the name *Mānaparvvataḥ* is engraved, has a vertical portion rubbed smooth as if by the constant flow of water. Again, at this very point, at the foot of the rock, the stone has been hollowed out into a shallow basin, so to say, likewise rubbed smooth. All this indicates that in olden days there was a waterfall at this place and that it was equally a sacred spot frequented by pilgrims.

No. 24.—BANDA PLATES OF PARACHAKRASALYA, SAMVAT 56

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the end of November 1950, I visited Russelkonda, headquarters of the Ghumsur Subdivision of the Ganjam District, Orissa. There I met Mr. D. P. Tripathi, then Revenue Divisional Officer of Ghumsur, who kindly gave me the information that he had once seen a set of inscribed copper plates in the possession of Mr. B. S. Mahanti, then Secretary of the Revenue Department, Government of Orissa, Cuttack. I at once wrote to Mr. Mahanti requesting him to be so good as to lend me the plates for a few weeks for examination. Mr. Mahanti kindly responded to my

[1] See A. Berriedale Keith, A *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 64

[2] *Vishṇusahasranāma*, 50.

[3] Ibid., 63.

[4] Ibid., 119.

[5] Ibid., 30.

[6] Ibid., 97.

request and the inscription reached me at Ootacamund about the middle of March 1951. After examination, the plates were duly returned to Mr. Mahanti. As to the question how the inscription was acquired by him, Mr. Mahanti was good enough to write to me, " The plates were given to me by an old man who was an inhabitant of **Banda**, a village in the Bargarh Subdivision of the Sambalpur District. I have forgotten his name; but he put in a claim to be appointed as village watchman of the said village when I was Sub-Divisional Officer at Bargarh. He produced the plates with the belief that the inscription supported his claim to the post. I told him that it contained nothing of the kind and that it was of no help in deciding the case. The old man lost his case. He then said that I could keep the inscription as it was of no use to him, and it is with me since. The village of Banda lies three miles off from Bargarh which is the headquarters of the Subdivision of that name in the Sambalpur District, Orissa." My thanks are due to Mr. Mahanti for his kindness in lending me the inscription for examination and publication as well as for the above information.

The inscription is engraved on a set of **three** thin plates which measure about 9 inches by 3·1 inches each. They are strung together on a ring (about 2·2 inches in diameter and ·2 inch in thickness) to which a small figure of Garuḍa (1·6 inches in height) is fixed instead of a seal of the usual type. The figure shows only the upper part of Garuḍa's body with folded palms and with a crown on the head as well as two outstretched wings on the back. The first plate has writing only on the inner side; but the second and third plates are inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether 23 lines of writing on the plates. The reverse of the third plate has only 3 lines while the other inscribed faces of the plates have 5 lines each. The incision of the letters is fairly deep and the preservation of the plates is satisfactory with the exception of the reverse of the third plate, which exhibits effects of corrosion. A few letters on the second side of the third plate are badly damaged. The weight of the three plates together is 66 *tolas*, while that of the ring with the Garuḍa emblem is 7½ *tolas*.

The **characters** are very indifferently incised and often the same letter has a variety of forms, while in some cases different letters have the same form. The letters *p* and *sh* are usually undistinguishable, whereas, in some cases, *y* also closely resembles them; see, e.g. °*gat-āśēsha-pañcha* in lines 3-4, *turya* in line 5, etc.; for slight variation in the form of *p*, see *dappaṇa* in line 8 and *patī* in line 9. For different forms of *r*, cf. *para*° (line 2), *māhēsvara* (line 3), *ravō*° and °*rātī* (line 5), *Rāshṭra* (line 6) and *Rāṇaka* (line 10). For similar variants of *k*, see *kulā-tīlaka* (line 6), °*līka* and *rāṇaka* (line 10), *rāṇaka* (line 12) and *sākhīka* (lines 20-21). The letters *t*, *l* and *s* also have several forms; cf. °*sira* (line 1), *samadhi*° (line 3) *kulā-tīlaka* (line 6); *suta* (lines 11 and 11-12) and °*gasti* (lines 14-15). The medial sign of *ā* is usually of the *daṇḍa* type; but it is found in modified forms in *ṭṭā* (lines 2, 6), *gō*° (lines 9, 13, 21), *ñchā* (line 13), *shṭā* (line 19) and *tvā* (line 19). Medial *ē* is of the Bengali-Oriya type, although rarely the Dēvanāgarī type of the sign has been used (cf. *Llātalōra* in line 7). The double *daṇḍa* at the end of the inscription is preceded by a *visarga*-like sign which forms a part of the mark of interpunctuation as in numerous other inscriptions. From the palaeographical point of view, the inscription resembles such other Orissan records of about the **twelfth century A.D.** as the Mahada[1] plates of the Telugu-Chōḍa king Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, the Kelga plates[2] of the Sōmavaṁśī *Kumāra* Sōmēśvara, the Baud plates[3] of Salōṇabhañja, and others.[4] The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit mixed with the local dialect. Its **orthography** is greatly influenced by local pronunciation. The rules of *sandhi* have often been neglected.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.; cf. Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff. and Plates.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 321 ff.; cf. Vol. XII, pp. 239 ff. and Plates.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 276 ff. and Plates. The Bhañjas of Baud were probably feudatories of the Sōmavaṁśīs and raised their head on the decline of the latter, but were subdued by the Telugu-Chōḍas of Kōsala.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff. and Plates, etc.

The **date** of the document is given in lines 1-2 as *Samata 56 Muyasira-vadā 4 vāra Vīhapaï*, i.e. *Saṁvat 56 Mārgaśira-vadi 4 vārē Bṛihaspatau*. The date is thus Thursday, Mārgaśira-badi 4, year 56. It is of course not impossible to regard the year 56 in the date of the charter under discussion as the regnal year of its issuer ; but the internal evidence of the record, as will be shown below, would suggest that the year should better be referred to the Chālukya-Vikrama Saṁvat, the first year of which corresponds to Śaka (current) 999=1076-77 A. D.[1] In that case the date of our record, viz. Chālukya-Vikrama Saṁvat (current) 56, Amānta-Mārgaśīrsha-badi 4, Thursday would correspond to **Thursday, the 20th November, 1130 A. D.**

The charter was issued from **Vāgharākōṭṭa** by *Rāṇaka* **Parachakraśalya** who was the son of Dhaṁsaka (possibly Sanskrit *Dhvaṁsaka*) and grandson of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mahā-maṇḍalika Rāṇaka* **Chamaravigraha.** The issuer of the charter and his grandfather have been endowed with feudatory titles only. The name of the issuer's father goes without any royal epithet possibly because he predeceased his father and Parachakraśalya directly succeeded his grandfather.

The charter records the grant of a village called Salēḍāgrāma in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Bṛihaspati who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and the *pañch-ārshēya pravara* and was the son of Āgasti and grandson of Chaïkara. It is interesting to note that the donee's grandfather is represented as belonging to the Kavaṇḍīlla *gōtra*. *Kavaṇḍīlla* seems to be a mistake for *Kauṇḍilya* or *Kauṇḍinya* and the donee of the charter under review may have actually been a *dvyāmushyāyaṇa*. The Vatsa *gōtra* has five *pravaras* (viz. Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvat, Aurva and Jāmadagnya), while the Kauṇḍilya or Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* has three *pravaras*, viz. Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja. The donee's *pañch-ārshēya pravara* seems to refer to the Vatsa *gōtra*. A Brāhmaṇa named Priyaka seems to be mentioned in the document as a witness while *Mahāpātra* Gōvindasāi was the *dūtaka* or executor of the grant. The plates appear to have been engraved by two persons named Dhōllajā and Gābhuruja.

There is a group of epithets seemingly applied to the name of Chamaravigraha, although, considering the corrupt language of the document, they may be actually meant for Parachakraśalya who issued the charter. The first of these epithets is *parama-māhēśvara* which shows that the rulers in question were devotees of Śiva in spite of the fact that the charter under discussion bears the Vaishṇava emblem of Garuḍa which, as will be shown below, was probably borrowed from their ancestors. The second epithet, viz. *samadhigat-āśēsha-pañcha-mahāśabd-āvalī-vandita*, points to the feudatory status of the rulers, also indicated by their titles, *Rāṇaka*, etc. The other epithets, which are of outstanding importance, are (1) *kanaka-ḍamaru-trivalī-rav-ōttrāsit-ārāti-chakra*, (2) *Rāshṭrakūṭ-āmala-kula-tilaka*, (3) *Llātalōra-vinirggata*, (4) *śvēta-chchhatra*, (5) *pīta-chāmara*, (6) *Garuḍa-darpaṇa-dhvaja* and (7) *ashṭādaśa-ghaṭṭa-gōndram-ādhipati*. These epithets show that *Rāṇaka* Parachakraśalya claimed to have belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa royal family and that his family hailed from the Kannaḍa area although he was ruling in the Sambalpur region of Orissa far away from the original home of his forefathers.

The word *rāshṭrakūṭa*, as an official designation probably meaning 'the head of a *rāshṭra* (a small division of a kingdom)' (cf. *grāma-kūṭa* meaning 'the head of a village'), is often found in the copperplate charters of certain rulers, generally of Kannaḍa origin, in the usual list of officials and others, to whom the royal order concerning a gift was issued.[2] In ancient and medieval India, such official designations are known to have very often become stereotyped as family names. Out of hundreds of such cases, a few, viz. Dēsāi (Sanskrit *Dēśādhipati* or *°kṛita*), Mahāpātra, Niyōgin, Rājaguru, Sēnāpati, Majumdār (from *Mazmuadār*), Mīrbahar, etc., may be quoted here by way of illustration. It is also well known that *Pēshwā* was originally the official designation of a minister of the Marāṭhā rulers of Śivājī's house, but that it gradually became stereotyped as a family name

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 446.
[2] Above, Vol, XXIII, p. 169 ; Vol. XXV, p. 30, etc.

and that the Pēshwās did not give it up even when they became independent or even imperial rulers. An ancient Indian instance of exactly the same kind is that of the wellknown Pratīhāra emperors whose dynastic name was apparently derived from the official designation *pratīhāra* meaning 'guardian of the palace gate'. The designation *rāshṭrakūṭa* was also similarly stereotyped and a number of Rāshṭrakūṭa royal families, later called Rāṭhōḍ (through Prakrit *raṭṭhaüḍa*) in some cases, are known to have ruled in different parts of India. There is no reason to believe that all these families were branches of a single dynasty; but all of them appear to have been essentially of Kannaḍa origin although it is difficult to trace their original southern characteristic in some of the North Indian Rāshṭrakūṭas. So long no Rāshṭrakūṭa royal family was traced in Orissa. The inscription under discussion proves for the first time the existence of a line of Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers in the Sambalpur region of Orissa. An interesting epithet of the ruler who issued the charter (or, of his grandfather) is *Llātalōra-vinirgata* which shows that the family claimed to have hailed from a locality called Llātalōra. There is no doubt that the locality referred to is the same as Lattalūra (otherwise called Lattalūr, Lattanūr, Latalaura, etc.) which was the traditional home of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Southern India and has been identified with modern Lātūr in the Osmanabad District of Hyderabad. We know that the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas often called themselves *Lattalūra-pura-paramēśvara*[1] and the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti usually described themselves as *Lattalūr-pura-var-ēśvara* or *Lattanūr-pura-var-ēśvara*,[2] while *Mahāsāmanta* Dhāḍībhaḍaka of the Mahā-Rāshṭrakūṭa family, who was a feudatory of the Western Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A. D.), is described as 'emigrated from Latalaura',[3] exactly as the king in the inscripton under review. The advent of these Rāshṭrakūṭas of Kannaḍa origin in Orissa, like that of the Kanarese Sēnas in Bengal, of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty of Nānyadēva in Mithilā and of the Telugu-Chōḍas in Chattisgarah and Orissa, seems to have been the result of the eastern expeditions led by Chālukya Vikramāditya VI some time before 1068 A. D.[4] It seems that Parachakraśalya acknowledged, however nominally, the supremacy of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The establishment of the Kannaḍa royal houses in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is a very interesting fact of South Indian history. The Kannaḍigas of Bengal and North Bihar have left their mark on the culture of the lands of their adoption; but those of Orissa were politically insignificant.

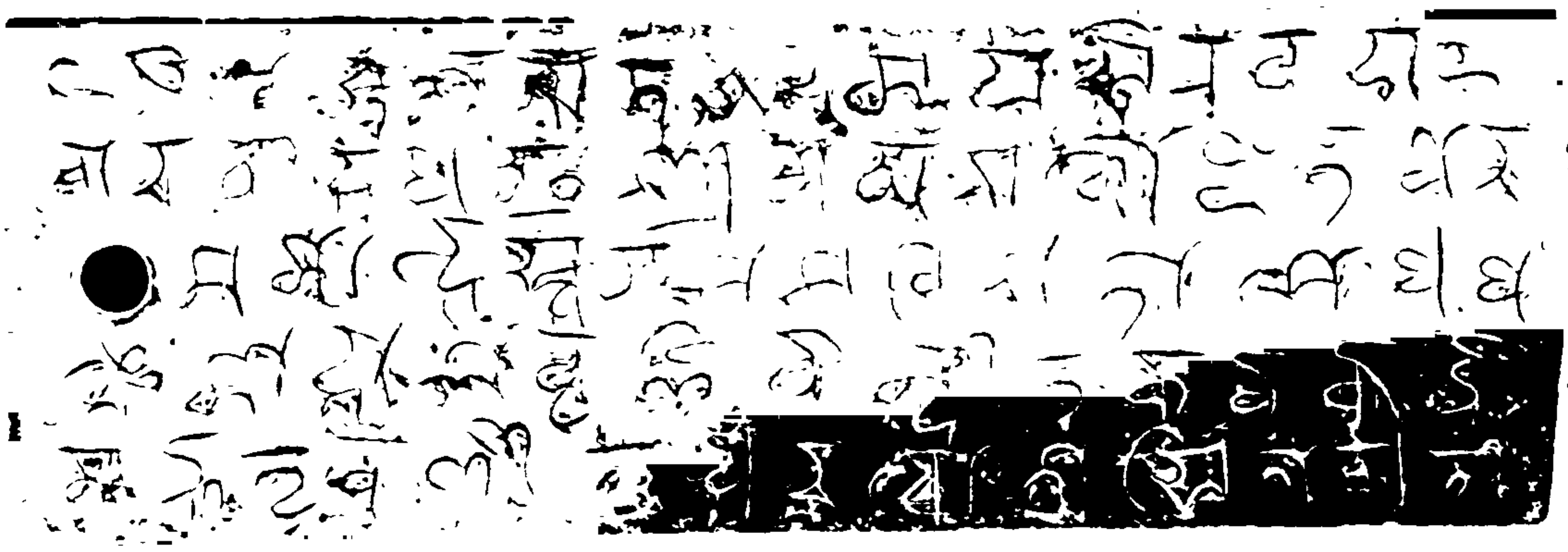
The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Southern India had the *Pāli-dhvaja*, *Ōka-kētu* and *Garuḍa-lāñchhana*,[5] while the Orissan Rāshṭrakūṭas are described in our record as having the *Garuḍa-darpaṇa-dhvaja*. The fact that the former were heralded in public by the sound of a musical instrument named *ṭivili* (variously called *trivaḷe*, *trivaḷi* or *trivaḷī* in the records of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti) explains the occurrence of the epithet *kanaka-ḍamaru-trivalī-tūrya-rav-ōttrāsit-ārāti-chakra*. applied to the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings mentioned in the record under discussion. The Orissan Rāshṭrakūṭas are further said to have enjoyed the *śvēta-chchhatra* (white umbrella) and *pīta-chāmara* (yellow fly-whisk).

From what has been said above about the epithets of the Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers mentioned in the inscription under review, it may be suspected whether they had anything really to do with Orissa. Such a doubt is, however, set completely at rest by the epithet *ashṭādaśa-ghaṭṭa-gōndram-ādhipati*, 'lord of the eighteen *ghaṭṭas* and Gōndramas'. The word *ghaṭṭa* is not found in similar context in Orissan epigraphs and may have been used to mean 'a pass' or 'hill range' in the Kannaḍa sense of the word. The word *gōndrama* is, however, found in many early copperplate grants of Orissa in royal epithets claiming lordship over 'all the Gōndramas' or 'the eighteen Gōndramas' although the meaning of the word *gōndrama* and its origin are both unknown. Whether it is

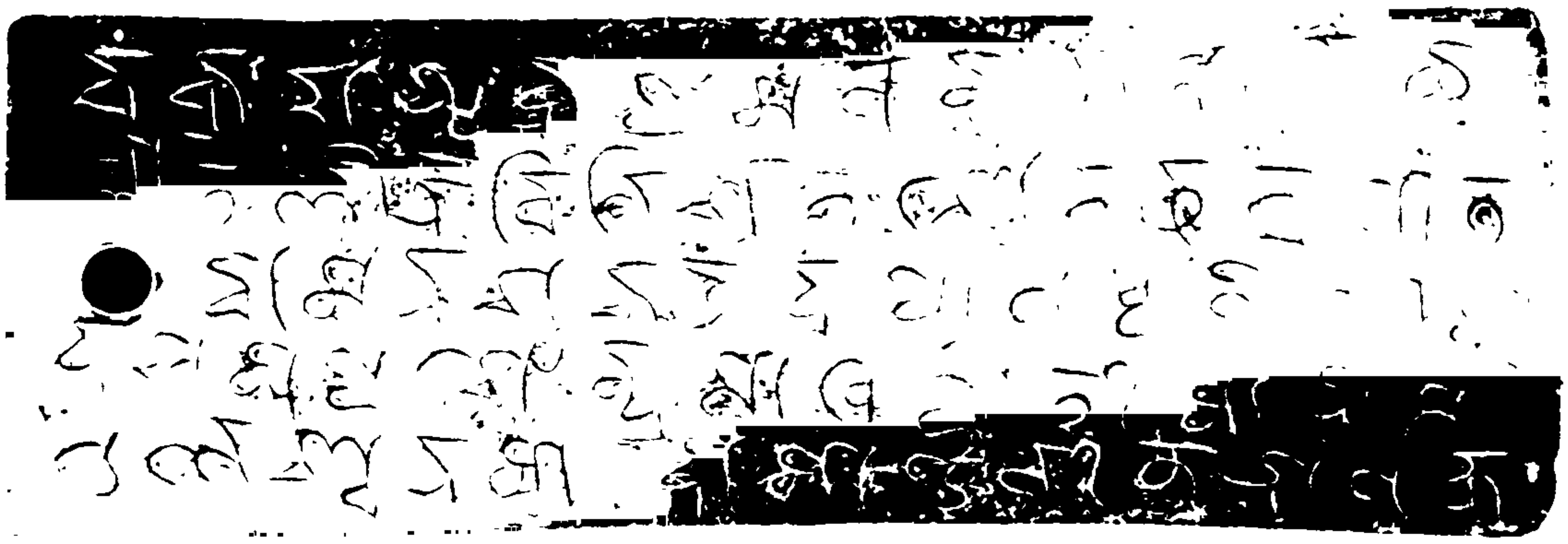
[1] Cf. *Ind. Ant*. Vol. XII, p. 220.
[2] Cf. ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 165, 248.
[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, op. cit., p. 384, note 4.
[4] Ibid., p. 442.
[5] Ibid., p. 387.

BANDA PLATES OF PARACHAKRASALYA; SAMVAT 56

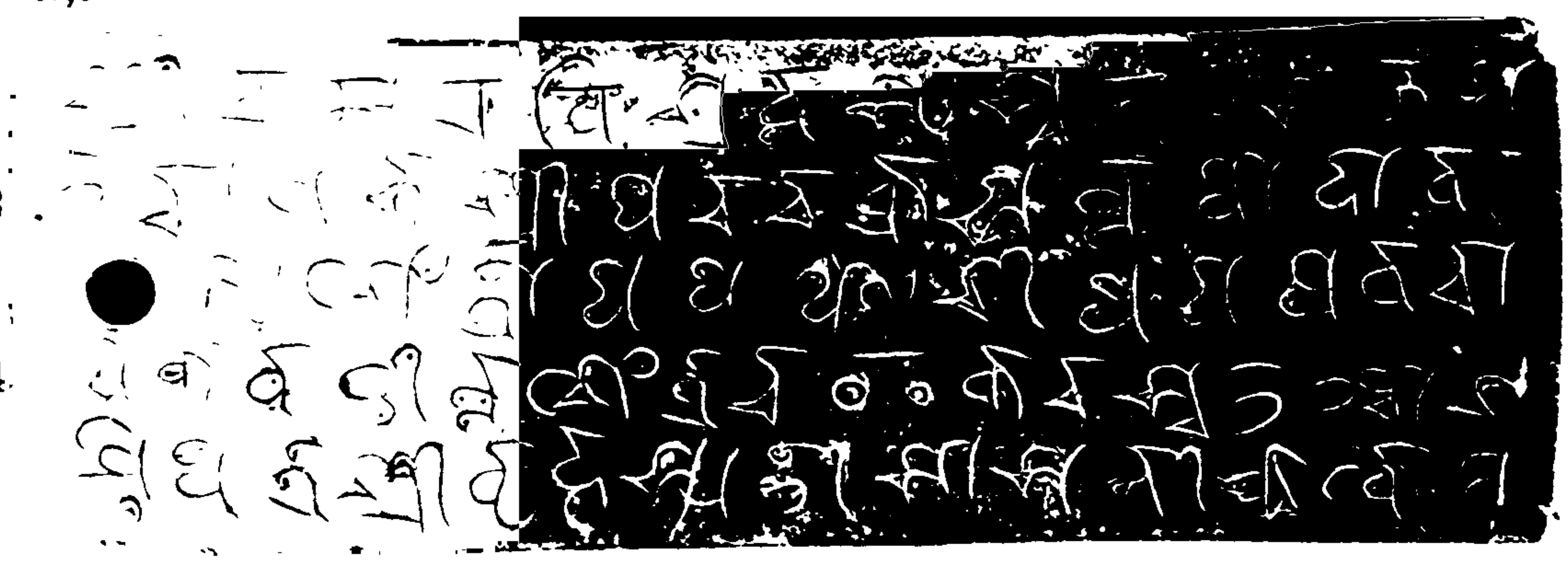
i



ii a

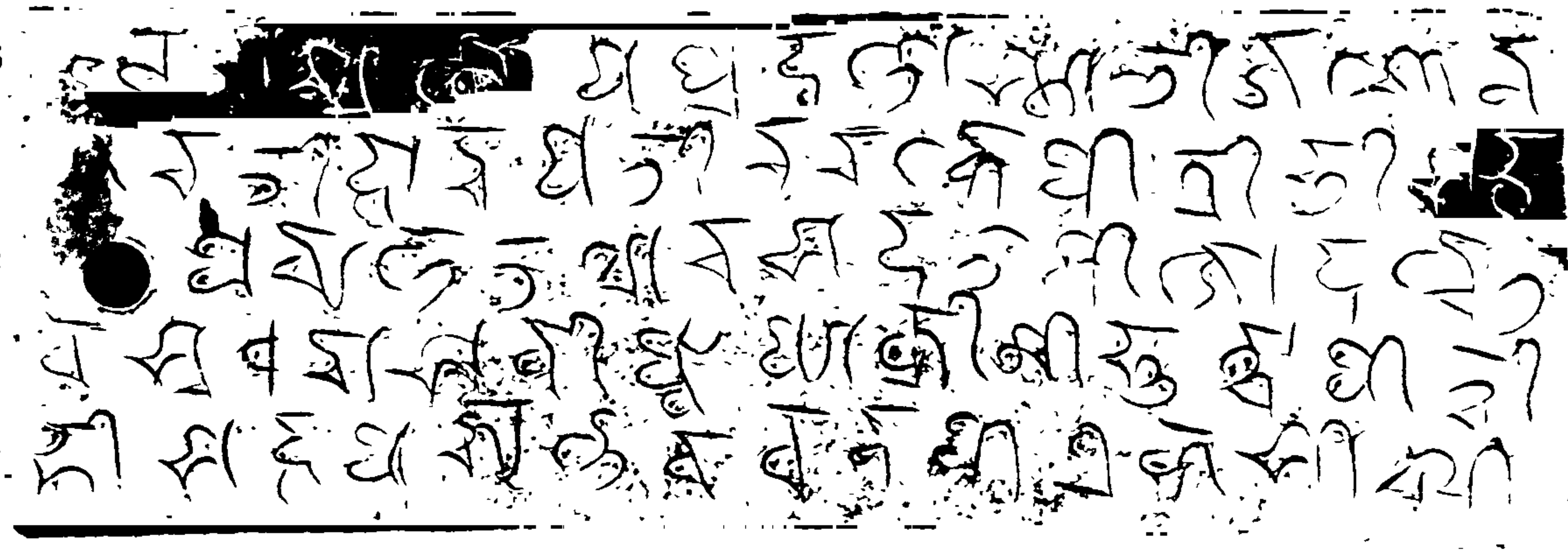


ii,b

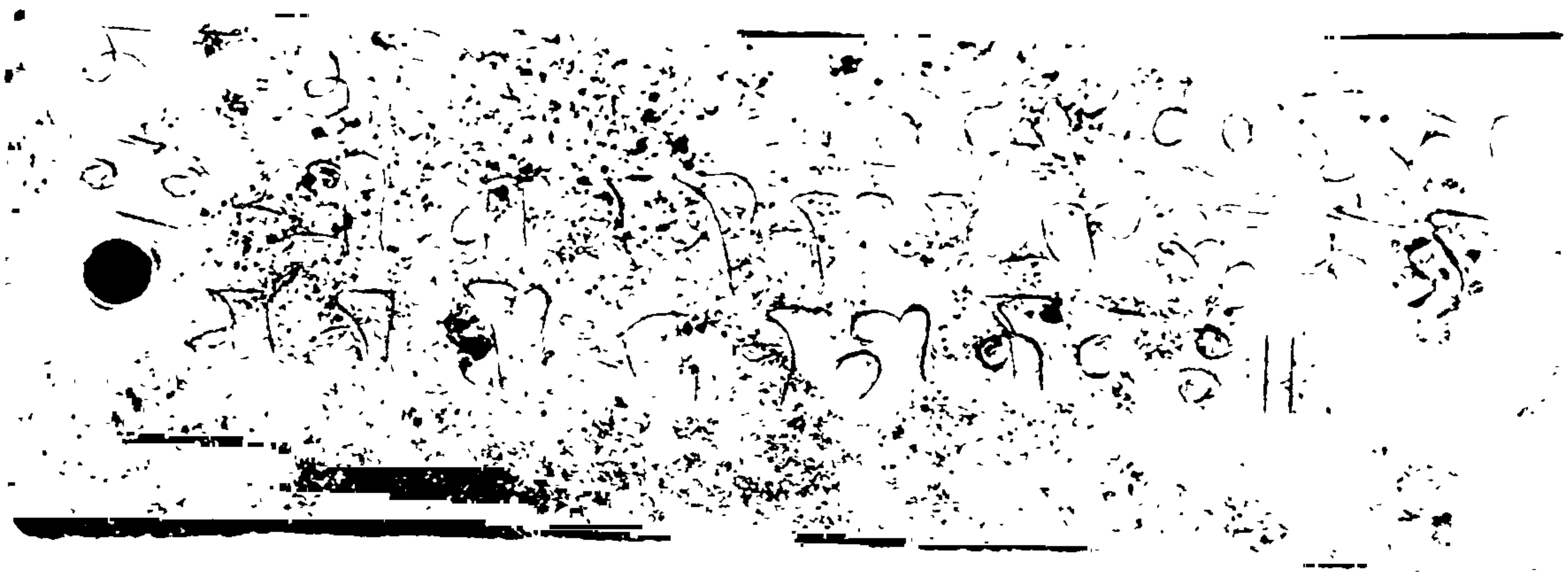


SCALE: TWO-THIRDS

iii,a



iii,b



Seal



connected with the Telugu word *koṇḍa*, meaning ' hill ', is uncertain. The eighteen Gōndramas are sometimes supposed to indicate the same thing as the Oriya *aṭhara-gaḍa-jāta*, vaguely referring to the Native States now merged in the State of Orissa. The earliest reference to ' the eighteen States ' of this area seems to be found in the Kanās plate[1] of Lōkavigraha dated in the Gupta year 280 (599-600 A.D.), which speaks of the Tōsalī kingdom (Balasore-Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam region) as consisting of ' eighteen forest kingdoms (*aṭavī-rājya*) '. The association with *ghaṭṭa* may possibly suggest that *gōndrama* indicated ' a hill-fort ' or ' a State with its headquarters in a hill-fort '.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, **Vāgharā-kōṭṭa** seems to have been a hill-fort that was the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Orissa (cf. *kōṭṭa*, ' a fort '). Whether it was the old name of the present Bargarh in the Sambalpur District cannot be determined with certainty. The gift village is called **Salēḍāgrāma** without mentioning the name of the *vishaya* or district in which it was situated. This is probably because it was lying near the headquarters of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vāgharākōṭṭa. It may, however, be pointed out that the usual passage referring to the royal order regarding the grant, addressed to the king's officials, subordinates and others, seems to be wanting in our record owing to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver and that the reference to the *vishaya* in which the gift village was situated may have been lost along with it.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Siddham[3] [Ōṁ] svasta(sti ||) **Samata[4] 56 Muyasira-vadā(di)[5] 4**

2 **vāra Vīhapaī[6]** śrī-**Vāgharākōṭṭāta(ṭṭāt)** para-

3 mamāhēsva(śva)ra-samadhigatāśēshapa-

4 ñchamāhāsavdalivandīta[7]- kanakaḍa-

5 marutṛi(tri)valitu(tū)ryaravō[t*]trāsitārātī(ti)-

Second Plate, First Side

6 chakra-Rāshṭrakuṭṭāmalakulātīlaka[8]-

7 Llātalōravinirg[g]ata-śvētachha(chchha)tra-pīta-

8 chāmara-Garuḍadappa(rppa)ṇadhvaja-āsh[ṭ]ā-

9 dasa[9]ghaṭṭagōndramādhipatī(ti)-māhā[10]ma-

10 ṇḍalēśvara-māhā[10]māṇḍalī(li)ka-Rāṇaka-

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 328 ff.

[2] From the original plates and their impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] Read *Saṁvat*.

[5] Sanskrit *Mārgaśira* or *Mārgaśīrsha*. The engraver had *vadī* in mind but formed *dī* in such a way as to resemble *dā*.

[6] Sanskrit *vārē Bṛihaspatau*.

[7] Sanskrit °*mahāśabd-āvali-vandita*.

[8] Sanskrit °*Rāshṭrakūṭ-āmala-kuta-tilaka*.

[9] Read °*dhvaj-āshṭādaśa*.

[10] Sanskrit *mahā*°.

Second Plate, Second Side

11 śrī-**Chamaravigrahasya** suta[1]-Dhaṁsaka-su-

12 ta-Rāṇaka-śrī-**Parachakrasalla**[2]-pādā[3] [4]Vachha-

13 syagōtrāya pañch-ārīshaya[4] -p[r]avarā-

14 ya Kavaṇḍīlla[5]-gōtra-Chaīkarasuta[6]-Āga-

15 sti-pa(pu)tra-śrī-Vṛihaspatī sāsanīkṛitvā[7] Sa-

Third Plate, First Side

16 lēḍā-grāmō=ya[ṁ*] pradatō(ttō)=smābhī(bhiḥ |) ja gōna

17 haratī hārayatī narakē pītrībhī[8] saha

18 pachyatē [|*] tathā cha [|*] sadatamī jō[9] da(ha)rēta

19 vasu[ṁ*]dharā[m |*] sa [10]vīsh[ṭ]āyyā krīmī bhutvā pītvī-

20 bhi[10] saha pachyatē [||*] Vavana-Pīēka sākhī-

Third Plate, Second Side

21 ka[11][|*] dūta[kō=tra mā(ma)hāpā]tra-Gōinda[12]-sā-

22 i [|*] śrī-Dhō[lla]jā-nāma Gābhuruja-

23 nānā(ma?) līkhana tīkala[13] ||[14]

No. 25.—FURTHER NOTE ON DHULEV PLATE OF MAHARAJA BHETTI, YEAR 73

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

I have read with great interest Dr. D. C. Sircar's Note on the Dhulēv plate of *Mahārāja* Bhētti,[15] in which he criticises my interpretation of the grant and its date. I shall deal here briefly with the points raised by him.

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[1] Better read °*vigraha-suta*.

[2] Sanskrit °*śalya*°.

[3] Here a passage referring to the king's order regarding the grant, addressed to his officials, subordinates and others, seems to have been inadvertently omitted.

[4] Sanskrit *Vātsya-sagōtrāya pañch-ārshēya*°.

[5] Sanskrit *Kauṇḍilya*°.

[6] Read °*sut-Āgasti*.

[7] Sanskrit *Bṛihaspatayē śāsanīkṛitya*.

[8] Read *yaḥ kaśchit harati hārayati narakē pitṛibhiḥ*.

[9] Read *Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō*.

[10] Read *vishṭhāyāṁ krimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ*.

[11] The intended reading seems to be *Brāhmaṇa-Priyakaḥ sākshikaḥ*.

[12] The first part of the name is no doubt Sanskrit *Gōvinda*.

[13] The intended reading may be *śrī-Dhōllajā-nāmnā Gābhuruja-nāmnā cha likhitā triphalī*. The word *triphalī* is found in the records of the Sōmavaṁśīs in the sense of a charter engraved on a set of three copper plates.

[14] The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by a *visarga*-like sign which forms a part of the mark of interpunctuation and apparently indicates here a fullstop. Such marks are found in many other records, e.g., the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhavala (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff.).

[15] Above, pp. 5 ff.

While admitting that the interpretation of the grant proposed by Dr. Sircar with the emendation of *mahārāja-bappadattiḥ* into *mahārāja-bappa-dattau* is possible, I would point out that the interpretation offered by me is not impossible. It may be mentioned in this connection that Gaurisankar H. Ojha, who first noticed the record in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum for* 1932-33, p. 2, also took Bappadatti as a personal name. Bappa is not always used in the sense of a father. It is sometimes noticed as a personal name also.[1] We have names ending in *datta* such as Vīrapurushadatta and Kumāravaradatta. There is therefore no reason why we should not find some others ending in *datti* as we have those ending in *prasāda*,[2] since *datti* and *prasāda* have the same meaning of a gift. So the predecessor of *Mahārāja* Bhētti may have borne the name of Bappadatti.

The main importance of the inscription lies, however, not in the mention of the name of *Mahārāja* Bhētti's father, but in that of the year 73 in which it is dated. Dr. Sircar has unnecessarily argued at length to prove what is not disputed, viz. that the year 73 is not the regnal year of *Mahārāja* Bhētti.[3] The question, however, is, 'To what era does it belong ?' I hold that the use of *pratipatti* in *rājya-pratipatti-varshē tri-saptatitamē*[4] is significant. It seems to indicate that the seventy-third year was counted from the acquisition (or foundation) of the kingdom, of course, by an ancestor of *Mahārāja* Bhētti. It is noteworthy that no such expression is known to occur when the years of eras founded by imperial families are cited in the records of their feudatories.[5]

I wonder how Dr. Sircar believes that the Dhulēv grant was made in the *first* regnal year of *Mahārāja* Bhētti. Had that been the case, we would have had an expression like *rājya-pratipatti-varshē prathamē* and the word *varshē* would have been repeated with *tri-saptatitamē* even as the word *saṁvatsarē* has been repeated in the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II cited by Dr. Sircar.[6] In the absence of such an expression we have no means to find out whether the grant was made by *Mahārāja* Bhētti in his first regnal year or some time afterwards.

That the era to which the year 73 refers may have been founded by a king named Bhētti is a tentative conjecture suggested by its identity, shown by independent evidence, with the Bhāṭika era mentioned in two inscriptions found at Jaisalmer. It is supported by the general belief current in Rajputana that the Bhāṭika era was founded by a king named Bhaṭṭi or Bhaṭṭika[7] and there is no philological impossibility in equating this name with Bhētti.[8] Dr. Sircar's suggestion that the Bhāṭika era was a later modification of the Hijrī era cannot be accepted ; for such an era could not have begun in 624 A. D. The Hijrī year was a lunar year of 354 days. It was shorter than the year of the Christian era and the luni-solar years of the different eras current in India. When the Hijrī era was started in 622 A.D., the difference between its year and the corresponding year of the Christian era was 621. This difference continued to diminish as the era advanced. In all Indian eras based on the Hijrī era such as the Suhūr and Faslī eras the difference between their dates

[1] Cf. the names of the Guhila chief Bappa and of the officer Bappa in Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 583 and 1362.

[2] Cf. *Bālaprasāda* in Bhandarkar's List, No. 94, etc. [Such names are not known to have been popular in the 7th century.—Ed.]

[3] [This is a matter of opinion.—Ed.]

[4] The original has *rājya-pratimattā-varshaiḥ tri-saptatibhiḥ* which is evidently a mistake for *rājya-pratipatti-varshē tri-saptatitamē*.

[5] A similar expression *rājya-bhukti* no doubt occurs in the records of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas, but it is explicitly stated there that the *rājya-bhukti* (enjoyment of sovereignty) was of the Gupta kings.

[6] [The original has *rājya-pratimattā* which has been emended to *rājya-pratipatti°* although *rājya-pratipattau* seems to be a better emendation. But even *rājya-pratipatti-varshē* may be understood to mean *rājya-pratipatty-aṅkita-varshē*.—Ed.]

[7] Ojha, *Prāchīna-lipi-mālā*, p. 178.

[8] [The authority of a philologist should better have been quoted in support of the contention.—Ed.]

and those of the Christian era was less than six hundred when they started.[1] This difference went on diminishing in course of time. As the difference between the corresponding years of the Bhāṭika and Christian eras in the fifteenth century A.D. was 624, the former could not have been a modification of the Hijrī era.[2]

Dr. Sircar's other suggestion also, viz. that the year 73 of the Dhulēv plate refers to the Harsha era does not bear scrutiny. There is no evidence to show that Harsha ever extended his empire to Rajputana or even brought that country within 'the sphere of his influence'. Even supposing that the country round Dhulēv was included in the sphere of his influence, his era need not have been current there as it was not current even in Kathiawad, the ruler of which he had actually defeated.[3]

There is not much point in Dr. Sircar's criticism of my view that there was a large empire flourishing in Rajputana in the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsang no doubt makes no mention of it, but he does not also suggest that the country was included in the sphere of Harsha's influence. As for the objection that we have no other dates of this Bhāṭika era before the fifteenth century A.D., I have already pointed out that in view of this date of the Dhulēv plate, the dates of some other early inscriptions from Rajputana such as the year 48 of the Kot inscription, the year 182 of the Tasāi inscription and the year 207 of the Udaipur Museum inscription may also have been recorded in the same era. These dates will have to be examined carefully to find out whether they contain any details useful for verification. This will be possible only when these inscriptions are properly edited and published. Bhētti as well as his father, no doubt, bears the humble title of *Mahārāja*, but that does not *per se* prove that they were feudatories of some other imperial power. All emperors did not assume grandiloquent titles in ancient times. The great Kalachuri emperors Kṛishṇarāja, Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja did not use even this humble title in their grants, though they ruled over a large empire comprising Malwa, Gujarat, Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāshṭra including Vidarbha. There is thus no valid objection against my thesis that there was a large empire in Rajputana in the seventh century A.D.[4]

The important question thus to be determined is, 'To what era does the year 73 of the Dhulēv plate refer?' In this connection we must attach due importance to the statement in the grant that the year was the Āśvayuja-saṁvatsara, evidently, of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter. Such details useful for verification rarely occur in early inscriptions and must therefore be utilised fully. It is well known that S. B. Dikshit determined the epoch of the Gupta era by utilising the references to Jovian years occurring in the inscriptions of that era. I have already shown in my article that if we refer the year 73 mentioned in the Dhulēv plate to the Bhāṭika era of 624 A. D., the mention of the Āśvayuja-saṁvatsara coupled with it can be satisfactorily explained. On the other hand, if we refer that year to the Harsha era of 606 A.D., we find that the Jovian year current in (606+73=) 679 A.D. was Jyēshṭha, not Āśvayuja. Dr. Sircar says that my calculations do not preclude the possibility of the Harsha era being used in the Dhulēv plate. I wish he had been explicit on this point and shown us wherein my calculations were wrong and how he would reconcile the mention of the Āśvayuja-saṁvatsara with the year 73 of the Harsha era. In a foot-note he refers us to his article entitled 'The Astrologer at the Village and the Court',[5] in which he attributes the irregularities in the dates of epigraphic records to 'mistakes in

[1] The Suhūr era was started in 1344 A.D., when the Hijrī year was 745. So the difference between the two years was 599. The Fasli era was started by Akbar in 1556 when the Hijrī year was 963. So the difference between the two years was 593.

[2] [See above, p. 7, note 4.—Ed.]

[3] [The known facts of the spread of Indian eras do not go against the views expressed above, p. 7.—Ed.]

[4] [Unlike the Dhulēv plate, the Kalachuri inscriptions do not suppress the fact that the kings in question were imperial rulers.—Ed.]

[5] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 342 ff.

the calculations of the astrologers who were often certainly not quite competent astronomers and to the erroneous method followed in the calculation.' Dr. Sircar apparently attributes the irregularity in the date of the Dhulēv plate (if taken as recorded in the Harsha era) to the wrong calculation of the astrologer at the court of *Mahārāja* Bhētti. This indeed is a veritable cutting of the Gordian knot. He considers the recent attempts to fix the epochs of the Kalachuri and Gaṅga eras as futile ; for ' in a large number of cases the dates are irregular '. I think that Dr. Sircar is here overshooting the mark. The number of irregular dates is not so large as he thinks if the proper epoch of the particular era has been fixed. For instance, out of the forty dates of the Kalachuri era containing details useful for computation which I have examined, only three or four have been found slightly irregular.[1] Almost all the dates of the Gaṅga era appear quite regular according to the epoch fixed by me.[2] Dr. Kielhorn examined numerous dates of the Vikrama, Śaka and other eras. He also found that the number of irregular dates was very small.[3] Again, the irregularity in many cases is of a single day, not of four years as it would be if the date of the Dhulēv plate is referred to the Harsha era.[4]

I do not think it would be correct to say that the astrologers attached to royal courts were often not quite competent astronomers. Had that been the case, the number of irregular dates would have been much larger. Realising the importance of ascertaining the correct position of heavenly bodies for religious and astrological purposes, astronomers verified their calculations by actual observation (*drik-pratyaya*) and composed new *karaṇa* works from time to time to eliminate all mistakes. Some kings like Bhōja and Jayasiṁha took personal interest in such work. The works of astronomers must have been utilised by the authors of *pañchāṅgas* and astrologers attached to royal courts. It would not therefore be wise to reject the valuable evidence afforded by the calculation of dates, which makes our knowledge precise. It would be like refusing to study and publish inscriptions because some of them are found to be spurious.[5]

No. 26.—TWO PRATIHARA GRANTS FROM KURETHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Two copper-plate grants issued by rulers belonging to a branch line of the celebrated Pratīhāra family were discovered nearly forty years ago from the village of **Kurēṭhā** in the Śivapurī District of the old Gwalior State now merged in Madhya Bhārat. The inscriptions were noticed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1915-16, p. 59, and the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, Saṁvat 1972, Nos. 64-65. The summaries of these notices also appeared in Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 475 and 541, and H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (Hindī), Nos. 97 and 110. But the text of

[1] *ABORI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 47.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326 ff. ; Vol. XXVII, p. 192 ; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 ff. ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 271 f.

[3] In the case of the Vikrama era, for instance, he found that out of the 200 dates that he calculated, only twenty appeared as wholly or partly faulty (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 410).

[4] [It is wrong to think that the number of irregular dates is small, although attempts are often made to represent as regular what is actually an irregular date. Out of 265 inscriptions examined by us in 1951-52 and noticed in the Report for the year, 62 only contain verifiable dates. Out of these 62 dates, 35 are found to be strictly regular and 27 irregular. This shows the very high percentage of irregular dates noticed in Indian inscriptions.—Ed.]

[5] [See note 4 above.—Ed.]

neither of the two records has ever been published. Sometime ago a fragmentary stone inscription (found somewhere in the Kotah District of Rājasthān) of king Malayavarman, who issued one of the two Kurēṭhā charters, was published in the pages of this journal[1] by Dr. A. S. Altekar who rightly pointed out the desirability of the publication of the Pratīhāra grants discovered at Kurēṭhā many years ago. I edit the Kurēṭhā inscriptions in the following pages from their impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

A. *Plate of Malayavarman, V. S. 1277*

This is a **single** plate having twentyfour lines of writing on one side only. The plate has its corners rounded off and measures about 13·95 inches in length and 10.35 inches in height. There is a hole (about ·25 inch in diameter) about the middle of line 1 of the record. The writing is neat and its preservation is satisfactory.

The **characters** belong to the ornamental variety of the Nāgarī alphabet of the thirteenth century, sometimes noticed in stone inscriptions. The top *mātrā* of the *aksharas* has often a downward stroke attached to its left end. The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is written in verse with a few sentences in prose in lines 12, 16-20. There are altogether twentytwo stanzas in the record, the first eleven of which have their respective numbers engraved at the end. In regard to palaeography and **orthography**, the inscription resembles such other contemporary epigraphs of the same area as the fragmentary stone inscription of Malayavarman referred to above and the records of the Jajapēlla or Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura (Narwar), some of which will be published in this journal. It has to be said to the credit of the author and the engraver of the inscription that the number of errors that have crept into the text is small. The **date** of the charter is quoted in lines 11-12 both in words and figures. It is **V.S. 1277, Jyēshṭha-badi 15, Sunday,** when a **solar eclipse** is stated to have taken place. It has been suggested that the date corresponds to Sunday, May 3, 1220 A.D.[2] But, in the year in question, solar eclipse occurred not on May 3, but on June 2 which was, however, a Tuesday and not a Sunday as given in the inscription. It is therefore possible to think that the solar eclipse referred to in the record is the one that took place on **Sunday, May 23, 1221 A.D.**

The inscription begins with a variety of the *Siddham* symbol and the *Praṇava* followed by a salutation to *Dharma*, apparently meaning 'religious merit'. Next follow twelve stanzas, the first of which is in adoration to *Dharma* which is stated to be caused by charity. Considering the fact that the document records a donation, this appears to be a quite suitable introduction, although invocation to *Dharma* is not usually found at the beginning of such records. Verse 2 purports to be a prayer to the goddess Āmralōhitā for the protection of king **Malaya** who issued the charter. The deity was no doubt held by the king in special veneration and may have been the tutelary goddess of his family. She was apparently a local form of the Mother-goddess. Whether *āmra* (Prakrit *amba*) in the name *Āmralōhitā* (literally, 'mango-red'[3]) is the Sanskrit word meaning 'mango' or a modification of the word *amba* or *amma* meaning 'mother' cannot be determined; but it is noteworthy that a similar confusion is noticed in connection with the Jain goddess Ambikā.[4] Verse 3 introduces the **Pratīhāra** family and a king named **Naṭula** born in it. The next stanza (verse 4) mentions Naṭula's son **Pratāpasiṁha** who is called a *nṛipa* or king. The following four stanzas (verses 5-8) describe king **Vigraha**, who was the son of Pratāpasiṁha, and Vigraha's queen

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 279 ff.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 475.

[3] The name may also mean '*Lōhitā* (literally, 'the goddess red with anger'), fond of mangoes'.

[4] Cf. *JBORS*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 201 : "She stands.... under the *āmra* or mango tree, holds a bunch of mangoes in her hand, and is therefore also called *Āmrā* (Prakrit *Ambā, Ambiṇī*)". For the Jain Ambikā's association with mango, see op. cit., pp. 201 ff.

Alhaṇadēvī, daughter of king Kēlhaṇa. This Kēlhaṇa, father-in-law of the Pratīhāra king Vigraha, has been identified with the homonymous Chāhamāna king of Nāḍōl (Mārwar), the dates of whose records range between V.S. 1220 (1163 A.D.) and 1249 (1192 A.D.).[1] The name of the queen, who is represented in the record as of a highly religious disposition, was, however, wrongly read as *Lālhaṇadēvī*. An interesting information regarding Vigraha's exploits is supplied by verse 5 which says that he killed a leader (or, leaders) of the armies of a Mlēchchha king. The expression *mlēchchha* has apparently been used to indicate the Turkish Musalmāns who extended their power over wide areas of Northern India about the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century when Pratīhāra Vigraha apparently flourished. As will be seen below, the other Kurēṭhā plate (verse 4) also vaguely refers to certain military achievements of Vigraha. The relations of these Pratīhāras with Muslims will be treated in a subsequent section. The same stanza (verse 5) of the present record further states that king Vigraha was very liberal to good poets.

Verses 9-11 of our record describe the exploits of king **Malayavarman** who was the son of Vigraha from Ālhaṇadēvī. This Pratīhāra ruler is wellknown to the students of Indian history from his coins found at Gwalior, Narwar and Jhansi and bearing dates ranging from V. S. 1230 (1223 A.D.) to 1290 (1233 A.D.).[2] The present inscription bearing a date in 1220 or 1221 A.D. shows that he ascended the throne some time before the earliest date found on his coins. In the other Kurēṭhā plate (verse 6), edited below, king Malayavarman is described as *Gōpādri-chandra*, i.e. ' the moon of Gōpādri (Gwalior) '. This suggests that he had his capital at Gwalior. But, as will be seen below, verse 11 of the present record speaks of the capture of Gōpagiri (Gwalior) by Malayavarman. This seems to indicate that his predecessors were not rulers of Gwalior and that it was he who conquered Gwalior and made it his capital. Of course it may be suggested that one of his ancestors lost Gwalior to some adversary and Malayavarman merely recovered it. But the language of the verse in question, as will be seen below, does not appear to support such a contention.

Verse 9 says that, on the occasion or in the context of the crushing of Aṁdārya's valour, the first of the pictures which were drawn by the people to illustrate that great event was that of king Malayavarman. This seems to suggest that several rulers including Malayavarman attempted to crush Aṁdārya but that Malayavarman's success against him was the most spectacular. Unfortunately no person named Aṁdārya who may have been a contemporary of Malayavarman is known to us. This fact and that the tenor of the language of the stanza in question seems to refer to certain general qualities of a king may tempt one to suggest the emendation *audārya-śaurya-gaṇan-āvasarē* for *Aṁdārya-śaurya-malan-āvasarē* occurring in the record. But it is rather difficult to favour such an emendation in view of the carefulness of the engraver noticed in the record. Verse 11, which describes another achievement of the Pratīhāra king, says that, on one occasion, when Malayavarman was out merely on a hunting excursion and was not really ready for a trial of strength, he succeeded miraculously in capturing Gōpagiri (Gwalior) as a result of his victory in a battle. The passage *nihatya prakharaṁ saṁkhyē yō Gōpagirim=agrahīt* occurring in the description of this exploit may be differently interpreted. If the verb *ni-han* is understood in the sense of striking, Malayavarman may be taken to have hit hard at the Gwalior fortress in course of a battle and succeeded in capturing it. But in case the author used the verb in the sense of killing, it is possibly to be suggested that Malayavarman fought with a ruler named Prakhara (Prakharāditya ?) whom he killed and, as a result of this victory, obtained the mastery of Gwalior. In view of the fact that no person named Prakhara is known to have been ruling over Gwalior about the time of Malayavarman, the first alternative may be considered preferable in the present state of our knowledge. It has, however, to be admitted that the tenor of the language of the verse seems to support the second alternative.

[1] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 475, and p. 382.

[2] Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 89-91 ; *ASIR*, Vol. II, p. 314. The dates read on the coins are V.S. 1280, 1282, 1283 and 1290. But Altekar speaks only of the dates V. S. 1280 and 1283 on Malayavarman's coins.

Verse 12 gives the date on which, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, a grant was made by Malayavarman. This date, already discussed above, is also quoted in figures in a prose passage, which follows the stanza. Verse 13, which follows the short passage in prose says that, on the said date, the king took a bath in the waters of the **Charmaṇvatī** (Chambal) and worshipped the gods, Brāhmaṇas and elders, in order to make a grant for the merit of himself and his parents with the consent of his minister and priest (or, ministers and priests). The following two stanzas (verses 14-15) describe the family of the donees. It is stated that there was a Brāhmaṇa family called Bhēraṁḍa which belonged to the Vāsala *gōtra*. It may be observed here that the Vāsala *gōtra* is not known from the old works on *gōtras* and *pravaras*. In the Bhēraṁḍa family was born Bhōlēka who had a son named Gaṅgādhara whose son was Rajapālaka. Verse 16 says that king Malayavarman granted by a charter a village called **Kuḍavaṭhē** in favour of the Brāhmaṇas, Vatsa and Haripāla, who were the sons of the said Rajapālaka.

The above part of the inscription is followed by a prose section which says that the said village of Kudavaṭhē, having all its four boundaries accurate and the land below the surface pure, was granted together with the grazing ground (*sa-gōprachāra*), the salt pits (*sa-lavaṇākara*), the mango and Madhūka trees and the things under the ground and above it (*ākāśa-pātāl-ōtpatti-sahita*), but without the lands previously granted in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas (*dēva-Brāhmaṇa-bhukti-varja*). The king also informed the village elders (*mahattama-jānapadān*) that the village had been granted by him by a charter in favour of the Brāhmaṇas, Vatsa and Haripāla. The villagers were asked to pay the two Brāhmaṇas whatever was payable as *bhāga* (customary share of the produce), *bhōga* (periodical supply of fruits, etc.) and other dues from the date of the grant. The king also said that there should be no obstruction to the enjoyment of the village by the donees from the members of the royal family or any one else.

The details of the donation quoted above are followed by four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas stated to be sayings of the *Smṛitikāras*. The record ends with two stanzas (verses 21-22), the first of which says that the document was composed by Vishṇu, son of the poet Dharma and grandson of the scholar Hari. The last verse states that it was written by the learned Vāghadēva, son of the venerable Vishṇu, who belonged to a Kāyastha family of the Māthura clan. It seems that Vāghadēva wrote the document on the plate to facilitate the work of the engraver and was not himself the engraver of the inscription.

We have seen that Pratīhāra Malayavarman captured the fortress of Gwalior where he was ruling at least from about 1220 to 1233 A.D. This fortress is known to have been under the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperors of Kanauj in the ninth and tenth centuries[1] and then under a branch of the Kachchhapaghāta family from the middle of the tenth century to at least the beginning of the twelfth.[2] Lakshmaṇa (*circa* 950-75 A.D.), the first king of this house, is stated to have defeated the king of Gādhinagara (apparently a Pratīhāra king of Kanauj) and captured Gōpādri which may have been then under a Pratīhāra viceroy. The Sasbahu temple inscription[3] of Kachchhapaghāta Mahīpāla, dated V. S. 1150 (1093 A.D.), shows that Lakshmaṇa's descendants were still holding Gwalior. There were two other branches of the Kachchhapaghāta family in the Gwalior region, one ruling in the Dubkund area in the period *circa* 1000-1100 A.D.[4] and the other in the Narwar area in *circa* 1075-1125 A.D.[5] Of these, the Kachchhapaghātas of Dubkund are known to have owed allegiance to the Chandēllas whose suzerainty may have also been acknowledged by the other branches of the family flourishing in the Gwalior region at least for some time. Epigraphic

[1] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 35-36.

[2] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 822 ff., 835; Bhandarkar's List, No. 169.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 33 ff. There is another inscription of this family at Gwalior, which bears a date in V. S. 1161 (1104 A.D.). See Bhandarkar's List, No. 169.

[4] Ray, op. cit., pp 829 ff., 835.

[5] Ibid., pp. 833 ff.

and numismatic evidence shows that, in the thirteenth century, a branch of the Pratīhāra family was ruling at Gwalior and rulers of a dynasty called Jajapēlla or Yajvapāla were holding sway over Narwar.[1] The history of the Gwalior region between the fall of the Kachchhapaghātas and the rise of the Pratīhāras and Jajapēllas is obscure. According to the bardic traditions of the Rājputs, the last Kachhwāha (Kachchhapaghāta) king of Gwalior was Tej Karan, otherwise called Dulha Rai, who left his capital about 1128 A.D., and Parmal Deo or Paramardidēva, nephew of Tej Karan, founded the Parihār (Pratīhāra) dynasty of Gwalior, which ruled for 103 years until the capture of the fortress by the Turkish Musalmans in 1232 A.D. from Sārang Deo, the seventh and last prince of the line.[2] But we have seen that it was Pratīhāra Malayavarman who was ruling Gwalior about the year 1232 A.D. At least some of the details of the Rājput traditions must therefore be regarded as wrong.

According to some Muslim chroniclers, Sultān Mahmūd invaded the territories of Nandā (sic. Vīdā, i.e. Chandēlla Vidyādhara, *circa* 1015-40 A.D.) for a second time in 1022 A D.[3] In the course of this expedition he laid siege to the fortress of Gwalior ; but, finding it too strong, he permitted the *hākim* or governor of the fort (apparently a Kachchhapaghāta feudatory of the Chandēlla king) to compound for a formal submission by a gift of thirtyfive elephants. About the end of 1196 A.D., Muizuddīn Muḥammad bin Sām, accompanied by Quṭbuddīn, advanced against Gwalior and besieged it ; but ' he found the fortress too strong to be taken by a *coup de main* and he could not spare the time for a regular siege ; but the Rājā was prepared to purchase immunity for himself and his dominions, and in consideration of a promise to pay tribute and the immediate payment of a first instalment he was permitted to retain possession of his state and his fortress'.[4] The fief of Gwalior was allotted to Iltutmish. The name of the king of Gwalior who opposed the Muslim armies under Muizuddīn is given by the *Tājul Ma'asir* as Rai Solankh Pal. Cunningham[5] identifies him with Lohang Deo, one of the seven Parihār kings of the bardic list, the authenticity of which is, however, doubtful. The fortress of Gwalior apparently assumed independence shortly afterwards and, about the beginning of 1232 A.D., Iltutmish came back to subdue it permanently. The fortress was occupied by Iltutmish after a protracted siege lasting for eleven months.[6] The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* gives the name of the king of Gwalior defeated by Iltutmish as Milak Deo, son of Basil. Some writers propose to read the name as Mangal Bhava Deo, son of Mal Deo or Birbal Deo.[7] But the difficulties of reading correctly an Indian proper name given in the Perso-Arabic script are wellknown ; cf. the name of Chandēllā Trailōkyavarmadēva given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* as *Dalkī wa Malkī* (apparently for *Tilkīwama Deo*).[8] The known facts of the history of Gwalior, discussed above, make it clear now that the names intended by the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* in the present case were Malaiwama Deo, son of Bigarh Deo, i.e. Malayavarmadēva, son of Vigrahadēva.

The Muslim authors appear to suggest that Gwalior remained a fief under Iltutmish from the time of its nominal conquest by Muizuddīn and Quṭbuddīn about the end of 1196 A.D. till the death of Quṭubuddīn in 1210 A.D.[9] But they do not speak of the extirpation of Hindu rule from Gwalior. It appears therefore that the Hindu king of Gwalior paid tribute to the Musalmans during the above period. Malayavarman thus seems to have conquered Gwalior not from the Musalmans but from

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 241 ff.

[2] Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff. ; Ray, op. cit., pp. 828-29.

[3] Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 692 ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 22.

[4] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 44, 51-52 ; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, pp. 227-28.

[5] Op. cit., pp. 378-79, note.

[6] Elliot and Dowson, op. cit, pp. 327-28.

[7] Cf. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 216.

[8] See Ray, op. cit., pp. 929-30.

[9] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 55, 533.

one of their Hindu feudatories.[1] If Malayavarman conquered Gwalior shortly after Quṭbuddin's death, his accession probably took place sometime earlier. With the material at our disposal, his reign may be tentatively assigned to the period 1205-35 A.D. His father Vigraha seems to have flourished in the period *circa* 1185-1205 A.D. It appears that Malayavarman and his predecessors were feudatories of the kings of Gwalior, whose subservience to the Musalmans was one of the causes that led to the extirpation of their rule from Gwalior by Malayavarman. His father Vigraha thus seems to have killed some leader or leaders of the Mlēchchha or Muslim armies that besieged Gwalior about the end of 1196 A.D. when he was fighting on behalf of his overlord, the king of Gwalior (Rai Solankh Pal of the *Tājul Ma'asir*). It may be noticed that the occupation of the Gwalior fortress by Iltutmish in 1232 A.D. did not mean the end of Malayavarman's rule. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says that Milak Deo (i.e. Malayavarmadēva) succeeded in escaping from the besieged fortress. That he continued to rule over some parts of the Gwalior region seems to be suggested by the other Kurēṭhā plate, edited below, which was issued by his successor in V.S. 1304 (1247 A.D.). For some time after 1232 A.D. the Musalmans were probably holding sway only over a small area around the fortress of Gwalior which, however, could not be recovered by the Hindus for many years to come.[2] The relations of Malayavarman, after his escape from the fortress of Gwalior, with the Muslim occupants of the fortress are unknown. The fall of the Pratīhāra house of Gwalior probably led to the rise of the Jajapēllas of Nalapura (Narwar), who may have originally been feudatories of the king of Gwalior.[3]

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Gōpādri is of course modern Gwalior while Charmaṇvatī is the river Chambal, the well-known tributary of the Yamunā. Kudavaṭhē, the gift village, has been identified with Kurēṭhā which is the findspot of the record.

TEXT[4]

[Metres: verses 1, 12, 13, 15 *Āryā*; verses 2-4, 10-11, 16-22 *Anushṭubh*; verses 5-6, 9 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 7 *Upajāti*; verse 8 *Indravaṁśā*; verse 14 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 Siddham[5] || Ōm[6] namō Dharmmāya || Dēśē kālē pātrē śraddhāvat-sātvi(ttvi)kēna bhāvēna | dānaṁ yasya nidānaṁ sa jayati Dharmaḥ satāṁ

2 sēvyaḥ |[|*] 1 [||*] Vṛiṁdārak-āsura-gaṇair=archchit-āṁhri-yug-āṁvu(bu)jā | dēvī Malaya-bhūpālaṁ sā pāyād=Āmralōhitā ||2 [||*] Nishkalaṁka-Pratīhāra-

[1] Bhandarkar thinks that Malayavarman's capture of Gwalior refers to the recovery of the fort by the Hindus from the Muhammadans in the confusion caused by Quṭbuddin's death in 1210 A.D. (*PRASI*, WC, 1915-16, p. 59). But the Muslim historians do not say that in 1196 A.D. Gwalior was occupied by the Musalmans and a Muslim officer was placed in charge of the fortress. Altekar's statement that 'the Kurēṭhā plate of Malayavarman claims that this fort (Gwalior) was recaptured by the king from the Muslims' (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 281) is wrong. On the basis of the reference to Malayavarman's victory over a powerful enemy in line 8 of the fragmentary inscription, he further suggests, "It would appear that the Muslim general, who was in charge of Gwalior, died fighting when he lost the fort to king Malayavarman" (loc. cit.). But we know that no Muslim officer was placed in charge of the Gwalior fortress in 1196 A.D. Moreover Malayavarman is now known to have fought also with other enemies besides the ruler of Gwalior.

[2] Hindu rule was re-established at Gwalior by the Tōmaras (1398-1516 A.D.).

[3] Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, p. 68; Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., pp. 351, 368-69; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 24 ff. The Jajapēlla king Chāhaḍa who captured the fortress of Narwar and made it his capital is known from epigraphic and numismatic records with dates ranging between V.S. 1294 (?) and 1311 (i.e. between 1237 and 1254 A.D.). About the end of 1251 A.D., during the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣiruddīn of Delhi, Ghiyāsuddīn Balban led an expedition against Chāhaḍa who was then regarded as the most powerful Hindu king in that part of the country. Chāhaḍa was defeated, but his descendants continued to rule till the end of the thirteenth century probably as feudatories of the Musalmans.

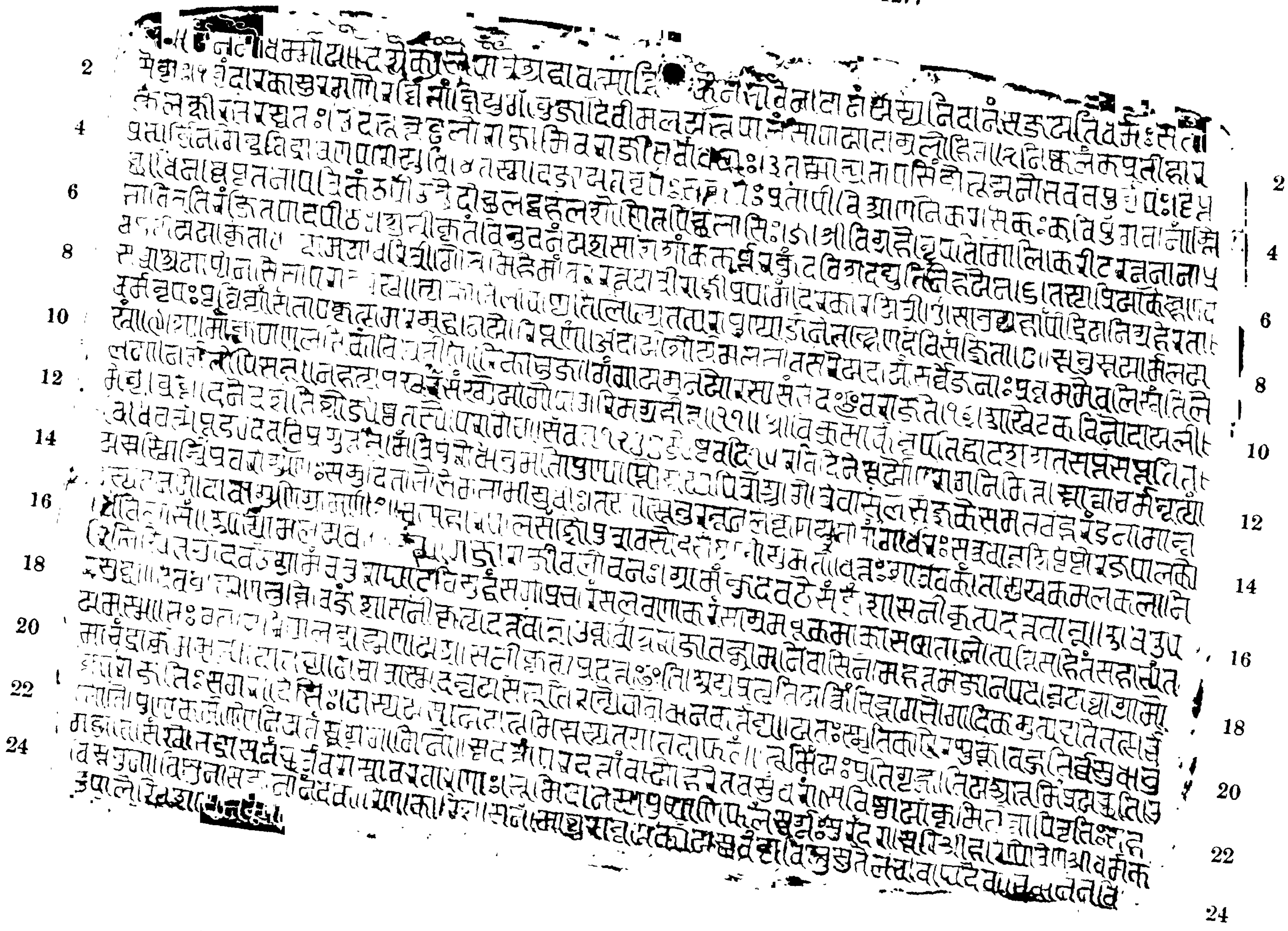
[4] From impressions.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] It is a symbolical representation of the *Praṇava*.

TWO PRATIHARA GRANTS FROM KURETHA

A. PLATE OF MALAYAVARMAN, V. S. 1277



ॐ ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ ॐ नमो रागतेवासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीक ~ श्रीमत्त्रिलोकीमनुजपतिवृन्दवंद्यसनाथीकृतो देव
द्विसनाति हसातिविततलिसुशम नम्निविकच्छलेनाकाष्ठामात्रं गृहीतापनकृत्रिमलसदूंखवक्रेक्षोसं
दधेमूर्त्तिर्यदीपाविततनुसहनिर्दूयसीनुन्नतिंवः ॥ देशे कालेपात्रेश्रद्धावसात्त्विकेनरोवेनादानंयस्य
तिदानं सजयातिधर्म्मः सतांसेव्यः ॥ श्रीमत्प्रतीलनकुलामलेन्दोर्दिग्गजनोवंसितकुलपकीर्त्तेः । श्रीमत्प्रता
पाद्रुतिष्पुत्रः क्षितीश्वरो तियच्छनाजनात्मा ॥ तत्नास्य वाल्ककेनबालेनवाप्युताहं देवेनयेनजनडो
ढिनगढि नेता निर्वापितः सकलदृवककलिनिकृणां धनाजलैस्त्रिभुवन क्षालितः प्रतापः ॥ तस्यात्मजो
मलयवर्म्मनृपः प्रपेदे सिंहासनं पितुरनवप्रथितप्रतापः । पद्मालितस्तु विमलीवलयेसमस्ते दोर्दण्डसुखं
विनमनंस्त्रसमं प्रियारिः ॥ तस्मिन्नृगो पदिवंदेविहितवियुजनान्द्रोजदोस्त्रिन्यमुद्देदवेंद्रेलाप्र
सत्वोसमंममनवच्चनेत्रवृंदेकलक्रौ । आसीत्तस्यानुजो यं जनिततनुजतनुस्थ्यूनृवंर्मा ऽवनी द्रोनाज्य
प्राज्यप्रतापं तपनमिवपरं वेनियंवैनितन्त्रैः ॥ दानौ वृप्रवितमनीषिमालान वात्यपेत्रौ ॥ लीलितामल
नतिः किलकीर्त्तितन्त्री । उद्देलितास्विलककुच्छन दल्ककाल्यप्रभालमलपमवाप्पनमाति ।
यस्या ॥ आसीद्द्विजातिवीतकलनकर्म्मागौजनयोगीगीन्द्रतिप्रतीतः ॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलविवहलनीवहूवनाम्नाति
ल्मजदेवः ॥ श्रीन्दवर्म्मावनीपालः कलिकल्मलहीत्कृदः । तस्यै प्रत्राय उस्यय वतानौष्माम शासनम् ॥ संवत् १३२४
वैत्रशुद्धप्रतिपदि वुधवासरे ॥ महाराजः श्रीनरवर्म्मदेवः प्रावादेवंद्विजार्चनादिकर्म्मकालेनिर्वर्त्य महादेवीच्छे
ष्ठकुमारमहामंत्रि पुरोहितप्रतीहानाकुपदलि नानुमतेवत्तुनाघाट विश्वन्ध्यंग्रामशासनीत्वनायक
वच्छकस्मै प्रदत्तवान् ॥ हृत्तिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति हृतिं यश्च प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्व
र्गगामिनौ । शंखं भद्रासनं छत्रं वराश्वा वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ॥ बहु
भिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ कवि वमिदं पंडितत्र
व्रामस्य ॥ उत्कीर्णं सूत्र लेकान सन्तेकम ॥ पेव संवं ५ वंधे ह लालु ७४

3 kula-kshīra[sa]rasvataḥ | udabhūn=**Naṭulō** rājā mitra-rājīva-vāṁdhavaḥ[1] |[|*] 3 [||*] Tasmāt=**Pratāpasiṁhō**=bhūn=Manōbhava-vapur=nṛipaḥ | dṛipta-

4 pratyarthi-nāgēndra-vidrāvaṇa-parō yudhi |[|*] 4 [||*] Tasmād=ajāyata nṛipaḥ sa-kṛipaḥ pratāpī viśrāṇan-aika-rasikaḥ kavi-puṁgavānāṁ(nām) | Mlē-

5 chchh-ādhinātha-pṛitana-pat i)-kaṁṭha-pīṭha-chchhēd-ōchchhalad-va(d-ba)hala-śōṇita-pichchhal-āsiḥ |[|*] 5 [||*] Srī-**Vigrahō** nṛipati-mauli-kirīṭa-ratna-nānā-pra-

6 bhā-vitati-raṁjita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ | śubhrīkṛitaṁ tribhuvanaṁ yaśasā śaśāṁka-karpūra-kuṁda-viśada-dyutin=ēha yēna |[|*] 6 [||*] Tasya priyā Kēlhaṇadē-

7 va-putrī yayā kṛit-ādhaḥ kshamayā dharitrī | gō-bhūmi-hēm-āṁva(ba)ra-ratna-dātrī rājñī prapā-maṁdira-kārayitrī |[|*] 7 |[|*] S-ānugrah=āp=īṁdriya-nigrahē ratā[2]

8 sarvv-āśray=āpy=ēnasi sā parāṅmukhī | tyakt-ābhilāsh=āpy=atilaulya-tatparā puṇy-ārjanē tv=**Ālhaṇadēvi**[3]-saṁjñitā |[|*] 8 || Sūnus=tayōr=**Malaya-**

9 **varma**-nṛipaḥ pṛithivyāṁ saṁtāpakṛit=samara-murddhani yō ripūṇāṁ(ṇām) | Aṁdārya-śaurya-malan-āvasarē yadīyāṁ sarvvē janāḥ prathamam=ēva likhaṁti lē-

10 khāṁ(khām) |[|*] 9 |[|*] Śyāmāṁ kṛipāṇa-latikāṁ vi(bi)bhratī gaurikā bhujā | Gaṁgā-Yamunayōr=asya saṁbhēda iva rājatē |[|*] 10 |[|*] Ākhēṭaka-vinōdāya lī-

11 layā nirgatō=pi san | nihatya Prakharaṁ saṁkhyē yō **Gōpagirim**=agrahīt || 11 || Śrī-**[V]ikramārka-nṛipati-dvādaśa-śata-saptasaptatita[4]-**

12 **mē=vdē(bdē)** | **vra(bra)dhna-dinē darśa-tithō(thau) Jyēshṭhē** tasy=**ōparāgē** cha || [12 ||*] **Saṁvat 1277 Jyēshṭha-vadi 15 Ravi-dinē sūry=ōparāga**-nimittē | snātvā **Charmanva(ṇva)tyāṁ**

13 vidhivat=saṁpūjya dēva-vipra-gurūn | maṁtri-purōdhō-numatau puṇy-āptyai svasya pitrōś=cha |[| 13 ||*] Gōtrē Vāsala-saṁjñakē samabha[va]d=Bhēraṁḍa-nām=ānva-

14 yas=tasmin=vipravarō guṇaiḥ samuditō Bhōlēka-nāmā sudhīḥ | tas[m]āt=sūnur=anūnalakshaṇa-yu[tō[5]] Gaṁgādharaḥ sat[va](ttva)vān śishṭ-ēshṭō Rajapālakō=

15 'sya tanayō dā[tā] guṇi-grāmaṇīḥ || [14 ||*] Vatsa-Har[i]pāla-saṁjñau putrāv=asy=ēha saṁ[ya]-tau sumatī | dattaḥ śātrava-kāṁtā-mukha-kamala-kalāni-

16 dhi-vilāsaṁ(sam) || [15 ||*] Ābhyāṁ Malayava[rm-ākhyō] rājā rājīva-lōchanaḥ | grāmaṁ **Kudavaṭhē**-saṁjñaṁ śāsanīkṛitya dattavān || [16 ||*] atra upa-

17 rilikhita-Kudavaṭhē-grāmaṁ chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaṁ sa-gōprachāraṁ[6] sa-lavaṇākaraṁ s-āmra-madhūkam=ākāsa(śa)-pātāl-ōtpatti-sahitaṁ sah-ābhyaṁta-

18 ra-su(śu)ddhyā |[6] dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukti-varjaṁ śāsanīkṛitya dattavān uktavāṁś=cha rājā tad-grāma-nivāsinō mahattama-jānapadān yathā grāmō=

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[1] Read *bāṁdha°*. Originally *vāḥ* had been engraved, but the *ā mātrā* was later rejected by adding a *kākapā la*-like mark.

[2] A *daṇḍa* together with a slanting stroke which is a cancellation mark has been incised here as well as in lines 10-11 to cover a little space at the end of the lines in order to make their length roughly uniform with that of the other lines. This device is noticed in a number of other records.

[3] The short vowel in *vi* is not strictly correct, although versifiers sometimes preferred such shortening in female names for the sake of the metre.

[4] This *ta* has been engraved on another unfinished letter which the engraver had begun to make in its place through oversight.

[5] This *tō* has been engraved on another unfinished letter which the engraver had begun to incise in its place through oversight.

[6] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

19 yam=asmābhiḥ Vatsa-Haripāla-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya(bhyāṁ) śāsanīkṛitya pradatta iti | adya-prabhṛiti yat=kiṁcaid=bhāga-bhōg-ādikam=utpadyatē tat-sarvva-

20 m=ā-chaṁdr-ārkam=amūbhyāṁ dātavyaṁ(vyam) | na ch=ātr=āsmad-anvaya-saṁbhūtair=anyair=vā vā(bā)dhā na[1] kartavyā | yataḥ Smṛitikārair=apy=uktaṁ(ktam) | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā [bhu]-

21 ktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [17 || *] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | u-

22 bhau tau puṇya-karmāṇau niyataṁ svarg[g]a-gāminau || [18 || *] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ(rāṁ) | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=[bhū]tvā pitṛibhiḥ saha

23 majjati |[| 19 || *] Saṁ(Śaṁ)khō bhadr-āsanaṁ chchha(chha)traṁ var-āsvā(śvā) vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya pu[ṇ]yāṇi(ni) phalaṁ svarg[g]aḥ Puraṁdara || [20 ||*] Sūri-śrī-Hari-pautrēṇa śrī-Dharma-ka-

24 vi-sūnunā | Vishṇunā sajjan-ānaṁda-kāriṇ=ākāri śāsanaṁ(nam) |[| 21 ||*] Māthur-ānvaya-Kāyastha-vaṁdya-Vishṇu-sutēna cha | Vāghadēv-ābh[i]dhānēna vi-

25 dush=ālēkhi śāsanam || [22 || *]

B. *Plate of Naravarman, V. S. 1304*

This is also a **single** plate having nineteen lines of writing only on one side of it. The corners of the plate are rounded off. It measures about 11·55 inches in length and 7·55 inches in height. There is a small hole about the middle of the first line of writing. In all these respects, the plate resembles the other Kurēṭhā plate discussed above, although it is smaller in size.

The **characters** belong to the ordinary type of Nāgarī as prevalent in the thirteenth century. In respect of **language**, **style** and **orthography**, the inscription closely resembles the grant of Malayavarman edited above. The date of the record as quoted in lines 13-14 is : **V.S. 1304, Chaitra-śudi 1, Wednesday**. It corresponds to **March 11, 1248 A.D.**

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol. Then comes the word *svasti* followed by a salutation to the god Vāsudēva (Vishṇu). Verse one is in praise of the god Hari (Vishṇu). Verse 2, which is in adoration to *Dharma*, is the same as the first stanza of Malayavarman's plate edited above. Verse 3 states that a king named **Vigraharāja**, who was the son of **Pratāpa** (Pratāpasiṁha of Malayavarman's plate), was born in the **Pratīhāra** family. The following stanza (verse 4) refers to Vigraharāja's military achievements in vague terms. It is interesting to note that this verse was plagiarized by the *Paṇḍita* claiming the composition of the document (cf. lines 18-19 of the inscription) either from the original poem entitled *Kapphaṇābhyudaya* or *Kapphin°* (I, 24) by the Kashmirian poet Śivasvāmin who flourished during the reign of king Avantivarman (*circa* 856-83 A.D.) or from its quotation in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* (ch. iv, verse 54) composed about 1100 A.D. Verse 5 introduces king **Malayavarman**, son of Vigraharāja, while the next stanza (verse 6) states that, when that 'moon of Gōpādri '(i.e. Malayavarman) died, his younger brother **Nṛivarman (Naravarman)** ascended the throne. Verse 8 describes the donee's family. It is stated that there was a Brāhmaṇa named Garga who belonged to the Gauḍa community and was a *vyavahāra-kartṛi* (possibly a judge or an author of a work on *vyavahāra* or legal procedure). Garga's son was Rājadēva. The following stanza (verse 9) says that a charter relating to the gift of a village was granted by king Nṛivarman (Naravarman) in favour of Vatsa who was a son of the said Rājadēva.

[1] The word *na* has been used twice apparently because the author reckoned two sentences in the section in question.

The above part of the record in verse is followed by a section in prose which begins with the date already discussed above. It is stated that, on the said date, *Mahārāja* Naravarmadēva, after having taken a bath and performing such ceremonies as the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas, granted by a charter in favour of *Nāyaka* Vachchhēka or Vachchha (apparently the same Brāhmaṇa elsewhere called Vatsa) the village called **Guḍhhāgrāma**, which had all its four boundaries accurate. The epithet *nāyaka* seems to show that the donee was an officer or feudatory of the king. The grant was made with the consent of the king's *mahādēvī* (queen, probably the chief queen), *jyēshṭha-kumāra* (eldest son), *mahāmantrin* (chief minister), *purōhita* (priest) and *akshapaṭalika* (accountant or record-keeper). A passage engraved in the lower margin of the plate, but apparently meant for insertion into this section says that the grant, like that of Malayavarman, was made without the lands that had been previously granted in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Then follow three of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. The record ends with two sentences in prose saying that it was composed (cf. *kavitvam=idaṁ*) by *Paṁ* (i.e. *Paṁḍita*) Puruttyama (possibly a mistake for *Purushōttama*) and engraved by the goldsmith Sāḍhēka.

We have discussed above the history of the Pratīhāras of Gwalior. It will be seen that king Naravarman flourished at a time when the fortress of Gwalior together with the surrounding area was under the Turkish Musalmans.[1] He may have held sway over the present Śivapurī region where Kurēṭhā, the findspot of his plate, is situated. But whether he was a feudatory of the Musalmans cannot be definitely determined. His simple title *Mahārāja* in the prose portion of the document may, however, point to such a possibility. His relations with the powerful Jajapēlla king Chāhaḍa of Nalapura (Narwar) who flourished in *circa* 1237-55 A.D. are also as yet unknown.

Only two **geographical** names are mentioned in the inscription. Besides Gopādri (Gwalior), it speaks of the village called Guḍhhāgrāma. It is difficult to determine the exact location of this village.

TEXT[2]

[Metres: verses 1, 6 *Sragdharā*; verse 2 *Āryā*; verses 3, 8 *Upajāti*; verses 4-5, 7 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 9-12 *Anushṭubh.*]

1 Siddham[3] || Svasti || Ōm[4] namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya || Svīkurvvāṇā trilōkīm=asura-parivṛiḍha-dhvaṁsanāy=ātidūr-ōdaṁcha-

2 d-vistāri-hast-ātithi-taraṇi-sudhāraśmi-vimva(mba)-chchhalēna | kāshṭhāmāt[r]aṁ gṛihīt-āpara-ruchira-lasach-chhaṁkha-chakr=ēva śōbhāṁ

3 dadhrē mūrttir=yadīyā vitaratu sa Harir=bhūyasīm=unnatiṁ vaḥ || [1*] Dēśē kālē pātrē śraddhāvat-sāttvikēna bhāvēna | dānaṁ yasya[5]

4 nidānaṁ sa jayati Dharmmaḥ satāṁ sēvyaḥ || [2*] Śrīmat-**Pratīhāra**-kul-āmal-ēndōr=dig-aṅgan-ōttaṁsita-puṇya-kīrttēḥ | śrīmat-**Pratā-**

5 **pād**=ajanishṭa putraḥ kshit-īśvarō **Vigraharāja**-nāmā || [3*] Bha(U)llāsya kāla-karavāla-nav-āṁvu(bu)vāhaṁ dēvai(vē)na yēna jaraṭh-ō-

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[1] Dr. Altekar's statement that both Malayavarman and Nṛivarman (Naravarman) were rulers of Gwalior (above, Vol XXVI, p. 280) appears to be wrong.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] It is a symbolical representation of the *Praṇava*.

[5] A *daṇḍa* with a slanting stroke which is a cancellation mark has been incised here to cover a little space at the end of the line in order to make its length uniform with that of the other lines.

6 ṛijita-garjjitēna | nirvāpitaḥ sakala ēva raṇē ripūṇāṁ dhārā-jalais=tribhuvana-jvalitaḥ pratāpaḥ ||· [4*] Tasyāḥ(sy=ā)tmajō

7 **Malayavarma**-nṛipaḥ prapēdē siṁh-āsanaṁ pitur=atha prathita-pra[bhā]vaḥ | yad-dōshṇi tasthushi mahī-valayē samastē Śēshaḥ sukhaṁ

8 chiram=araṁsta samaṁ priyābhiḥ || [5*] Tasmin **Gōpādri**-chaṁdrē vihita-ripujan-āmbhōja-dausthitya-mudrē Dēvēṁdrēṇ=āpta-

9 sakhyē samam=amara-vadhū-nētra-vṛiṁd-aika-lak[sh]yē | āstē tasy=ānujō=yaṁ janita-sujana-much=chhrī-**Nṛivarmā**-'van-īṁdrō rājyē

10 prājya-pratāpaṁ tapanam=iva paraṁ vētti yaṁ vairivarg[g]aḥ || [6*] Dān-āṁvu(bu)-pūrita-manīshi-gaṇ-ālavāla-prō[2]nmīlit-āmala-

11 tatiḥ kila kīrtti-vallī | udvēllit-ākhila-kakuch=chhara-daṇḍa-kāṇḍā pra(bra)hmāṇḍa-maṇḍa-pam=avāpya na māti

12 yasya || [7*] Āsīd=dvijātir=vyavahāra-kar[t]tā Gauḍ-ānvayō Garga iti pratītaḥ | tasy=ātma-jaḥ sajjana-chitta-hārī va(ba)bhūva nāmnā ki-

13 la Rājadēvaḥ || [8*] Srī-Nṛivarm=āvanīpālaḥ kali-kalpa-mahīruhaḥ | tasya putrāya Vatsya-(tsā)ya vyatārīd=grāma-śāsanam || [9*] **Saṁva[t] 1304**

14 **Chaitra-[śu]kla-pratipadi Vu(Bu)dha-vāsarē** | mahārājaḥ śrī-**Naravarmadēvaḥ** snātvā dēva-dvij-ārchan-ādi-karmakāṇḍaṁ nirvartya mahādēvī-jyē-

15 shṭhakumāra-mahāmaṁtri-purōhita-pratīhār-āku(ksha)paṭalik-ānumatē chatur-āghāṭa-vi[śu]-ddhaṁ Guḍhhāgrāmaṁ[3] śāsanī[kṛi]tya nāyaka-

16 Vachchhēkasmai[4] pradattavān || Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti bhūmiṁ yaś=cha pru(pra)-yachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-rka(ka)rmāṇau niyataṁ stha(sva)-

17 rgra(rgga)-gāminō(nau) |[| 10*] Śaṁkhō bhadrāsanaṁ ·chchha(chha)traṁ var-āśvā dha(va)-ra-trā(vā)raṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puraṁdara || [11*] Va(Ba)hu-

18 bhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Ma(Sa)gar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā[5] bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā[5] phalam || [12*] kavitvam= idaṁ paṁ[6]-Puru-

19 ttyamasya[7] || utkīrṇṇaṁ svarlla(rṇṇa)kāra-Saḍhēkēna || dēva-dvija-chaṁra-vṛittiṁ vāhi-ḥkṛitya 4[8]

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[1] As pointed out to me by Pandit Subrahmanyam, this stanza belongs to Śivasvāmin's *Kapphaṇābhyudaya* or *Kapphiṇ*° (I, 24) and is quoted in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* (ch. iv, verse 54). The variant readings are *mah-āmbuv-āhaṁ* and °*s=tri-jagati* respectively for *nav-āmbuvāhaṁ* and °*s=tri-bhuvana*°.

[2] There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* after *prō*.

[3] A passage meant for insertion after this word had been left out and was later incised in the lower margin of the plate.

[4] Read *Vachchhēkāya* or better *Vatsāy=aikasmai* or *Vatsāy=āsmai* (cf. line 13 above).

[5] The vowel mark in *dā* here is not of the ordinary type.

[6] I. e. *paṁḍita*.

[7] The reading intended seems to be *Purushōttamasya*.

[8] The reading intended seems to be *dēva-dvija-chara-vṛittiṁ bahishkṛitya 4* (cf. *dēva-Brāhmaṇa-bhukti-varjaṁ* in line 18 of Malayavarman's grant edited above). The numeral 4 here suggests that the passage has to be inserted in the fourth line above it, i.e. line 15 of the inscription (apparently after (*Guḍhhāgrāmam*).

No. 27.—SANGLI MUSEUM PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1434

Moreshwar G. Dikshit, Sagar

The existence of the plates, published[1] here for the first time, was brought to my notice by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. It is reported that, about thirty years ago, they had been ploughed up from a field at **Bidarhaḷḷi,** a village on the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadrā, in the Shirahaṭṭi Taluk of the former Sangli State, and were later transferred to the State Museum.[2] I approached the authorities of the former Sāngli State for their kind permission to edit the inscription. My thanks are due to Mr. Deshpande, the then Education Minister, Sangli State, for placing the plates at my disposal.

These are a set of **five** copper plates, each measuring about 7 inches by 10 inches, with a rounded top so commonly noticed in the copper-plate grants of the Vijayanagara kings. This rounded top has in it a small hole, measuring about ¾ inch in diameter, for passing a ring to secure the plates together. The ring bearing the seal of the Vijayanagara rulers, on which the plates must have been strung, was not available to me.

The **writing** is in a good state of preservation. The first side of the first plate and the back side of the last are uninscribed, while the other plates are engraved on both the sides. There are 153 lines of writing. Of these the first 22 lines are incised on the second side of the first plate ; the second plate has 23 lines on each of its sides ; the third plate has 23 and 20 lines respectively on the two sides ; the fourth plate has 20 lines on the first side and only 10 lines on the second with a considerable space left blank ; and the last plate has only 12 lines in its lower part, the upper part having been left blank. The plates are numbered. Each plate bears a numerical symbol in Kannaḍa engraved at the top of the reverse side indicating its number.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are boldly engraved and measure each about ¼ inch in size. At the end of the fifth plate *Śrī-Viru(rū)pa(pā)ksha* is engraved in very bold Kannaḍa characters. This is the wellknown sign-manual of the Vijayanagara kings. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is composed in verse throughout except for the adoration to Gaṇādhipati in the beginning and the sign-manual at the end.

The charter belongs to the celebrated **Vijayanagara** monarch **Kṛishṇadēvarāya,** three of whose copper-plate records have been published in this journal.[3] The inscription is dated **Śaka 1434, Aṅgirasa, Āśvayuja śu. 15, Monday, lunar eclipse.** This date corresponds to **1512 A.D.,September 25,** when there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the inscription. The week day, however, was Saturday.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Niṭāla,** which was renamed Kṛishṇarāyapura after the donor, to the learned Brāhmaṇa Timmā-jyōtishin, son of Nāgidēvārya. The grant was made in the presence of the god Gaṅgādhara in the sacred place called Śivagaṅgā. The donee was a resident of Arasīkere and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and the Āpastamba *sūtra* of the Yajurvēda. The donee divided the gift village into thirty-two *vṛittis*. Of these he retained sixteen for himself and distributed the rest among the following learned Brāhmaṇas.

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[1] [This article has been revised by Mr. P. B. Desai.—Ed.]

[2] [The plates have since been examined in my office and registered as C. P. No. 16 of 1949-50.—Ed.]

[3] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 126 ff; Vol. XIV, pp. 168 ff ; Vol. XIX, pp. 131 ff.

Name of the Brāhmaṇa	*Father's name*	*Śākhā*	*Gōtra*	*Vṛitti*
Raṅgu-dīkshita	Nañjinātha	Ṛik	Jamadagni-Śrīvatsa	2
Śivā-dīkshita	Immaḍi-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Rēbha-Kāśyapa	1
Liṅgaṁ-bhaṭṭa	Basavā-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Kāśyapa	1
Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭa	Basavā-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Do.	1
Dāti-bhaṭṭa	Nārasiṁha	Yajus	Harita	1
Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Nṛihari-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Do.	1
Tirumala	Vīra-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Śrīvatsa	1
Siddhi-bhaṭṭa	Ananta (?)	Do.	Kauṇḍinya	1
Mummaṇī-bhaṭṭa	Gaṅgādhara	Do.	Bhāradvāja	1
Mukunda-bhaṭṭa	Nāgidēva	Ṛik	Vaśishṭha	1
Sālva-jyōtishin	Ellā-jyōtishin	Do.	Maudgalya	1
Mādhavārya	Nāgidēva	Yajus	Kutsa	1
Nṛisiṁha-bhaṭṭa	Sāi-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Kāśyapa	1

Besides these, one *vṛitti* was reserved for the sacred place of the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas and another for the person who inscribed the grant.

The engraver of the record was Mallaṇa, son of Vīraṇa. As gathered from other charters, he appears to have held this office hereditarily. The composer was the well-known Sabhāpati.

The following **geographical** details are found in the inscription. The gift village Niṭāla is said to have been situated to the south of Gāvarehālu, to the west of Beṇṇekal, to the north of Talilebālu and to the east of Haṁchinahālu. The gift village was situated in the administrative unit of Kopaṇa which is modern Kopbal, famous for the Aśokan Edicts discovered there and for several Kannaḍa inscriptions.[1] Paḍuva-nāḍaka, the country in which Kopaṇa was situated, is apparently a part of the present Raichur District in the Doab between the rivers Kṛishṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā. The gift village is now called Niṭāli and it is located at a distance of nearly 11 miles to the north-west of Kopbal. Beṇṇekal is modern Beṇkal, well-known for its forests containing several dolmens and other prehistoric antiquities. It is about one mile from Niṭāli. The present name of Gāvarehālu is Gāvarahāḷ which is 2 miles from Niṭāli. Haṁchinahālu is now called Masabina Haṁchināḷ which is about a mile from Niṭāli. Talilebālu is to be identified with Tāḷbāḷ which lies about three miles from Niṭāli. The locality called Kātari-Beṭṭaga cannot be traced near Kopbal on the maps ; but it was apparently a small hillock in its vicinity. The places can be found in the Survey of India Sheet No. 56 A/3 comprising the Hyderabad territory.[2]

[1] See *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Nos. 10 and 12.

[2] [Mr. P. B. Desai reads *Kātari-vēṭe* for *Kātari-Beṭṭaga* and offers the following suggestions in regard to the place-names occurring in the record. The earlier form of the name Niṭāla is Niṭṭārave (cf. line 93 of the Iṭagi record, above, Vol. XIII, p. 60, where it has been wrongly read as *Niḍḍi(? ṭṭi)gāve* by Barnett). This village is stated to have been situated in the Hastināvati *rājya*, Paḍuva *nāḍaka*, Kopaṇa *sīma* and Kātari *vēṭe*. *Nāḍaka* is the Sanskritised form of *nāḍu*. Kātari-vēṭe must have been a small tract named after the village of Kātari, which is modern Kātarki, a few miles away from Kopbal. The expression *vēṭe*, *vēṭhe* or *vēṇṭhe* denoting an area is met with in the inscriptions of this period (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 327). Araslkere where the chief donee resided is modern Arakēri about three miles towards the east of Beṇkal. Dr. Dikshit has confused the village of Beṇkal lying about a mile from Niṭāli with another village of that name containing dolmens etc., in the Gangavati Taluk of the Raichur District, which is far away. Compare *QJMS*, Vol. XLV, pp. 68-69.—Ed.]

TEXT[1]

[Lines 1-81 contain the usual two invocatory stanzas and 26 other verses commonly found in the copper-plate charters of this king with the addition of one more verse in his praise.[2]]

Third Plate, First Side

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

82 शालिवाहननि[र्णी]ते शकाब्दे श(स)चतुःस्स(श्श)तैः । चतुस्त्रि(स्त्रि)श-

83 स(त्स)मायुक्तै[:*] शं(सं)ख्याते दशभिः स(श)तैः ॥ [३०*] आ(आं)गिरस्साह्वये वर्षे मा-

84 सि चश्वैयुजा[3]ह्वये [।*] शो(सो)मोपरागसमये ।[4] शो(सो)मवारसम-

85 न्विते ।[। ३१*] शुक्लपक्षे शुभे लग्ने पुं(पु)ण्यायां पूर्णिमातिथौ [।*]

86 शि(शि)वगंगाह्वये तीर्थे श्रीगंगाधरसंनिधौ ॥ [३२*] कौ(कौं)डि-

87 न्यगोत्रजाताय वरापस्तंबसूत्रिणे [।*] यशस्विने

88 यजु[:*]शाखाध्यायिने गुणशालिने [॥ ३३*] अरसीकेरेय-

89 शी(श्री)मन्नागिदेवार्यसूनवे । अशेषवेदवेदांतपु-

90 राणागमवेदि[ने] ।[। ३४*] ज्यौ(ज्यो)ति[:*]शास्त्रा(स्त्रां)बुधे[:*] पारदृश्वने श्रु[त]-

91 शोभिने [।*] तिमाज्यौतिषिकेंद्राय [शास्त्रपूज्याय धी]-

Third Plate, Second Side

92 मते ।[। ३५*] हस्तिनावतिराज्यस्थं स्थितं पडुवनाडके ।

93 सीन्मि(म्नि) श्रीकोपणाख्यायां श्रुतं कातरिवेट्टगं(गम्) ।[।३६*] प्रा-

94 च्यं(च्यां) हंचिनहाल्वाख्य[ा*]त् ग्रामवर्यान्मनोहरात् [।*]

95 गावरेहालुनान्मो(म्नो)पि ग्रामाद्दक्षिणतां श्रितं(तम्) ।।[३७*]

96 बें(बे)ण्णेकल्वाव्ह(ह्व)या[द्*] ग्रामात् पश्चिमायां दिशि

97 स्थितं(तम्) । तलिलेबालुनान्मो(म्नो)पि ग्रामंकादुत्तरं

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[1] From the original plates and impressions prepared by me.

[2] This verse which comes after the 20th reads as follows :—

यत्प्रतापजितो भानु[:] पतत्यंभु(बु)निधौ ध्रु(ध्रु)वं(वम्) ।
दुस(दुस्स)हं मनश(स)स्तापं सुतरां षो(सो)ढुमक्षमः ॥

[3] Read *ch=Āśvayuj-ā°*.

[4] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

98 तथा ।[।३८*] कृष्णरायपुरं चेति प्रतिनामसमाश्रितं ।
99 विख्यातं भुवि निटालनामानं ग्राममुत्तमं(मम्) ।[। ३९*] स-
100 र्वा(र्व)मान्यचतु[:*]सीमाशं(सं)युतं च समंततः । निधि-
101 निक्षेपपाषाणशि(सि)द्धसाध्यजलान्वितं(तम्) ।[। ४०*] अ-
102 क्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्तं(क्त)मेकभोग्यं सभूरुहं(हम्) । वा-
103 पीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छेनापि समन्वितं(तम्) ।[। ४१*] पुत्र-
104 पौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं(कम्) । दानस्या-
105 धमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितं(तम्) ।[। ४२*] परीतः प्र-
106 यतै[:*] स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधैः वि(र्वै)वि)-
107 बुधैः श्रौतपथिकैरधिकैर्गिरा ।[। ४३*] कृष्णदेवम-
108 हारायो माननीयो मनस्विनां(नाम्) । सहिरं(र)ण्यपयो-
109 धारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ॥ [४४*] ग्रामस्य यजमान-
110 स्य(स्तु) तिं(ति)म्माज्यौतिषिकां(का)ह्वयः [।*] स्ना(स्वा)परत्वात्मने
111 ग्रामादर्थमस्मान्महामति[:*] ॥ [४५*] [1]अन्यदर्थान

Fourth Plate, First Side

112 जाद ग्रामादस्मात्पुण्याय भूयसे । प्रादाद् ब्राह्मणवर्येभ्यो
113 विख्यातेभ्योधिमेदिनि ।[। ४६*] द्वात्रिंशद्वृत्तिकेत्रैवे(व) ग्रामे स-
114 स्यमनोहरे । वृत्तिमंतो विलिख्यंते वेदवेदांत-
115 पारगाः ।[। ४७*] ग्रामस्य यजमानोसौ जो(ज्यो)तिःशास्त्रा-
116 ब्धिपारगाः(गः) । विखा(ख्या)तो विनयी वृत्तीः षोडशा-
117 त्र श(स)मश्नुते ॥[४८*] बव्हृ(ह्वृ)चो जामदग्नि[:] श्रीवत्सगोत्र-
118 [इ]हाश्नुते । नंजिनाथार्यजो वृत्तिद्वयं श्रीरंगुदी-
119 क्षितः ।[। ४९*] सूनुरिं(रि)म्मडिभट्टस्य रेभकास्य(श्य)पगो-
120 त्रजः [।*] श्रीशिवादीक्षितोत्रैकां बव्हृ(ह्वृ)चो वृत्तिमश्नुते [॥ ५०*]

[1] The following passage is faulty.

121 सूनुर्बसवाभट्टस्य लिंगंभट्टस्सतां वरः । काश्यपा-
122 न्वयजोत्रैकां वृत्तिमाप्नोति बव्हृ(ह्वृ)चः ॥ [५१*] बं(ब)व्हृ(ह्वृ)चो बस-
123 वाभट्टसूनुः कास्य(श्य)पगोत्रजः । श्रीरामेश्वरभट्टा-
124 ख्यो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ॥ [५२*] जो(ज्यो)तिःशास्त्रविदः सू-
125 नुः(नु)र्नारशि(सिं)हस्य याजुषः [।*] दातिभट्टोश्नुतेत्रैकां
126 वृत्ति हरितगोत्रजः ॥ [५३*] सूनुर्नृहरि[1]भट्टस्य याजु-
127 षो हरितां(ता)न्वयः [।*] धीमान्[2] लक्ष्मणभट्टाख्यो वृत्ति-
128 मेकामिहाश्नुते ॥ [५४*] विद्वांस्तिरुमलाभिख्यो वीराभ-
129 ट्टस्य नंदनः [।*] श्रीवत्सगोत्रजोत्रैकां याजुषो वृत्ति-
130 मश्नुते ॥ [५५*] अनंतोत्कलुसूनु[ः*] श्रीकौ(कौं)डि[न्या]न्वयसं-
131 भवः । याजुषः सिद्धिभट्टाख्यो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ॥ [५६*]

Fourth Plate, Second Side

132 भारद्वाजान्वयः सूनु[ः*] श्रीगंगाधरयज्वनः [।*] मुं(मु)म्म[नी]भ-
133 ट्टाह्वयोत्रैकां[3] याजुषो वृत्तिमश्नुते ॥ [५७] धीमान् मुकुंद-
134 भट्टाख्यो वशि(सि)ष्ठान्वयसंभ[वः] बव्हृ(ह्वृ)चो नागिदेवार्यसू-
135 नुरत्रैकवृत्तिकः ॥ [५८*] मौद्गल्यगोत्रजो घोमा[ने]ल्लाज्यौ-
136 तिषिकात्मजः । साल्वज्यौतिषिकोत्रैकां बह्वृचो वृत्तिम-
137 श्नुते ॥ [५९*] कुत्सगोत्रो यजु[ः*]शाखी नागिदेवार्यनन्दनः । मा-
138 धवार्येति विख्यातो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ।[। ६०*] कास्य(श्य)पो या-
139 जुषो धीमान् साइभट्टस्य नंच(द)नः । नृसिह्म(ह)भट्टवि-
140 ख्यातो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ।[। ६१*] शे(शै)ववैष्णवयो[ः*] स्थाने वृत्ति-
141 रेका समर्पिता[4] ।

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[1] It seems the name had been engraved as *Narahari°* first and was later corrected to *Nṛihari°*.

[2] The rule of *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[3] [The metre is defective here.—Ed.]

[4] The rest of the space on this plate is left blank.

Fifth Plate.

142 तदिदमवनीवनीवनीपकविनुतधरा यस्य कृष्णरायस्य [।*] शासनमति-

143 व(ब)ले शासनतरूकरदानस्य शापदानस्य ॥ [६२*] कृष्णदेवमहारायशा-

144 सनेन सभापति [: ।*] अभाणींमृ(णीन्मृ)दुसंदर्भं तदिदं ताम्र(म्र)शासजं(नम्) [॥ ६३*]

145 त्वष्टा श्रीमल्लणाचार्य(र्यो) वीरणाचार्यनंदनः [।*] आकल्पे(ल्प)मश्नुतेत्रै-

146 कां वृत्ति शासनलेखक[:*] ॥ [६४*] अहो राघवराजेंन्द्र सप्तकल्प(ल्पं) वसाम्य-

147 हं(हम्) [।*] न श्रुणोमि न पस्या(श्या)मि स्वयं दत्तापहारिणा ॥[६५*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

148—153 The usual imprecatory stanzas (verses 66-69).

154 श्रीविरु(रू)प(पा)क्ष[1]

No. 28.—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTIONS OF RAGHAVA, SAKA 1090

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The celebrated Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. D.) is known to have annexed the whole of Lower Orissa to his empire. So far, however, very few inscriptions of this king and his immediate successors have been traced in the Puri-Cuttack region. It was therefore not without satisfaction that I found two fragmentary records of the time of **Rāghava,** one of the sons and successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, amongst the impressions (preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India)[2] of the inscriptions in the Liṅgarāja temple at **Bhubaneswar** in the Puri District of Orissa. In the copper-plate charters of the later members of the family, Rāghava is assigned a reign of 15 years, sometimes believed to be of the Aṅka reckoning and equal to 13 actual years. His rule was placed by M. Chakravarti between Śaka 1078 (1156-57 A.D.) and 1092 (1070-71 A.D.).[3] Some scholars[4] believe that Rāghava ended his rule in Śaka 1090, although he could not have died before Śaka 1091 (1169-70 A.D.) which is the date of one of his known records.

Five inscriptions of Rāghava's reign, all of them in the Śrīkūrmam temple, have so far been published.[5] Two of these refer to the reign of Anantavarman Dēvīdāsa Raṇaraṅga-Rāghava Chakravartin, while the rest mention the king under the name Anantavarman only. The five

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[1] Engraved in bold Kannaḍa-Telugu characters.

[2] Another fragmentary inscription, some impressions of which were traced by me among the estampages preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, may be noticed here. The first three lines of this record, engraved on the east wall (right) inside the central shrine of the Liṅgarāja temple, read : (1) *Siddham svasti śrī-Rā*............(2) *vijayarājyē* [*saṁ*]...... (3) *vārē śrī-Kīrtivā*........It is, however, impossible to determine whether the king mentioned in line 1 is Rāghava or Rājarāja (II or III).

[3] *JASB*, 1903, p.113.

[4] Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p 474.

[5] *SII* Vol. V, Nos. 1330, 1331, 1336, 1340 and 1341.

inscriptions bear the following dates : (1) Śaka 1084 = Aṅka 8 (a mistake for Aṅka 9 or the 7th regnal year), Makara-badi 15, Wednesday. (2) Śaka 1084=Aṅka 9 or the 7th regnal year, Makara-badi 15, Wednesday, (3) Śaka 1089 (a mistake for 1085) = Aṅka 10 or the 8th regnal year, Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti, (4) Śaka 1091 = Aṅka 17 or the 14th regnal year, Vṛischika-sudi 12, Monday, and (5) Śaka 1092 = Aṅka 18 or the 15th regnal year, Tulā-sudi 12. An analysis of these dates appears to suggest that Rāghava ascended the throne sometime about the beginning of Śaka 1078, that is to say, about the middle of 1156 A.D. The two Bhubaneswar inscriptions under study do not throw much light on the chronology of Rāghava's reign. Their importance lies in the fact that they raise the number of the known records of Rāghava to seven and are the only inscriptions of this Gaṅga king so far discovered in **the heart of Orissa**. One of the two records again offers the rare instance of a date with omitted hundreds.

The two inscriptions under study are engraved on the east wall inside the third entrance of the Liṅgarāja temple. The first consists of six lines of writing and the second, incised immediately below the first, also has six lines. The two together look like a single record and appear to have been engraved by the same person at the same time. The space covered by the two epigraphs measures about 28 inches by 24 inches. But the right hand side of the stone bearing the inscriptions must have been damaged at a later date so that about six or seven letters at the end of all the lines are broken away. The last line of the second record consists only of a few *aksharas* while the line preceding it is also shorter than the other lines of the records by about nine inches. These two lines begin from a space below the fifth *akshara* of the previous line of the inscription in question.

The inscriptions are written in the Gauḍīya **script** as used in Orissa about the twelfth century A.D. Their **language** is only seemingly Sanskrit. Often the *vibhaktis* are omitted as in some of the early Oriya inscriptions. The **orthography** also is greatly influenced by local pronunciation. Both the records are dated. Unfortunately, however, some letters of the passages containing the dates in the first line of both the inscriptions are lost. But the lost letters in this part can be restored with some amount of precision. Inscription No. 1 bears the date : **Wednesday**, the 10th of a particular month in a particular year of the victorious reign of **Rāghavadēva**, while inscription No. 2 is dated in the **Śaka year** *navaï* (i.e. 90, with the hundreds omitted), **Kumbha** (Phālguna)-**sudi 15, Thursday.** Now the fact that the two records were apparently engraved by the same person at the same time suggests that, in spite of the absence of Rāghava's name in inscription No. 2, it has to be assigned to the same Gaṅga king's reign between Śaka 1078 and 1091 (or 1092). Thus the Śaka year 90 undoubtedly refers to Śaka 1090. The date, Śaka 1090, Kumbha-sudi 15, Thursday, corresponds regularly to the **22nd February, 1169 A.D.** The same fact also suggests that the dates of the two records were not far removed from each other. It is thus possible to think that inscription No. 1 was also dated in Śaka 1090 which was the 13th regnal year of Rāghava. In this year, the 10th of the bright half of the month of Dhanus (Pausha) alone was a Wednesday. This date corresponds regularly to Wednesday, the 11th December, 1168 A.D. Under the circumstances, it may be suggested that the draft of inscription No. 1 was prepared on Wednesday, the 11th December, 1168 A.D., while that of inscription No. 2 about two months later on Thursday, the 22nd February, of the next Christian year and that both the records were simultaneously incised on the wall shortly after the latter date.

Inscription No. 1 records the grant of a perpetual lamp in favour of **Kīrttivāsēśvara** (i.e. the god Kṛittivāsa or Śiva worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple) by a lady named Mēḍamadēvī apparently for the merit of herself and her parents. That Mēḍamadēvī was not an uncommon female name in the Orissa region is known from a Siṁhāchalam inscription[1] of Śaka 1202 (1280 A.D.) recording certain grants of Vāsudēva Pratirāja (Paḍirāya) of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who

[1] *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 936.

was the son of Rāyavallabha Mahāsēnāpati and Mēḍamadēvī, otherwise called Mēḍamāmbā. It is of course impossible to identify Mēḍamadēvī of the Siṁhāchalam record with her namesake of the Bhubaneswar in scription under study. It is stated in our record that Mēḍamadēvī's father, whose name was Kōmi-nāyaka, and her mother, whose name began with the letters *nuka*, were residents of Padādhvāva-khaṇḍa. It is further said that, apparently to cover the expenses of the perpetual lamp, the lady purchased, in conjunction (*samavāya*) with a leading merchant (*sādhu-pradhāna*) named Jayadēva who was resident of a locality attached to Kūrmapāṭaka, from the hands of a *śrēshṭhin* of Dāsapura, a piece of land entitled Vāhiḍā at Dēvadhara-grāma, and granted it in favour of the god. The name of the locality where Jayadēva lived and that of the *śrēshṭhin* who resided at Dāsapura are broken away and lost.

Inscription No. 2 records the grant of another perpetual lamp in favour of the same god by Āchana Pradhānī who was the son of Divākara and resident of a locality, the name of which is lost. Apparently to cover the expenses of the said perpetual lamp, the donor granted seven *Vā* (i.e. *Vāṭis*) of land in a village called Aṇḍīdō-grāma which was situated in the Uttara *khaṇḍa* (i.e. the northern sub-division) within the Kalambōra *vishaya* (district). There are some other details of the grant in the last three lines of the record. An expression occurring in this damaged part is *chandana-samāi*, the meaning of which is not quite clear. Whether it may be Sanskrit *chandana-samayē*, i.e. *chandanayātrā-samayē*, and suggest that the grant was made actually on the occasion of the festival called *Chandana-yātrā* held in the month of Vaiśākha cannot be determined. It must, however, be admitted that the said festival is now associated usually with the Vaishṇava deities. This section also mentions the names of the persons, with whose cognizance the grant of the seven *Vāṭis* of land was made. The names of two of these persons may be Āditaka (probably the same as Sanskrit *Ādityaka*) and Varāhila. The concluding part of the inscription in the last line reads *nd-ārka-thiti* which apparently stands for the expression *ā-chandr-ārka-sthiti* referring to the permanent nature of the grant.

The following **geographical names** are mentioned in the two inscriptions: (1) Padādhvāva-khaṇḍa (possibly a *khaṇḍa* or sub-division called Padādhvāva), (2) Kūrmapāṭaka, (3) Dēvadhara-grāma, (4) Dāsapura, (5) Vāhiḍā-khaṇḍakshētra, (6) Kalambōra-vishaya (i.e. the district called Kalambōra), (7) Uttara-khaṇḍa (i.e. the northern sub-division of the Kalambōra district) and (8) Aṇḍīdō-grāma. I am not sure about the identification of these localities. Kūrmapāṭaka may be the same as Kūrmapaḍā mentioned in such other inscriptions of the Gaṅga family as the Puri plates[1] of Bhānu II. The Kalambōra district is also known from other records.[2]

TEXT[3]

Inscription No. 1

1 Svasti [|*] śrī-Rāghavadēvasya pravarddhamāna-[vijaya-rā]....[4]

2 sudi 10 vārē Vuddha[5] śrī-Kirttiv[ā]sēśvaras[y]a[6] pri(prī)tayē Mēḍamadē[vī]....[7]

3 Padādhvāva-kharṇḍa(ṇḍa)[s]ya cha tasyā mātā-pitạs[y]ai[8] [Kō]mi-nāyaka-Nuka....[9]

[1] See *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 228.

[2] See above, Vol. XXX, p. 31; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXI, p. 82.

[3] From impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

[4] The lost *aksharas* were probably intended to read: °*jya-saṁvat* 13 *Dhanuḥ*°

[5] Read *Budhē*.

[6] Better read *Kṛittivāsēśvarasya*.

[7] The lost *aksharas* may have been: *ātmanaḥ puṇyārtham*.

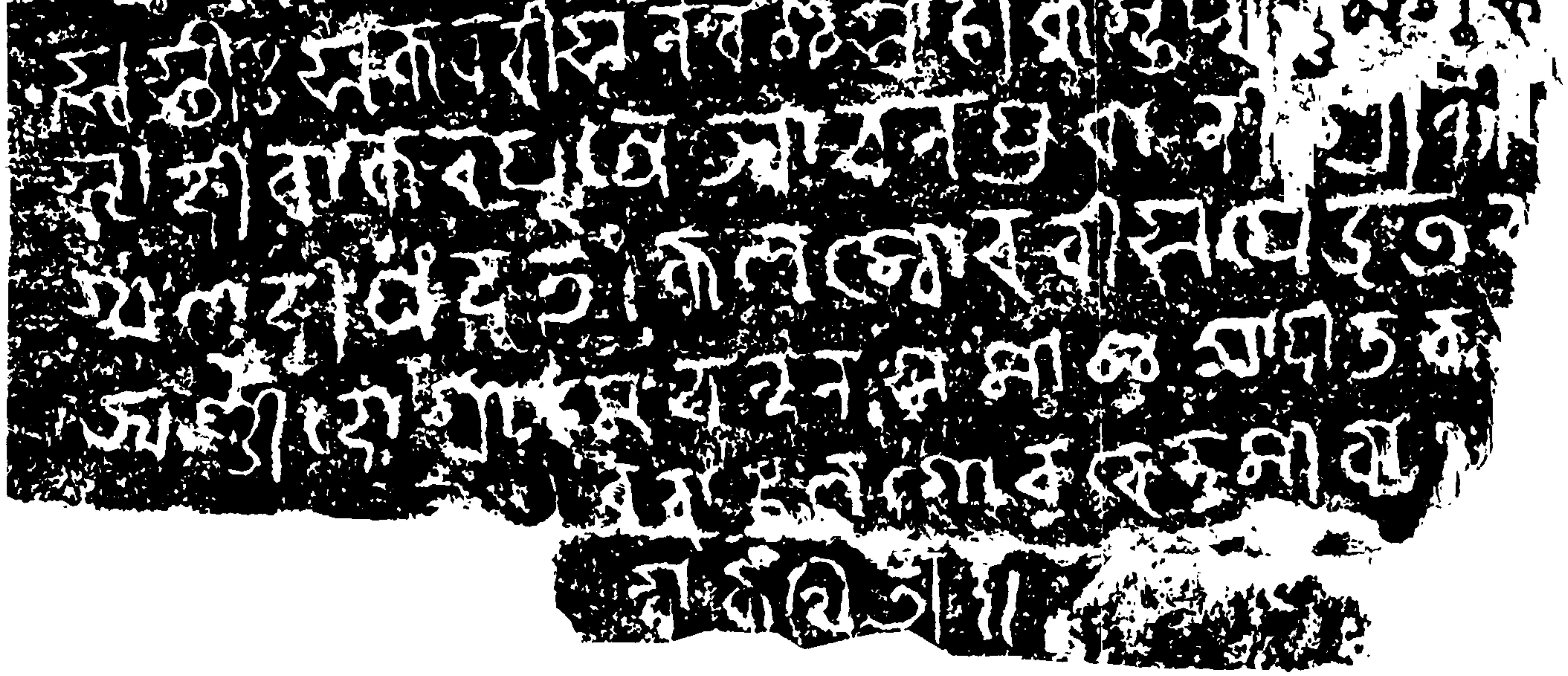
[8] Read *mātā-pitṛibhyāṁ*.

[9] The lacuna may be conjecturally restored as .... *mbābhyām puṇyārthaṁ śrī-Ki*°.

No. 1



No. 2



SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

4 rttivāsēsvasya[1] prītayē dīpaṁ da[dy]ātā[2] || Kūrmapāṭaka-prati[va]...[3]
5 ra-sādhupradhāna-Jayadēva-samavāya[4] Dēvadharagrāma[5] Dāsapura-srēṭhi[6]...
6 hastāt kritvā Vāhiḍā-khaṇḍakrē(kshē)tra[ṁ*] sarvva[ṁ*] Kīrttivāsēsvarāya[7] dhā[8]...

Inscription No. 2

1 Svastiḥ[9] Saka-varīsa[10] navaī[11] srāhī[12] Kumbha-purṇṇima[13]-Guru[14]....
2 sya Dī(Di)vākara-putō[15] Āchaṇa-pradhānī[16] śrī-Kī.....[17]
3 khaṇḍa-dīpaṁ dataṁ[18] || Kalamvō(mbō)ra-vīsayē[18] Utara[19]....
4 Aṇḍīdōgrāmē chandana-samāi[20] Ādītaka[21]....
5 Varā[hi]la-gōcharē bhūmī Vā[22] 7 . . .[23]
6 nd-ā(ndr-ā)rka-thitī[24] ||

No. 29—NOTE ON MALLASARUL CHARTER OF VIJAYASENA

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

The Mallasārul copper-plate inscription of Vijayasēna has been published in this journal by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar.[25] The record is engraved on both sides of a single sheet of copper, with a circular seal soldered on the left side of the plate. It is th's seal which is of main interest to us in the present note. Its description as given by Mr. Majumdar reads as follows : "It bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed deity with a

[1] Read *Krittivāsēśvarasya.*
[2] Read *dadāti.*
[3] The word intended is *pratibaddha* which was followed in the compound by the name of a locality ending in *ra* at the beginning of the next line. The name may have ended in *pura.*
[4] Possibly *samavāyēna* is intended.
[5] Possibly °*grāmē* is intended.
[6] The word intended is *śrēshṭhi*° which was apparently followed in the compound by the personal name of the *śrēshṭhin* in the sixth case-ending.
[7] Better read *Krittivāsēśvarāya.*
[8] The lacuna may be conjecturally filled up with the letters °*rā pūrvvakaṁ dattam.*
[9] See above, Vol. XXVII p. 140, note 2. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *svasti.*
[10] Sanskrit *Śaka-varshē.*
[11] Sanskrit *navati.* Read *navatyāṁ.*
[12] Sanskrit *śaradi*, used in a rather technical sense in the inscriptions. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 106.
[13] Read *pūrṇṇimā.*
[14] The expression intended is *Guruvārē* which was apparently followed by the name of a locality in the sixth case-ending ; cf. *sya* standing at the beginning of the following line.
[15] Read *putrēṇa.*
[16] Read °*pradhānēna . . . dīpaḥ dattaḥ.*
[17] The lost letters may be restored as °*rttivāsēśvarāya a*°. Better read *Krittivā*°
[18] Read *vishayē.*
[19] The expression intended is apparently *Uttara* which seems to have been followed in the compound by °*khaṇḍa-madhyam=adhyāsīna.* See *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 25.
[20] As indicated above, the expression intended may be *samayē.*
[21] The reading intended may be *Ādityaka.* The letter *ka* at the end may, however, also be the beginning of another personal name.
[22] The contraction *Vā* apparently stands for *Vāṭi.*
[23] The lacuna may be conjecturally filled up by *bhavatu ā-cha*°.
[24] Sanskrit *sthiti.* Read *sthitikā* or *sthitayē.*
[25] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff., and Plate.

chakra in the back-ground representing perhaps the 'Wheel of Law.' Below the figure occurs in raised letters the legend *[Mahā]rāja-Vijaya[sē]nasya*, i.e. 'Of the Mahārāja Vijayasēna,' which is partly defaced."[1] Further on, commenting on the opening verses of the inscription, Mr. Majumdar says : "The figure on the seal of the copper-plate may be a representation of Lōkanātha, although it is too indistinct to admit of a definite identification."[2] By *Lōkanātha*, Mr. Majumdar evidently means the Buddha; for, his remarks on the invocatory *Āryās* in the beginning run as follows : "The record opens with an eulogy of the god Lōkanātha, of *Dharma*, and of the saints (*santaḥ*), i.e. the Buddhist Saṅgha."[3]

It may be pointed out that there is no other evidence in the record of its being Buddhistic. On the contrary, there is ample proof in it to the fact that it is Brahmanical. The grant of land, for instance, is made 'to a Brahmin named Vatsasvāmin of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, belonging to the Bahvṛicha *śākhā* of the Ṛigvēda, to enable him to perform the "five great sacrificial rites".'[4] It need not be pointed out that these details do not assort well with a Buddhist record.

It is easy to understand as to how Mr. Majumdar came to take the invocation as offered to the Buddhist *triratna*, 'Three Jewels' : the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. We have seen how he is inclined to explain the *chakra* device on the seal as standing for the 'Wheel of Law' or the *Dharma-chakra* of the Buddhists. Through the association of this, he naturally took *Lōkanātha* in the opening couplet as standing for the Lord Buddha, although ordinarily the appellation *Lōkanātha* is applicable to the gods Brahman, Vishṇu and Śiva quite as well as to the Lord Buddha. It is in extension of the same chain of association that Mr. Majumdar takes the word *dharma* in the first *Āryā* as referring to the *Dharma* of the Buddhist *triratna* and the word *santaḥ* in the second *Āryā* as referring to the *saṅgha* of the same 'Three Jewels.' It may be pointed out that there is no justification for explaining the word *sant* (or *sat*) in the normal course as synonymous with the Buddhist *arhant* (or *arhat*), through which Mr. Majumdar obviously comes to take *santaḥ* of the record as *arhantaḥ*, i.e. collectively speaking, the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Mr. Majumdar has, it looks, totally neglected to observe the inconsistency resulting from the view accepted by him : the nature of the record being Brahmanical, while that of its seal and invocation being Buddhistic.

This inconsistency can easily be obviated if we take the *chakra* on the seal for the *Sudarśana-chakra* of the god Vishṇu. In that case, even *Lōkanātha* of the invocation will have to be taken as meaning *Vishṇu*. We have, in fact, the name *Lōkanātha* included in the thousand names of Vishṇu :

Lōkabandhur=Lōkanāthō Mādhavō Bhaktavatsalaḥ.[5]

As for the words *dharma* and *santaḥ* in the invocation, they may be taken in their normal sense of 'law' and 'good folk' respectively. *Dharma* can be taken even as another name of Vishṇu.[6] In this way, there is nothing inconsistent in the charter.

[1] Ibid., p. 155.

[2] Ibid., p. 157, n. 1.

[3] Ibid., p. 157. [The expression *santaḥ* seems to be used in the same sense in the Buddhist *maṅgala* at the beginning of the *Trikāṇḍaśēsha* of the East Indian lexicographer Purushōttama : *Jayanti santaḥ kuśalaṁ prajānāṁ namō Munīndrāya surāḥ smṛitāḥ stha*, etc. Cf. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, p. 168 ; *Sel. Ins.*, p. 360.—Ed.]

[4] Loc. cit. [Most of the numerous charters of the Buddhist kings of Eastern India, such as the Pālas, Chandras and others, exhibit the same characteristic of recording grants in favour of Brāhmaṇas.—Ed.]

[5] *Vishṇusahasranāma, 93 ; Mahābhārata*, edited by P. P. S. Sastri, Anuśāsanaparvan, part ii, p. 1291.

[6] Ibid., 58 : *Vīraḥ Śaktimatāṁ śrēshṭhō Dharmō Dharmavid-Uttamaḥ.*

We may now turn to the 'standing figure of a two-armed deity' against the elaborate wheel on the seal of the charter. Well, we have here an instance of the representation of the personification of Vishṇu's mighty weapon, the *Sudarśana* discus, called *Chakrapurusha*.

We are now in a position to say that the best specimen of the Chakrapurusha representation occurs in the Chakra-Vikrama type of gold coins of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II. The credit of its identification goes to Sri C. Sivaramamurti and Dr. V. S. Agrawala.[1] The latter has quoted extensively from the *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā*, a well-known text of the *Pañcharātra Āgama*, roughly assignable to the Gupta period. This work is essentially the glorification of Lord Vishṇu in the form of *Chakrapurusha*.

It may further be pointed out that the reading *Lōkanātha* in the original is due to conjectural restoration. *Trilōkanāthaḥ* may as well fit in. We may supply the missing words and read *Jayati Trilōkanāthaḥ(thō)*, etc., the meaning remaining the same.[2] It will be interesting to investigate as to how far the ideas expressed in the invocatory stanzas of the Mallasārul charter conform to the contents of the *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā*.

No. 30—CHARTER OF VISHNUSHENA, SAMVAT 649

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, there are two sets of old impressions of an exceedingly interesting copper-plate inscription. I have failed to trace the whereabouts of the original document. An old employee of the office tells me that the impressions were received, together with a number of other estampages, from the office of the Director General of Archaeology in India about 35 years back.

A scrutiny of the impressions shows that the inscription was incised on the inner sides of a set of two rectangular plates of the same size. There are two holes in the lower border of the writing on the first plate and also in its upper border on the second, the lines of writing running lengthwise. The holes were no doubt meant for the rings necessary for holding together the two plates. Two rings were necessary for the rather unusual length of the plates. It has to be noticed in this connection that one of the holes shows a broken part in the impressions of the first side of the inscription, but that there is no trace of a similar break in the corresponding hole in the impressions of the second side. The holes had been made in the plates before the document was incised on them. We know that the use of the inner sides of a set of two copper plates, strung on two rings with one of them having the royal seal soldered on it, for engraving a document, was popular in early times with certain royal families of the western parts of India, such as the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī in Saurashtra.[3] This fact suggests that the record under study was issued by a ruler of Western India. As will be seen below, this is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription itself.

The impressions show that the **size** of the plates was 17.2" by 7.3". There are sixteen lines of writing on the impression of the first plate and eighteen lines on that of the second ; but the last three lines of the inscription, written in letters of slightly smaller size, record an endorsement and

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[1] See *An Explanation of the Chakravikrama Type Coin of Chandragupta II* by V. S. Agrawala in the *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, 1954, pp. 97-101.

[2] Cf. *Trilōkadhṛit* of the *Vishṇusahasranāma*, 95. As Mr. Majumdar has observed, about eight letters are missing before *-kanāthaḥ*. The blank may be filled by reading the *Siddhaṁ* symbol followed by *Jayati Trilōkanāthā*.

[3] Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 164, 172.

were apparently engraved later than the main document. The signature of the ruler, responsible for the main record, forming its last line, looks rather like a continuation of the first line of the endorsement. The letters of the document are very carefully and beautifully incised and are about ·2" in height. The plates appear to have been in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation when the impressions were prepared.

The inscription is of great interest from the palaeographical point of view. The **characters** employed belong to the West Indian variety of the Southern Alphabet and resemble those used in such epigraphs as the Sunaokala plates of *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* Saṅgamasiṁha (Kalachuri year 292=540 A.D.),[1] the Sankheda-Mankani plates of the Kalachuri year 346 (594 A.D.)[2], the Palitana plates of *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Siṁhāditya of the Gārulaka family (Gupta-Valabhī year 255=574 A.D.)[3] and the inscriptions of the Kaṭachchuris (Kalachuris) of the sixth and seventh centuries[4] as well as of the early members of the Gurjara family of Nāndīpurī and the Maitraka family of Valabhī. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription under discussion has to be referred to the sixth or seventh century and to a locality not far from the Gujarat-Kathiawar region. These suggestions are supported by the internal evidence of the document which we shall take up presently for discussion (cf. also the nature of the plates already discussed above). The inscription employs the initial vowels *a* (lines 5, 7, 10-13, 15-17, 20, 23), *ā* (lines 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 18, 24), *i* (line 20), *u* (lines 4, 8, 12, 15), *ṛi* (line 9) and *ē* (line 34). The *akshara i* is formed by three dots as in the older records and *ṛi* (line 9), the occurrence of which is rather rare in inscriptions, shows a slightly developed form than in the Andhau inscriptions of 150 A.D.[5]

Final forms of the consonants *ṭ* (line 24), *t* (lines 9-10, 15-16, 20, 24-25) and *m* (line 16) are found in the record. The form of subscript *ṇ* in the conjunct *rṇṇa* is interesting (cf. lines 5, 15, 18, 25, 29). That *b* and *v* are indicated by two distinct letters is interesting in view of the fact that, about the age to which our record belongs, *b* came to be often written by the sign for *v* in the eastern parts of India.[6] The *upadhmānīya* is used once in line 7 and the *jihvāmūlīya* twice in lines 28 and 32. Punctuation is often indicated by a dot (lines 4-5, 7-8, 10-11, 13, 19, 23, 25-26), but in a few cases also by a small vertical or horizontal stroke (cf. lines 8, 14, 16) or a small curve (cf. the mark before the representation of the ruler's signature in line 31). Full-stop is indicated by two *daṇḍas* followed by a dash (line 31), the latter being joined in one case to the foot of the second *daṇḍa* (line 30). That the endorsement in the last three lines of the inscription is later than the main document is not only suggested by the date and internal evidence, as will be shown below, but also by the form of subscript *th* which is more developed than in the main record. The inscription employs symbols for the numbers 1 (lines 22, 23), 2 (lines 17-18, 20-21), 3 (line 20), 5 (lines 22, 30), 6 (line 24), 7 (line 34), 8 (line 15), 9 (line 30), 10 (line 21), 30 (line 20), 40 (line 30), 50 (line 34), 100 (line 15), 300 (line 34) and 600 (line 30). The symbol for 40 is of the dental sibilant type. But what is of remarkable interest is that the inscription employs the symbol for $\frac{1}{2}$ in two cases (lines 17, 22) and that for $\frac{1}{4}$ for no less than eleven times (lines 20, 22-24, 26-27).

The knowledge of fractions has been traced back, with reference to India, to very early times.[7] The words *ardha* (one-half) and *tri-pāda* (three-fourths) occur in the *Ṛigvēda* (X, 90, 4). The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (III, 7, 7) mentions *kalā* (one-sixteenth), *kushṭha* (one-twelfth), *śapha* (one-

[1] Above, Vol. X, pp. 74 f

[2] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 20 ; *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 4 ff. I do not think that there is any evidence against the genuineness of this record.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 17-18.

[4] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1206-08.

[5] Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 24 f. ; *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 167 ff.

[6] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 265, n. 7 ; p. 360, n. 8, etc.

[7] Datta and Singh, *History of Hindu Mathematics*, Part I, pp. 185 f.

eighth) and *pāda* (one-fourth). The *Sulba-sūtra*,[1] regarded as one of the earliest known mathematical works, not only mentions fractions but actually uses them in the statement and solution of problems. Nothing, however, is known as to how the Indians wrote the fractions in figures or symbols in the ages represented by those works. It is well known that early Indian epigraphs used two different systems of writing numerals, viz. the ancient ' letter numerals ' and the later decimal notation. According to the second system, which is now commonly used throughout the civilized world, there are only ten figures, viz. those for the numbers one to nine and the zero. With the application of the principle of place value, these are sufficient for the writing of any number in the simplest way possible. According to the older system, separate symbols were employed for the numbers one to nine, for ten and its multiples upto hundred and for the multiples of 100 upto 1000. Still higher numbers were also written according to the same principle. This old system was followed in Indian inscriptions exclusively upto 594-95 A.D., the date of the Sankheda-Mankani inscription wherein the use of the new system is noticed for the first time,[2] although Varāhamihira's *Pañchasiddhāntikā* (sixth century A.D.) and the *Pulisasiddhānta*, referred to by him and quoted by Utpala (tenth century), suggest that the system was known to astronomers at least about the close of the fifth century.[3] From this time upto the end of the tenth century,[4] the two systems are found to be used side by side in Indian inscriptions, the old style being discontinued thereafter.

But the old system appears exclusively in the Bower manuscripts and in the manuscripts from Kashgarh, as well as, together with the decimal system, in the old Jain manuscripts from Western India and in the Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal as late as the sixteenth century and in the Tamil and Malayalam manuscripts upto the present time.[5] We know that, according to the new system, fractions were written, at least in the manuscripts of mathematical works, practically in the modern fashion. We also know that the system of writing fractions by symbols is followed in the medieval and modern records of South India[6] and that another system of writing them with the help of vertical and slanting *daṇḍas* is prevalent in many parts of India,[7] although both these systems are imperfect. But very little is known as to how the fractions would have been written when the decimal system of writing numbers had not developed. It is usually believed that ' from very early times (c. 200 A.D.) the Hindus wrote fractions just as we do now, but without the dividing line '.[8] Here is no doubt a reference to the system followed in mathematical manuscripts. In the Bakhsali manuscripts,[9] the earliest mathematical manuscripts in the Indian alphabet, $2\frac{1}{2}$ is indicated by placing 2, 1 and 2 vertically as 2 and ' fractions and groups of fractions are placed in
1
2 .

[1] Ed. Datta, pp. 212 ff.

[2] See p. 164, note 2 above.

[3] G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, pp. 115-16. For the evidence of the Bakhsali manuscript, see *infra*.

[4] Ibid., p. 115. But we now know that the old system was used in Orissan inscriptions as late as the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 151.

[5] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, pp. 77 ff.

[6] See Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, 1878, Pl. XXXIII, A.H. Arden *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil*, 1930, p. 62.

[7] The use of this system prevalent in Bengal and many other parts of Northern and Southern India, is noticed in certain East Indian inscriptions of the thirteenth century. See N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 146 ff., above Vol. XXVII, pp. 182 ff., Vol. XXX, pp. 51 ff. The principle was based on the division of one into quarters and sixteenths expressed respectively by vertical and slanting *daṇḍas*. These original forms have undergone slight changes in some modern Indian scripts. It has to be noticed that all fractions cannot be written according to this system.

[8] Datta and Singh, op. cit., p. 188.

[9] Ed. G. R. Kaye, Parts I-II, p. 23.

cells or groups of cells'. This system can be traced to *circa* 200 A.D. only if Hoernle's view regarding the date of the Bakhsali manuscripts is accepted. This scholar assigned the manuscripts to the third or fourth century,[1] although the suggestion has been disputed by Kaye.[2]

But, considering the imperfect nature of the system of writing fractions by symbols, it is possible to conjecture that the custom followed in the Bakhsali manuscripts is really very old. It is, however, certain that some fractions at least were expressed by symbols, as it is done even today, when the old system of writing numerals by symbols was prevalent and this is definitely suggested by the present inscription belonging to the sixth century. In this inscription, the symbol for five exactly resembles the *akshara nā* while that for ten looks somewhat like *ndā* (with the loop of *n* having an opening above and the lower part of *d* not being so flat as in ordinary cases), and, in writing one-half and one-fourth, a symbol exactly resembling the *akshara vi* has been employed before those for ten and five respectively. Thus the symbol indicating one-half looks somewhat like *vindā* and that indicating one-fourth exactly like *vinā*. Whether these are developed and modified forms of the symbols originally used in writing one-half and one-fourth cannot be satisfactorily determined and the occurrence of the symbols for five and ten in those respectively for one-fourth and one-half is also not very easy to explain. It should, however, be pointed out that *vi* may be taken to stand for the word *viṁśati* meaning 'twenty'. In that case it can be suggested that *vi 5* means '5 in relation to 20', i.e. $\frac{5}{20}=\frac{1}{4}$, and *vi 10* indicates '10 in relation to 20', i.e. $\frac{10}{20}=\frac{1}{2}$. In this system $\frac{3}{4}$ may have been expressed with *vi* placed before the two symbols jointly indicating 15. It is clear, however, that all fractions could not be written with the help of 20 alone. But whether a fraction like $\frac{1}{8}$ was expressed as '5 in relation to 40' is more than what we can say in the present state of our knowledge.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. The record is composed throughout in prose. There are a few grammatical errors (cf. *pratibhuvēna* in line 10; *anāprishṭvā* in line 17; etc.). Interesting from the **orthographical** point of view is that final *m* has been changed to *anusvāra* before vowels in a large number of cases (cf. lines 4, 10, 12, 18, 23, etc.). The word *dhārmmikēṇa*, correctly spelt in lines 11, 13-14, is written with *n* in lines 22-24, 27. *Sandhi*, which is optional in prose composition, has not been observed in many cases (cf. lines 8, 10, 12, 15, 20-21, 24, etc.). Consonants like *g, gh, j, ṇ, t, d, n, m, y* and *v* have been reduplicated after *r*; but *th* and *dh* after the same letter have been similarly reduplicated only occasionally. The record is highly interesting from the **lexical** point of view, as it abounds in words which are not to be traced in the standard Sanskrit lexicons and are in many cases extremely difficult to interpret. As will be seen from our discussion below, some of these words are of Prakrit origin and may be explained with the help of the vocabularies of some forms of the Prakrit speech. A number of obscure and technical words, which could not be traced to any other work, have been conjecturally explained.

The document is dated on the **5th day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the year 649** and the endorsement on the **7th day of the dark half of Kārttika in the year 357.** Both the dates are expressed in symbols instead of numerical figures of the decimal notation. We have to note that the year 357 refers to a date later than that indicated by the year 649 as, it will be clear from our discussion below, the endorsement must be some years later than the document itself. Now, considering the palaeography of the document, the year 649 can only be referred to the Vikrama era and taken as corresponding to **592 A.D.** This is also supported by the fact that the later date, year 357, which, considering the palaeography of the endorsement, can only be referred to the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chēdi era or the Gupta-Valabhī era, corresponds either to

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 36. Relying on Hoernle, Bühler suggested that the use of the decimal system in India may be as old as the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier. Cf. ibid., Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 82.

[2] *JASB*, 1907, pp. 475 ff.

605 A.D. or to 676 A.D. This no doubt precludes the possibility of referring the year 649 to the Śaka era and taking it to correspond to 727 A.D. which would be later than 605 or 676 A.D. That the use of the Vikrama era was not unknown in the Gujarat-Kathiawar region, to which our record seems to belong, is suggested by the Dhiniki plates of Jāikadēva, dated V.S. 794 (737 A.D.),[1] found in the Okhamandal District of Saurashtra. The Vikrama Saṁvat seems to have penetrated into that region from Rajputana where we notice its use in records dating from the third century A.D.[2] The use of the Vikrama era in the present inscription may possibly be explained by the suggestion that the merchants, in whose favour the document was issued. were accustomed to its use. It seems reasonable to think that the Jains, mostly a mercantile community, were greatly responsible for the development of the Vikrama and Śālivāhana-Śaka sagas as well as for the spread of both the Vikrama and Śaka eras.[3]

The document records an order, issued from the *vāsaka* (residence) at **Lōhāṭā**, by a ruler named **Vishṇushēṇa** (called **Vishṇubhaṭa** in the endorsement) who is endowed with the subordinate titles *Mahākārttākṛitika*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja*. The real meaning of *kārttākṛitika* is unknown ; but it may have indicated a royal agent[4] or a judge of a superior court or an officer, like the present day Legal Remembrancer, inviting the king's attention to what was done or left undone. *Daṇḍanāyaka* was either a leader of the army or the chief of the police with power of judging criminal offences.[5] *Mahāpratīhāra*, literally ' the great door-keeper ', was probably the chief of the palace-guards and the royal bodyguards.[6] It is interesting to note that precisely the same five feudatory titles, the *pañcha-mahāśabda*,[7] are also known to have been used by Dhruvasēna I (Gupta-Valabhī years 206-26=525-45 A.D.) of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī,[8] although to whom exactly he owed allegiance is difficult to determine in the absence of further light on the subject.

The order of *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* Vishṇushēṇa was addressed to his subordinates and officials such as the *Rājan*, *Rājaputra*, *Rājasthānīya*, *Āyuktaka*, *Viniyuktaka*, *Śaulkika*, *Chōrōddharaṇika*, *Vailabdhika*, *Drāṅgika*, *Chāṭa* and *Bhaṭa*, to other officials executing the ruler's orders as well as to the *Dhruvādhikaraṇa*. *Rājan* and *Rājaputra* apparently refer to subordinate rulers and their sons put in charge of administrative units. *Rājasthānīya* means a feudatory or viceroy.[9] *Āyuktaka* possibly means a magistrate (or treasury-officer) appointed by the king and *Viniyuktaka* (the same as *tad-āyuktaka*, *tan-niyutaka* or *tad-viniyuktaka*) an officer of a similar category appointed by the viceroy.[10] *Śaulkika* is of course a customs officer and *Chōrōddharaṇika* a prefect of the police. *Vailabdhika* may have been the custodian of recovered stolen property as the *Yukta* of the *Manu Smṛiti* (VIII, 34) although the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VII, 161-63) uses the word *vilabdhi* probably in the sense of an assignment. The *Drāṅgika* must have been the officer in charge of a *draṅga* which is explained as ' a town ' in the lexicons and used in the sense of ' a town or village ' in Jain literature, but is known to have the sense of ' a watch-station ' in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VIII, 2010).[11] *Chāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* are often taken to mean regular and irregular soldiers respectively, although

[1] Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 17.

[2] Ibid., Nos. 1 ff.

[3] Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*Hist. Cult. Ind. Peop.*, Vol. II), p. 114 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 296.

[4] *Sel. Ins.*, Vol, I, p. 360, n. 9.

[5] Ibid., p. 260, n. 1.

[6] Ibid., p. 33, n. 9.

[7] Cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 140-43 and 680 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 226. In the South Indian records, *pañchamahāśabda* seems to refer to the privilege to enjoy the sounds of five kinds of musical instruments (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 276 n.).

[8] Cf. Bhandarkar, op. cit., Nos. 1304-05.

[9] *Sel. Ins.*, p. 391, n. 5.

[10] Ibid., p. 360, n. 7 ; 351, n. 1 ; p. 284, n. 3.

[11] Cf. Stein, *Rajataraṅgiṇī*, English translation, Vol. II, pp. 291 f.

their duty appears to have been something like that of the policemen, watchmen or peons. Instead of *Chāṭa*, some inscriptions use the word *Chhātra*, often explained as 'an umbrella-bearer'.[1] It is interesting to note that the word *chhātra* has actually been used in the sense of 'a court peon' in line 12 of the inscription under discussion.

Vishṇushēṇa's order was addressed not only to the subordinates and officials but also to the *dhruv-ādhikaraṇa*, i.e. the office of the *dhruva*, the mention of which again connects our epigraph with the Maitraka dynasty and with the Gujarat-Kathiawar region. The expressions *dhruv-ādhikaraṇa*, *dhruvasthān-ādhikaraṇa* and *dhruv-ādhikaraṇika* are peculiar to the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhī. *Dhruva* has been explained as being still used in Saurashtra and Kutch to denote 'a person who superintends, on behalf of the Rājā, the collection of the royal share of lands', and Dhruva is still a surname among the Gujarati people.[2] Another fact possibly connecting Vishṇushēṇa with the Gujarat-Kathiawar region, if not with the Maitrakas themselves, is his interesting epithet *paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-bāva-pād-ānudhyāta*, i.e. meditating on (or, favoured by)[3] the feet of the illustrious *bāva* who was a paramount ruler. This reminds us of the fact that, in several Maitraka records, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* Śīlāditya III (Gupta-Valabhī years 343-65=662-84 A.D.) is represented as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bāva-pād-ānudhyāta*, while his son Śīlāditya IV is endowed with the same epithet with the only substitution of the word *bappa* (i.e. 'father') for *bāva*. Fleet explained *bāva* as indicating an uncle or a relation of the father's generation.[4]

In connection with the possible relation of the issuer of our record with the Maitrakas, reference should also be made to his name, viz. *Vishṇushēṇa* or *Vishṇubhaṭa*. We know that the names of the Maitraka kings ended usually with the word *sēna* but sometimes also with the word *bhaṭa*.[5] What is, however, more interesting is that, as in the case of Vishṇushēṇa-Vishṇubhaṭa, sometimes a Maitraka ruler is found to have borne a name ending both with *sēna* and *bhaṭa*. We know that Maitraka Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya (Gupta-Valabhī years 310-21=629-40 A.D.), who was the son-in-law of king Harsha of Kanauj, has been mentioned in the *Si-yu-ki* of Hieun-tsang by the name Dhrūbhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa.[6]

We have seen that *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* Vishṇushēṇa (Vishṇubhaṭa) claimed some relation with his overlord described as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-bāva*. The date of the document, 592 A.D., as well as its possible place of issue somewhere in the Gujarat-Kathiawar region would suggest that this overlord was probably the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa whose Abhona plates are dated in the Kalachuri year 347 (595 A. D.).[7] This seems to be supported further by other facts. The Sarsavni plates of Kalachuri Buddharāja, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, dated in the year 361 (609 A. D.),[8] were issued from Ānandapura, which is the modern Anand[9] in the Kaira District in Gujarat. Dadda I of the Gurjjara house of Nāndīpurī (Nandor in the old Rajpipla State) and Broach is described as *Gurjjara-nṛipati-vaṁśa-mahōdadhau śrī-saha-janmā Kṛishṇa-hṛiday-āhit-āspadaḥ kaustubha-maṇir=iva*[10] with a probable allusion to his allegiance to Kalachuri Kṛishṇa, father of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

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[1] Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 414, n. 5.

[2] Cf. ibid., p. 404, n. 1; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 190 n; H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 200 and note.

[3] Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 454, n. 3.

[4] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 186 n.

[5] Cf. names like Dharasēna (I-IV), Dhruvasēna (I-III) and those like Dhrūbhaṭa and Dērabhaṭa (Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 394). The name-ending *bhaṭa* also occurs in the contemporary ruling family of the Gurjaras of Nāndīpurī.

[6] Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 246-47.

[7] Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1206.

[8] Ibid., No. 1208.

[9] Above, Vol. VI, p. 297.

[10] Cf., e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 82, 88.

The Kalachuris certainly extended their power over the northern Maratha country and Malwa[1] and probably also over some adjoining regions. King Kṛishṇa's coins, styled *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpaka* in the Anjaneri inscription of Pṛithivīchandra Bhōgaśakti, dated 709 A. D., are not only found in the Nasik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette.[2] The above facts no doubt suggest that the Kalachuris very probably succeeded in extending their power over the Gujarat-Kathiawar region or at least over wide regions of that area and that, from the middle of the sixth century A.D., all rulers of that region, bearing subordinate titles, owed allegiance to the Kalachuris. It may further be noted that the date of our inscription falls in the period between the rule of the Maitraka ruler Dharasēna II (Gupta-Valabhī years 252-70=571-89 A.D.) and that of Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya (Gupta-Valabhī years 286-90=605-09 A.D.). Thus if Vishṇushēṇa (Vishṇubhaṭa) actually belonged to the Maitraka dynasty, his rule may be accommodated between 589 and 605 A.D., although it has to be admitted that the introductory part of the epigraph under study does not follow that of the Maitraka records. But if Lōhāṭā, and not Valabhī, was his headquarters, it is possible to suggest that he was ruling side by side with the Maitraka king or kings of Valabhī, even though he belonged to the same family or a branch of it. Lōhāṭā is, however, mentioned as Lōhāṭaka-grāma in the endorsement and may have been merely a village in the dominions of Vishṇushēṇa.

The inscription says that Vishṇushēṇa had been approached by the community of merchants, apparently of Lōhāṭā as suggested by the endorsement, with the request of being favoured with the ruler's *āchāra-sthiti-pātra* which they might utilise in protecting and favouring their own people (*lōka-saṁgrah-ānugrahārtham*) and that the merchants were actually favoured with the ruler's *sthiti-pātra* used in the protection and settlement of the people of his dominions (*janapadasya .... parirakshaṇa-sannivēśanāya*). This *sthiti-pātra* or *āchāra-sthiti-pātra* is elsewhere also called *anugraha-sthiti-pātra*, *sthiti-vyavasthā* and *sthiti-pātra-vyavasthā* and is actually a long list of regulations which look like prevalent customary laws without much modification. At the end, king Vishṇushēṇa (Vishṇubhaṭa) further says that, in addition to the *āchāras* quoted, he also approved of other *āchāras* that were handed down from ancient times. He ends with the request that his *anugraha-sthiti-pātra* should be approved and followed by the future rulers of the country. The executor (*dūtaka*) of the document was Bhaḍḍaka who was an officer of the department of war and peace (*sandhivigrah-ādhikaraṇ-ādhikṛita*). The main document ends with the date and the representation of Vishṇushēṇa's signature.

This is followed by an **endorsement** according to which *Sāmanta* **Avanti** issued an order from **Darpapura** to his own officials informing them that he had given his assent to the *sthiti-vyavasthā* granted by the illustrious Vishṇubhaṭa (Vishṇushēṇa) to the community of merchants residing at Lōhāṭakagrāma (apparently the same as Lōhāṭā, from where Vishṇushēṇa's document had been issued) and that persons conducting their respective trades and following the above *sthiti-pātra-vyavasthā* should not be disturbed in any way. The endorsement ends with the second date referred to above. Whether *Sāmanta* Avanti was a subordinate of *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* Vishṇushēṇa (Vishṇubhaṭa) or whether the Lōhāṭā area came to form a part of the district ruled by Avanti at a later date cannot be satisfactorily determined. It is not improbable that Avanti was a Gurjara who dated his document in the Kalachuri era. If this suggestion may be accepted the endorsement is to be regarded as dated in **605 A.D.**, only about 13 years after the original document.

The said list of regulations or customary laws, which is full of obscure and technical words, is very valuable not only to a lexicographer but also to all students of ancient Indian history.

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[1] They granted lands in the Nasik region and issued charters from Ujjayinī and Vaidiśa (Vidiśā). Cf. Bhandarkar, loc. cit., Nos. 1206-08.

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 229.

We know of an *āchāra-vyavasthā* embodied in the Lakshmeswar Kannaḍa inscription[1] (*circa* 725 A.D.) of *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya II of the Chālukya house of Badami; but that record is small and damaged and is not of any help in the elucidation of the text of the *āchāras* quoted in the inscription under discussion. We propose to quote below the text of the seventytwo *āchāras* and make an attempt to explain them one by one.[2]

1. *Āputrakaṁ na grāhyam. Āputraka* means 'the property belonging to a person who died without leaving a son'.[3] This seems to say that such property should not be confiscated by royal officials disregarding the claim of any legal heir other than the son.

2. *Unmara-bhēdō na karaṇīyō rāja-purushēṇa.* This is probably connected with No. 1 above. The royal officials are asked not to break open or violate the *unmara*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be related to the word *umbara* (Pali *ummāra*; Prakrit *ummara*; Gujarati *umbro*, *umro*, 'threshold'). The reference may be to the threshold or door of a house. Vishṇu (V, 116) prescribes a fine of 100 *paṇas* for a *sa-mudra-griha-bhēdaka* (one who breaks open the sealed door of a house); but Kauṭilya speaks of 48 *paṇas* as the fine for the same offence (*Arthaśāstra*, III, 20).

3. *Udbhāvaka-vyavahārō na grāhyaḥ.* The word *vyavahāra* here may be taken in the sense of 'a law-suit'; but the real meaning of *udbhāvaka* is uncertain. It may, however, refer to a case carelessly put before the court (cf. *udbhāvana*, 'neglect') or to one based on fabrication or false allegation.

4. *Śaṅkayā grahaṇaṁ n=āsti.* This is apparently related to No. 3 above. The royal officials should not go in for the apprehension of persons or for taking up a case against one or for seizing one's things through mere suspicion (*śaṅkā*) of a crime.

5. *Purush-āparādhē strī na grāhyā.* This means to say that the wife should not be apprehended for her husband's guilt.

6. *Kshēm-āgni-samutthānē chhalō na grāhyaḥ.* The word *chhala* ordinarily means 'a pretext'. But, in the Smṛiti literature, it is used in the sense of 'careless declaration', while *bhūta* means 'a solemn statement of truth'.[4] The word occurs in Nos. 7, 9 and 31 below. Although the technical meaning seems to be preferable, the ordinary meaning of the word may be applied to all the cases, especially to No. 31. *Kshēmāgni* seems to mean 'sacred fire' such as is kindled on the occasion of marriage, etc. If we follow the technical sense of *chhala*, the *āchāra* may mean that no half-hazard allegation should be entertained against one's neighbour for the burning of one's house when, according to the accused, the conflagration resulted from the sacred fire kindled in his house. But, if the ordinary meaning of the word is preferred, this may refer to a case involving the burning of a neighbour's house, in which the plea that the conflagration was due to the sacred fire kindled in the house of the accused would not be acceptable.

7. *Svayaṁ hrasitē karṇṇē chhalō na grāhyaḥ.* This means either that (1) there was no pretext for a man who was himself responsible for cutting a bit from a neighbour's ear, or that (2) no careless accusation was acceptable from a man in regard to the cutting of a bit from his own ears. Cf. *karṇṇa-trōṭana* in No. 37 below. If *hrasita* may here be taken in the sense of 'sounded', the

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[1] Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 190-91.

[2] In interpreting some of the words and in bringing out the significance of some of the *āchāras*, I have received help from V. Raghavan, P. V. Kane, G. S. Gai, P. B. Desai, H. C. Bhayani, N. M. Sen and V. S. Agrawala, to all of whom my sincere thanks are due. The list reminds us of Kātyāyana's view quoted in Dēvaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Smṛitichandrikā*, Vol. III, part i, p. 58: *dēśasy=ānumatēn=aiva vyavasthā yā nirūpitā | likhitā tu sadā dhāryā mudritā rāja-mudrayā || śāstra-vad=yatnatō rakshyā tāṁ nirīkshya vinirṇayēt.* It seems to recognise *rāja-śāsana* among the sources of law.

[3] See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 291 and n. 13.

[4] Cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, N. S. Press ed., p. 130: *chhalaṁ nirasya bhūtēna vyavahārān=nayēn=nṛipaḥ*, where the *Mitāksharā* explains *chhala* as *pramād-ābhihita* and *bhūta* as *tattv-ārtha-saṁyukta*.

reference may also be to a case in which the details of a dispute had previously reached the ears of the judge who was thus in a position to detect the fabricated element in the statement put to him without investigation.

8. *Arthi-pratyarthinā vinā vyavahārō na grāhyaḥ.* A law suit could be taken up for disposal only when the complainant and the defendant were both present and never in the absence of either of the parties.

9. *Āpaṇē āsanasthasya chhalō na grāhyaḥ.* This means either that (1) the pretext of being engaged in work at the shop should not justify the absence of a party to a law-suit from the court (cf. No. 8 above), or that (2) no careless statement of accusation was acceptable from a person who had been at the time of occurrence busy in selling things in a shop or market (cf. No. 21 below).

10. *Gō-śakaṭaṁ na grāhyam.* This seems to be related to No. 11 below.

11. *Sāmant-āmātya-dūtānām=anyēshāṁ ch=ābhyupāgamē śayanīy-āsana-siddhānnaṁ na dāpayēt.* When a subordinate chief, an officer or an envoy of the king came to a village, the inhabitants thereof should not be compelled to supply beds or couches, seats and boiled rice. Some of these things, however, are known to have been usually supplied by the villagers and the kings are found to have exempted gift villages from these obligations. Cf. such *parihāras* or exemptions as *a-kūra-chōllaka-vināśi-khaṭvā-saṁvāsa* and *a-paraṁparā-balīvarda-grahaṇa* explained in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 187 ff. It may be pointed out that inscriptions speak of supplying bullocks to the touring officials by the inhabitants of different villages in succession but not of supplying carts (cf. No. 10 above). The reference to boiled rice (*siddh-ānna*) in particular may suggest that unboiled rice had to be supplied. But the expression *siddh-ānna* also reminds us of *sīdhā*, 'uncooked victuals', in Hindi, Bengali, etc.

12. *Sarva-śrēṇīnām=ēk-āpaṇakō na dēyaḥ.* Members of different guilds should not be allowed to flock to the same market. The idea seems to be that different mercantile guilds should occupy different markets or at least different quarters of the same market.

13. *Sarva-śrēṇībhiḥ khōvā-dānaṁ na dātavyam.* All the guilds should not be compelled to pay *khōvā*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be the same thing as the *aṭṭapati-bhāga* or 'the share of the lord of the market' mentioned as a tax in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (V, 164).

14. *Rājakulē=dhikaraṇasya cha rāj-ārgghikā dēyā ; anyēshām=adēyā.* Periodical offerings to be made to the king should be brought to the palace or to the particular office engaged in collecting them, but not to anybody else. *Rāj-ārgghikā* may be the same as *rāja-pradēya* of the *Manu Smṛiti* (VII, 119).[1] The word also occurs in No. 45 below.

15. *Vārikasya hastē nyāsakō na sthāpanīyaḥ.* This is probably related to No. 14 above. The offerings meant for the king were not to be deposited with (or, no deposits should be entrusted to) the *vārika*. The *vārika* (cf. No. 72 below) seems to indicate a class of officials, three of which are mentioned in the record (cf. Nos. 27, 28, 31, 47). It may be compared with Gujarati *vārēdār* or tax-gatherer. The *Bṛihaspati Smṛiti*[2] mentions *vārika* along with the *chāturvaidya*, *vaṇik*, *sarva-grāmīṇa*, *mahattara* and others, while the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VI, 345) speaks of the *Kaṭaka-vārika*. The meaning is, however, not clear. The word may be connected with *vāra*, probably meaning 'the member of a committee' and occurring in such expressions as *vāra-gōshṭhī*, *pañcha-vārī* and *vāra-pramukha* found in inscriptions.[3] But the official designation *Śānti-vārika*, occurring in the inscriptions of the Chandra kings of Bengal, has been explained as ' probably a priest in charge of propitiatory

[1] According to Manu, however, ' the headman of the village should get all of what is daily payable by the villagers to the king in the shape of food, drink, fuel and other things '. Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 187.

[2] Cf. *Bṛihaspati Smṛiti*, G.O.S. ed., p. 159 : *rājā kshētraṁ dattvā chāturvaidya-vaṇig-vārika-sārvagrāmīṇa-mahattara-svāmipurush-ādhishṭhitaṁ parichchhindyāt*,

[3] Cf. above, Vol. V, p. 138 n.

ceremonies',[1] while Monier-Williams recognises the word *nāga-vārika* in his Sanskrit Dictionary and explains it as 'an elephant-driver or keeper' and 'the chief person in a court or assembly'.

16. *Para-vishayāt=kāraṇ-ābhyāgatō vāṇijakaḥ para-rēshē na grāhyaḥ.* The word *rēsha* means 'injury'; but its significance in the present context is unknown. The meaning of the *āchāra* may be that a merchant belonging to another district or kingdom should not be accepted as a witness in a criminal case involving persons of a locality where he happened to be present on account of some reason or other.

17. *Āvēdanakēna vinā utkṛishṭī na grāhyā.* This seems to be related to No. 16 above ; but the meaning of *utkṛishṭī* is unknown. *Āvēdanaka* may indicate 'a formal complaint in court' and *utkṛishṭī* may be the same as Pali *ukkuṭṭhi* and Sanskrit *utkrushṭi*, *utkrōśa*, meaning 'wailing'. A proper complaint, and not mere wailing, was acceptable to court.

18. *Vākpārushya-daṇḍapārushyayōḥ sākshitvē sārī na grāhyā.* The *sārikā* bird could not be allowed to be a witness in cases of defamation and assault.

19. *Ḍhēṅku-kaḍḍhaka-nīla-ḍumphakāś=cha vishṭiṁ na kārayitavyāḥ.* The *ḍumphaka* of a *nīla-kuṭī*, liable to pay a certain tax, is also referred to in No. 48 below ; but who are actually exempted from forced labour (*vishṭi*) in the present case cannot be determined. The words *ḍhēṅku*, *kaḍḍhaka* and *ḍumphaka* are unknown. *Ḍhēṅku* may be compared with Hindi *ḍheṅkī* or *ḍheṅkulī* meaning a machine for extracting juice, while *kaḍḍhaka* seems to be a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *karshaka*. *Ḍumphaka* may be the same as Sanskrit *dṛimphaka* meaning 'one who presses'. The *nīla-ḍumphaka* possibly manufactured blue dye from the indigo plant. If *ḍhēṅku* is the same as Gujarati *ḍhīkvo*, Hindi *ḍhēklī*, *ḍhēkul*, in the sense of the contrivance (based on the principle of lever) for drawing water from a well, the drawers of water for the irrigation of fields may be the persons indicated by *ḍhēṅku-kaḍḍhaka*

20. *Prapāpūraka-gōpālāḥ rāja-grahēṇa na grāhyāḥ.* *Prapā-pūraka* is a person entrusted with *prapā-pūraṇa*, i.e. 'filling the cisterns with water in a place for watering cattle or supplying water to travellers'. Such persons as well as the milkmen were not to be apprehended or recruited for free labour on the king's behalf.[2]

21. *Gṛih-āpaṇa-sthitānāṁ mudrā-patraka-dūtakaiḥ sāhasa-varjjam=āhvānaṁ na karaṇīyam.* Persons engaged in work at home or at their shops should not be summoned to court by means of a seal-ring or a letter or by a messenger unless they were involved in a criminal case.[3]

22. *Parēṇ=ārth-ābhiyuktānāṁ vāda-pratisamāsanē yajña-sattra-vivāh-ādishu āhvānaṁ na kārayēt.* Persons engaged in such works as a sacrifice or a marriage ceremony should not be summoned to court to refute the charges brought against them. *Artha* may refer to an *artha-mūla* or civil (and not a *hiṁsā-mūla* or criminal) suit.[4] Or, there may be reference here to two different sets of persons who should not be summoned, viz. (1) one engaged in *yajña*, etc.,[5] and (2) one already involved in another case.[6] A word like *niratānām* seems to be understood after °*ādishu*.

23. *Ṛiṇ-ādān-ābhilēkhita-vyavahārē a-kāshṭha-lōha-baddhēna kṛita-pratibhuvēna(bhuvā) guptir=upāsyā.* In connection with a written complaint about the realisation of borrowed money, the debtor, when he was not under wooden or metal handcuffs because of security having been furnished for him by somebody, should enjoy the protection of the court. This seems to say that in the case

[1] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 8, 166.

[2] Cf. *Bṛihaspati Smṛiti*, p. 26 : *gavāṁ prachārē gōpālāḥ sasy-ārambhē kṛishīvalāḥ* in the section on *āhvāna* (summons) and in the list of the *n-āsēdhyāḥ*.

[3] Cf. ibid., p. 24 : *mudrāṁ dadyāt tathā patraṁ purushaṁ vā visarjayēt.* See also P. V. Kane, *Kātyāyanasārōddhāra*, verse 88.

[4] Vide *Kātyāyanasārōddhāra*, verse 108.

[5] Cf. *Bṛihaspati Smṛiti*, p. 22 : *sattr-ōdvāh-ōdyatō*, etc., in the list of the *n-āsēdhyāḥ*.

[6] Cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, N. S. Press ed., p. 125 : *abhiyuktaṁ cha n=ānyēna*.

of a debtor, for whom security had been furnished, neither handcuffs nor guards at court were necessary When no *pratibhū* was furnished, the court had to arrange for the person's watch and the cost of it had to be borne by the parties.[1]

24. *Varshāsu sva-vishayāt bīj-ārtham=āgataka-karshakāḥ svāminā na grāhyāḥ.* Cultivators coming out of their areas for sowing seeds during the rainy season were not to be apprehended or engaged by the king or landlord in free labour.[2]

25. *Āshāḍha-māsi Paushē cha drashṭavyaṁ māna-pautavam ; ādānē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikēṇa.* The *māna-pautava*[3] which had to be examined in the months of Āshāḍha and Pausha seems to have been a store-house where grains were measured and stored. Possibly there were two kinds of store-houses, one working on a small fee and the other working free of charges; but there was no reduction of the tax for the latter. *Ādāna* no doubt refers to the collection of tax and *dhārmika* seems to point to an extraordinary case somehow associated with religious merit or, as suggested by No. 65 below, with the permission or grace of the authorities. It is also possible to think that *dhārmika* was a cess payable in addition to the usual tax. The terms *ādāna* and *dhārmika* are frequently mentioned in the latter part of the document.

26. *A-saṁvādya vyavaharataḥ śulk-ādikaṁ cha dhāny-ādi pravēśayatō nishkāśayatō vā śulkam=ashṭa-guṇaṁ dāpyaḥ.* It seems to be related to No. 25 above. If a store-house collected fees and stored and disposed of grains without informing the royal officials, it had to pay eight times the usual tax, i.e. ten silver coins. This may also refer to the bringing and taking out of goods without official checkup in regard to matters of *śulka*, etc., as per the rules laid down.[4]

27. *Pēṭavika-vārikēṇa pañcha-rātrakē pañcha-rātrakē kartavyam=arggha-nivēdanam; anivēdayatō vinayē*[5] *rūpakāḥ shaḍ=dhārmikē pādaḥ.* The *Pēṭavika-vārika* appears to be a particular class of *vārika* or official that was responsible for the delivery of the *rāj-ārgghikā* received from the subjects once in five days. The word *pēṭavika* is possibly associated with Marathi *pēṭhā* (sub-division of a Taluk) or *pēṭh* (a trading town or an emporium). The fine for non-delivery was six silver coins; but, in the case of *dhārmika*, i.e. when there was any reasonable excuse, the fine was only one-fourth silver coin. *Vinaya*[6] means 'fine'. It is also possible that the *āchāra* refers to the rule that, every five days, the official should fix prices (*arggha*) of commodities and inform the higher authorities about the prices so fixed.[7]

28. *Uttarakulika-vārikaiḥ māna-bhāṇḍa-mēya-gatē bahir=na gantavyam. Uttarakulika*, like *pēṭavika*, possibly meant another class of *vārika* or official. The *Uttarakulikas* appear to have been associated with the law-court. In cases of disputes in regard to the measurement, the measuring pot or the thing measured, such officers were possibly not allowed to go out of the court to be influenced by one party or the other.

29. *Uttarakulika-vārikāṇām=ēva karaṇa-sannidhau Chhātrēṇa trir=āghushitānāṁ nirupasthānād=vinayē rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādaṁ saha dhārmikēṇa. Karaṇa* apparently means *adhikaraṇa*, 'a law-court', and *Chhātra* seems to indicate a peon or a constable. *Karaṇa* as a contraction of *adhikaraṇa*

[1] Cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, N. S. Press ed., p. 126, quotation from Kātyāyana : *atha chēt pratibhūr=n=āsti kārya-yōgyas=tu vādinaḥ | sa rakshitō dinasy=āntē dadyād=bhṛityāya vētanam ||*

[2] Cf. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, III, 11 : *a-grāhyāḥ karma-kālēshu karshakā rāja-purushāś=cha.* See also *Bṛihaspati Smṛiti*, pp. 22, 26, and *Kātyāyanasārōddhāra*, verse 109.

[3] For *pautava* (measures), *tulā-māna-pautava* and *pautav-āpachāra* (fraud in regard to measures), see *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2 (cf. pp. 103-05 of the Mysore ed.).

[4] See *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, II, 23 (cf. Mysore ed., p. 112) on *nishkrāma* and *pravēśa.*

[5] In similar contexts, the author uses both *vinayē* and *vinayaḥ* (cf. No. 30 below).

[6] Cf. Nārada quoted in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, p. 126.

[7] Cf. *Manu Smṛiti*, VIII, 402 : *pañcha-rātrē pañcha-rātrē pakshē pakshē=thavā gatē | kurvīta ch=aisháṁpratyakasham=argha-saṁsthāpanaṁ nṛipaḥ.* See also *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, p. 270.

is found in the Midnapur plates of Śaśāṅka,[1] while the word *chhātra* is used in the above sense in several inscriptions.[2] It seems that there was no excuse for the absence of the *vārikas* of the *Uttarakulika* class when thrice summoned to court by a court peon. The fine for the offence was two and one-fourth silver coins even if there was any good reason for absence.

30. *Vyavahār-ābhilēkhitaka-karaṇa-sēvakasy=ā-madhyāhnād=ūrdhvaṁ nirupasthitasya vinayō rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sa-pādās=saha dhārmikēṇa.* If the clerks[3] who had to write down the statements of cases in the law-court were absent from the court after mid-day, they were liable to a fine of six and one-fourth silver coins.

31. *Ā-madhyāhnād=ūrdhvam=Uttarakulika-vārikāṇāṁ chhalō n=āsti.* No pretext of the *Uttarakulika-vārikas*, absent from the court after mid-day, was to be accepted. For *chhala*, see Nos. 6, 7 and 9 above. The ordinary meaning of the word seems to suit the present context better.

32. *Arggha-vañchanē rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādaṁ saha dhārmikēṇa.* This may refer to the *Pēṭavika-vārikas* (cf. No. 27 above). In cases of fraud in regard to the delivery of *rāj-ārgghikā*, the officers concerned were liable to a fine of three and one-fourth silver coins and the fine could not be reduced even when there was a reasonable excuse. *Arggha-vañchana* may, however, also refer to the flouting of the prices fixed by the authorities (cf. No. 27 above).

33. *Mudr-āpachārē vinayē rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmmikēṇa. Mudr-āpachāra* is the crime of using counterfeit coins (or, the misuse of official seals), the fine for which was six and one-fourth silver coins and no excuse for reduction of the fine was allowed.[4]

34. *Sthāvara-tya(vya)vahārē sāmantaiḥ avasitasya vinayō rūpaka-śatam=ashṭ-ōttaraṁ 108. Sāmanta* possibly means a subordinate ruler (cf. No. 11 above). The meaning of the *āchāra* may be that a subordinate ruler was liable to pay a fine of 108 silver coins if he disposed of a case involving landed property without informing his overlord (cf. No. 35 below). If the word *sāmanta* may be taken in the sense of men from neighbouring villages who had to settle boundary disputes,[5] the meaning of the *āchāra* may possibly be that the defeated party in a boundary dispute had to pay a fine of 108 silver coins. But the fine seems to be rather heavy for a case like this.

35. *Saṁvadanē rūpakāḥ chatushpañchāśat.* Taking *sāmanta* in the sense of a subordinate ruler (cf. No. 34 above), this seems to mean that the fine was only 54 silver coins (i.e. half the amount prescribed in No. 34 above), if information had been later given to the overlord about the case. In case the alternative interpretation of the word *sāmanta* is preferred, the *āchāra* may refer to the party that had itself invited arbitration in a boundary dispute but was defeated.

36. *Jayikē bhāshā ; phālāvanē chā(cha) rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādam.* This is probably connected with Nos. 34-35 above. This *āchāra* is difficult to explain. But it may mean that the winning party (*jayika*) in a boundary dispute was to be granted a written declaration (*bhāshā*) in its favour although it had to pay $3\frac{1}{4}$ silver coins for the protection of his ploughed field (*phāl-āvana*) from the encroachment of the defeated party in this dispute. We may also take *chā* as a combination of *cha* and *ā*. In that case, *ā-rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādam* would mean 'any amount upto $3\frac{1}{4}$ silver coins'.

37. *Ullambanē karṇṇa-trōṭanē cha vinayō rūpakāḥ saptāviṁśat(śatiḥ).* The word *ullambana* is recognised in the lexicons in the sense of 'leaping over someone'; but the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*,

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[1] Vide *Pravāsī* (Bengali), Śrāvaṇa, B.S. 1350, pp. 291 ff. ; *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 8-9.

[2] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 414 and note 5.

[3] Cf. *adhikaraṇa-lēkhaka*, 'an official recorder', in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI, 38.

[4] Vide *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, p. 268 (verse 240) : *tulā-śāsana-mānānāṁ kūṭakṛin=nāṇakasya cha | ēbhiś=cha vyavaharttā yaḥ sa dāpyō damam=uttamam* || Cf. also quotation from *Kātyāyana : pramāṇēna tu kūṭēna mudrayā v=āpi kūṭayā | kāryan=tu sādhayēd=yō vai sa dāpyō daṇḍam=uttamam* ||.

[5] See *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, II, 152.

IV, 8, uses it to indicate 'hanging' which seems applicable to the present case, although the punishment appears to be rather mild. *Karṇa-trōṭana*, i.e. 'cutting off of a bit from some one's ear', seems to be also referred to in No. 17 above. For these offences the fine was 27 silver coins.

38. *Vākpārushya-daṇḍapārushyayōḥ vinayē rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sa-pādāḥ*. The fine for the offence of defamation and assault (or, rough behaviour) was six and one-fourth silver coins.

39. *Kshata-darśanē rūpakāḥ ashṭāchatvāriṁśat*. In the case of *daṇḍa-pārushya* involving visible injury or infliction of wounds, the fine was 48 silver coins.[1]

40. *Gavāṁ tauṇḍikē viṁśōpakāḥ pañcha*. Five *viṁśōpakas* were equal to one-fourth of a silver coin, a *viṁśōpaka* being $\frac{1}{20}$ of the standard silver money.[2] The meaning of *tauṇḍika* is 'biting of crops with the mouth'.[3] The offence involving *tauṇḍika* by cows caused a fine of five *viṁśōpakas*.

41. *Mahishyās=tad-dviguṇam*. But the offence involving *tauṇḍika* by a she-buffalo was ten *viṁśōpakas*, i.e. one-half silver coin. Yājñavalkya prescribes four *māshas* for the offence indicated in No. 40 and eight *māshas* for that in No. 41. Nārada, however, speaks of one *māsha* and two *māshas* respectively. The same authority regards *māsha* as one-twentieth of the *paṇa* which is explained by Vijñānēśvara as the well-known copper coin of that name. Vishṇu supports Yājñavalkya.

42. *Madya-bhājanasy-āvalōkyē rūpakāḥ pañcha*. *Āvalōkya*, derived from *avalōka*, seems to indicate 'detection'. If one was found out with a vessel full of wine distilled illegally, his fine was five silver coins.

43. *Prathama-bhājanē dhārmikē adhikaraṇasya rūpaka-dvayaṁ s-ādhaṁ rū 2½*. But, when it was the first offence and no bad motive could be substantiated, the fine to be paid to the court was only 2½ silver coins.

44. *Anāpṛishṭvā(chchhya) sandhayatō dvitīyē=hani tad-dviguṇaṁ dāpyaḥ*. The first two words appear to mean *adhikaraṇam=anāpṛichchhya rājapurushaiḥ sandhayataḥ*. This seems to say that, if a man, let off for the first offence, was caught with a vessel full of wine for the second time, his fine was double the amount prescribed in No. 43.

45. *Surā-karaṇasy=āvalōkyē rūpaka-trayam; dhārmikē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ; rāj-ārghikayā madya-chāturtha-dvayaṁ 2*. If one was caught while distilling liquor, his fine was three silver coins. But the fine was only 1¼ silver coins if no bad motive could be substantiated, although two *chāturthas* (one *chāturtha* possibly being ¼ of the standard measure of liquid substance; cf. Nos. 47 and 70 below) of wine had to be paid as *rāj-ārghikā* (cf. No. 14 above).

46. *Kāṁsya-dōsy-āyudhānāṁ Āshāḍhī-paurṇṇamāsī-bharōlaka-nirōdhēna grahaṇaka-pravishṭaṁ bhavati; grahaṇakēshu daṇḍakō n=ānusaraṇīyaḥ*. This is apparently related to the distillation of wine which is the subject of No. 45 above and No. 47 below; but I find it extremely difficult to explain the *āchāra*. The word *āyudha* may be taken in its old sense of 'a vessel'; but *dōsya* is unknown although it may be a metal like *kāṁsya* or bell-metal. It seems that the *bharōlaka* (distillery ?) was closed on the fullmoon day of Āshāḍha and the vessels (connected with the distillation of wine ?) were put into the *grahaṇaka* (custody ?); the *daṇḍaka* (rule about the supply of the royal share of wine ?) was not to be follwed when the distilling vessels were in the *grahaṇakas*. Alternatively it may be suggested that *kāṁsya*=bronze utensils; *dōsya*=clothes; *āyudha*=arms;

[1] Cf. *Vishṇu Smṛiti*, V, 66-67: *śōṇitēna vinā duḥkham=utpādayitā dvātriṁśat-paṇān; saha śōṇitēna chatuḥshashṭim.*

[2] It is to be noted that in line 23 of our record five *viṁśōpakas* have been separately indicated by the symbols for ¼. This shows that five *viṁśōpakas* were equal to ¼ silver coin. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 210.

[3] Cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* II, 159 (see also Nārada quoted in the *Mitāksharā*) *Nārada Smṛiti*, XI, 31, *Vishṇu Smṛiti*, V, 139 and 142.

bharōlaka=store-house. If the king's share of these articles was not delivered by the producers by the fullmoon day of Āshāḍha (which was, according to Kauṭilya, the last day of the financial year[1]), then to such objects the law of mortgage (*grahaṇaka*) was applied and they were subject to the payment of interest at the mortgage rate but no fine (*daṇḍaka*); or, such objects were confiscated and no fine was levied.

47. *Rājakīya-gañjē Kalvapāla-vārikēṇa chāturtha-śōṭī-hastēna mēyaṁ muktvā n=ānyat=kiṁ-chit=karaṇīyam.* The word *gañja* is used in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV, 589 ; VII, 125-26) in the sense of 'a treasury' or 'a fund', but may be taken here to signify 'a store-house' as in the lexicons. The *vārika* of the *Kalvapāla* community was apparently in charge of a store-house of wine. The word *kalvapāla* is no doubt the same as *kalyapāla* or *kalyāpāla* found in the lexicons in the sense of 'a spirit-distiller'.[2] It is also found in the form *kalpāla* in Viśvarūpa's commentary on the *Yājñaval-kya Smṛiti* (Vyavahāra, verse 50) and is the same as Prakrit *kallāla* and Hindi and Gujarati *kalāl*. *Śōṭī* seems to mean a pot for measuring liquids like wine.[3] While measuring wine in *chāturthas* or quarter-measures at the royal store-house with the measuring pot in hand, the *vārika* or officer of the *Kalvapāla* community was possibly not allowed to divert his attention to some other work. The word *chāturtha* is also found in No. 15 above and No. 70 below.

48. *Nīla-kuṭy-ādānaṁ ḍuṁphakēna dēyaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū 3. Nīla-kuṭī* may mean an indigo factory and *ḍuṁphaka* (cf. No. 19 above) its owner or supervisor. The *ḍumphaka* had to pay the tax of three silver coins for a *nīla-kuṭī*.

49. *Ikshu-vāṭ-ādānaṁ rūpakāḥ dvātriṁśat rū 32 ; dhārmikē rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādam.* The tax for a sugar-cane plantation was 32 silver coins ; but it was only 2¼ silver coins if the field belonged to a religious establishment. The word *vāṭa* may have indicated a particular area of land.

50. *Alla-vāṭasy=ātō=rdh-ādānam.* The tax for an *alla-vāṭa* was half the amount prescribed in No. 49 above. *Alla* is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *ārdraka*, 'ginger', and *alla-vāṭa* may possibly mean 'a ginger plantation'. It should, however, be noticed that the word *ārdraka* itself occurs in No. 60 below. The word *alla* in Pali means 'moist' and *alla-vāṭa* may probably indicate 'lowland'. But *ikshu-vāṭa* in No. 50 seems to suggest that *alla* was a produce like *ikshu*.

51. *Yantra-kuṭy-ādānaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū 3; dhārmikē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ. Yantra-kuṭī* may indicate an oil-mill or manufactory, for which the tax to be paid was three silver coins, although the tax was only 1¼ silver coins if the productions were meant for a religious cause.

52. *Varsha-paryushitā vaṇijaḥ prāvēśyaṁ śulk-ātiyātrikaṁ na dāpanīyāḥ ; nairgamikaṁ dēyam.* Merchants staying abroad for a year were not to pay any entrance fee while returning to their native place ; but they had to pay the exit tax when they went out again on business. *Atiyātrika* is no doubt connected with *atiyātrā* used in the *Divyāvadāna*[4] in the sense of 'fare for crossing the boundary'. The *āchāra* may also refer to foreign merchants coming and staying in the kingdom for a year.

53. *Bhāṇḍa-bhṛita-vahitrasya śulk-ātiyātrikē rūpakāḥ dvādaśa rū 12 ; dhārmikē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū 1¼.* For a boat full of vessels probably of metal, the crossing fare was 12 silver coins ; but, if the vessels were meant for any religious purpose, the tax was only 1¼ silver coins.[5] It is difficult to determine whether *bhāṇḍa* may here be taken in a general sense of manufactured articles or merchandise.

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[1] *Arthaśāstra*, II, 7.

[2] Cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 467.

[3] Cf. *sōṭu*, *sauṭu*, *sonṭige*, etc., meaning a specific liquid measure in some early Kannaḍa inscriptions, and *savaṭu* in modern Kannaḍa in the sense of 'a ladle'.

[4] Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 92, line 27.

[5] Cf. the rates of customs duty for ferry crossing in the *Manu Smṛiti*. VIII, 403 ff., and *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, p. 274, with commentary thereon

54. *Mahish-ōshṭra-bharakasya rūpakāḥ pañcha sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikēṇa.* For a boat full of buffaloes and camels, the tax was 5¼ silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for some religious cause. *Bharaka* seems to mean the same thing as *bhṛita-vahitra.* If *bharaka* may be taken in the sense of a load carried on the back of an animal, Nos. 54-56, 59 and 60 may not refer to a boat. The second interpretation seems to be more suitable in the case of Nos. 54-56 ; cf. No. 62.

55. *Balīvard-ādānaṁ rūpaka-dvayaṁ s-ārdham rū 2½ ; dhārmikē pādaḥ ¼.* The tax for a boat full of bulls was 2 silver coins ; but, if they were meant for a religious cause, the tax was only ¼ silver coin.

56. *Gardabha-bharak-ādānē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū 1¼ saha dhārmikēṇa.* The tax for a boat full of asses was 1¼ silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for a religious cause. Cf. Nos. 53-54 above and 61 below.

57. *Atō=rdhēna pōṭṭalikā-saṁkāchitak-ādānam ; avalambakasya viṁśōpakāḥ pañcha ¼.* The tax for bundles suspended from loops probably in shops was half of 1¼ silver coins and for the hanger of such loops the tax was five *viṁśōpakas* or ¼ silver coin. The word *saṁkāchitaka* is no doubt related to *kāchita* used in the lexicons as an adjective ; but, in No. 68 below, it has been used as a noun possibly in the sense of 'a loop' (*kācha*). The same may also be the meaning in the present case. If *avalambaka* refers to the carrying of bundles of goods by a person, *saṁkāchitaka* may refer to a mechanical means of carrying loads.

58. *Pala-śatasya viṁśōpaka-dvayaṁ saha dhārmikēṇa.* A bundle weighing 100 *palas* was taxed at two *viṁśōpakas.*

59. *Yath-ōpari-likhita-bhāṇḍ-ādānāt dhānyasy=ārdh-ādānam.* This seems to be related to No. 53 above. A boat full of paddy (or, grains in general) was taxed at half the amount prescribed for a boat full of vessels.

60. *Ārdraka-lakaṭāyāḥ śulk-ātiyātrikē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikēṇa rū 1¼.* The crossing fare for a boat full of dried ginger sticks (*lakaṭā*) was 1¼ silver coins and there was no reduction even if the things were meant for a religious purpose. *Lakaṭā* may also be the same as Hindī *lakḍī.* In that case *ārdraka-lakaṭā* would mean 'undried fire-wood'.

61. *Vaṁśa-bhṛita-vahitrasya rūpakāḥ shaṭ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikēṇa.* The tax for a boat full of bamboos was 6¼ silver coins and there was no reduction even if the material was meant for a religious purpose. Cf. Nos. 53-54 and 56 above.

62. *Skandha-vāhyaṁ dhānyaṁ śulkaṁ na pradāpayēt.* There was no tax for paddy (or, grains in general) to be carried by a person on his shoulder.[1]

63. *Kaṇikkā-kustumbarī-rājikā-prabhṛitīnāṁ varṇikā-grahaṇē sētikā grāhyā.* *Kaṇikkā* is the Prakrit form of *kaṇikā* meaning 'cummin seed'. *Rājikā* is black mustard, while *kustumbarī* is the coriander seed. *Varṇikā* is the same as Prakrit *vanniā* meaning 'sample', while *sētikā*[2] is the same as Prakrit *seiā* or *seigā* indicating a measure equal to two *prasṛitis.* The word *prasṛiti* means the palm of the hand stretched out and hollowed and also a handful of things regarded as equivalent to two *palas* in weight. It seems therefore that only two handfuls of cummin seed, black mustard and coriander seed could be taken as sample by royal officials.

64. *Vivāha-yajñ-ōtsava-sīmantōnnayanēshu cha śulkaṁ na pradāpayēt.* Ceremonies such as marriages were not to be taxed.[3]

[1] Cf. *Nārada Smṛiti* (ed. Jolly, p. 134) : *skandha-vāhyaṁ cha yad-dravyaṁ na tad-yuktāṁ* (sic: *tach-chhulkaṁ*) *pradāpayēt.*

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 235 and note 3.

[3] Cf. the receipts of the office called *griha-kṛitya* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 157, VII, 42.

65. *Vara-yātrāyāṁ śulk-ādi (ti) yatrikē rūpakāḥ dvādaśa ; paṭṭaka-dhārmikē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū* 1¼. If the procession of a bridegroom had to cross the boundary of the kingdom or district to reach the house of the bride, it had to pay the crossing fare of 12 silver coins; but, if it was legalised by means of a *paṭṭaka* or pass-port, the fare was only 1¼ silver coins. If *vara-yātrā* is taken in the sense of a public procession, *paṭṭakadhārmika* may refer to an authorised religious procession.

66. *Madya-vahanakasy=ādānē rūpakāḥ pañcha rū 5 ; dhārmikē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū* 1¼. If a vehicle or boat full of wine had to cross the border, it was taxed at five silver coins, although the tax was reduced to 1¼ silver coins if the wine was meant for a religious purpose.

67. *Khalla-[bha]rakasya rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikēṇa rū* 1¼. The tax for a *khalla* (literally 'leather'; cf. Bengali-Hindi-Gujarati *khāl*) measure was only 1¼ silver coins even if the material was required for a religious purpose. *Khalla* seems to mean here a leather vessel for carrying a liquid like wine which is mentioned in No. 66.

68. *Kēlāyāḥ saṁkāchitakasya cha atō=rdh-ādānam.* For a loop (cf. No. 57 above) holding *kēlā*, the tax was half of 1¼ silver coins prescribed in No. 67 above. The meaning of *kēlā* is uncertain, although *kēlā* in Hindi stands for Sanskrit *kadalī*. Can *kēlā* in our record stand for a Prakrit form midway between *kīlā* and *khelā* for Sanskrit *kriḍā* in the sense of *kriḍanaka*? It may also mean a vessel for carrying wine, which was smaller than *khalla*.

69. *Pāda-ghaṭasya viṁśōpakāḥ pañcha saha dhārmikēṇa.* The tax for a *pāda-ghaṭa* was five *viṁśōpakas*, i.e. ¼ silver coin, and it was not reduced even when the thing was meant for a religious cause. The word *pāda-ghaṭa* possibly indicates a jar holding a quarter measure of wine.

70. *Kaṭu-madyē śidhu-chāturtha-trayaṁ 3.* Three *chāturthas* or quarter measures (cf. Nos. 45 and 47 above) of the liquor called *śidhu* were regarded as the tax for very strong liquors.

71. *Chhimpaka-Kōlika-Padakārāṇāṁ yath-ānurūpa-karmaṇaḥ janapada-mūlyād=rājakulē=rdh-ādānam.* The *Chhimpakas*, *Kōlikas* and *Padakāras*, who appear to have been followers of particular professions, possibly had to pay as tax half the money that would be the price of the things produced by them according to the rate prevalent in the land. *Kōlika* may be the same as Sanskrit *kaulika* or a weaver and *Padakāra* may possibly be a shoe-maker. *Chhimpaka* is Prakrit *chhimpaya* (Gujarati *chhipo*) meaning 'a dyer of clothes'. If *Padakāra* is the same as Hindi *paukār* he was a retailer hawking his goods on foot.

72. *Lōhakāra-rathakāra-nāpita-kumbhakāra-prabhṛitīnāṁ vārikēṇa vishṭiḥ karaṇīyā.* The blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, potters and others could be recruited for forced labour under the supervision of the *vārikas* or officers.

In presenting my suggestions in regard to the interpretation of the *āchāras* quoted in the inscription under discussion, I request scholars to take note of the interesting words and senses occurring in them but not recognised in the Sanskrit *kōshas* and to try to interpret the passages in order to improve upon the interpretations offered above.

There are only two geographical names in the inscription, viz., **Lōhāṭā** or **Lōhāṭaka-grāma** and **Darpapura**. There is reason to believe, as will be evident from the discussions above, that both the places were situated in the present Gujarat-Kathiawar region. Unfortunately I can identify neither of them satisfactorily. It is difficult to say if Darpapura may be identified with modern Dabhoi (medieval Darbhavatī), about 38 miles north-east of Bharoch, and Lōhāṭā with modern Rohar on the Gulf of Cutch, which is the chief sea-port of the Anjar District. In regard to the second suggestion, it may, however, be pointed out that, as indicated by some of the *āchāras* (cf. Nos. 53-56, 61, etc.), Lōhāṭā was probably a port.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 **Svasti** [||*] **Lōhāṭā**-vāsakāt=paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-bāva-pād-ānudhyātō mahākārttākṛitika-
mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratīhāra-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-śrī-**Vishṇushēṇaḥ**

2 [ku]śalī [sa]rvvān=ēva svān=rāja-rājaputra-rājasthānīy-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-śaulkika-chōrō-
ddharaṇika-vailabdhika-chāṭa-bhaṭ-ādīn=anyāṁś=cha yathāsaṁbadhyamānakān=ādēśa-
vikshēpa-kāriṇa[ḥ]

3 dhruv-ādhikaraṇaṁ cha samājñāpayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathā vijñāptō=haṁ vaṇig-
grāmēṇa yath=āsmākaṁ lōka-saṁgrah-ānugrah-ārtham=āchāra-sthiti-pātram=ātmīyaṁ
prasādīkurvvantu [|*] tan=mayā bhūtapūrvvasya

4 janapadasy=ābhūtapūrvvasya cha parirakshaṇa-sannivēśanāy=ātmīyaṁ sthiti-pātraṁ pra-
sādīkṛitaṁ(tam) [|*] yatr=ādau tāvat=prathamaṁ(mam) āputrakaṁ na grāhyaṁ(hyam) [|*]
unmara-bhēdō na karaṇīyō rāja-purushēṇa | udbhāvaka-

5 vyavahārō na grāhyaḥ [|*] śaṅkayā grahaṇaṁ n=āsti | purush-āparādhē strī na grāhyā [|*]
kshēm-āgni-samutthānē chhalō na grāhyaḥ [|*] svayaṁ hrasitē karṇṇē chhalō na grāhyaḥ [|*]
artthi-pratyartthinā vinā vyavahārō na grāhyaḥ [|*]

6 āpaṇē āsanasthasya chhalō na grāhyaḥ [|*] gō-śakaṭaṁ na grāhyaṁ(hyam |) sāmant-āmātya-
dūtānām=anyēshāṁ ch=ābhyupāgamē śayanīy-āsana-siddhānnaṁ na dāpayēt=sarvva[2]-
śrēṇīnām=ēk-āpaṇakō na dēyaḥ [|*] sarvva-śrē-

7 ṇībhiḥ khōvā-dānaṁ na dātavyaṁ(vyam |) rājakulē=dhikaraṇasya cha rāj-ārgghikā dēyā |
anyēshām=adēyā | vārikasya hastē nyāsakō na sthāpanīyaḥ [|*] para- vishayāt=kāraṇ-ābhyā-
gatō vāṇijakaḥ=para-rēshē na grāhyaḥ [|*]

8 āvēdanakēna vinā utkṛishṭī na grāhyā | vākpārushya-daṇḍapārushyayōḥ sākshitvē śāṅī na
grāhyā | ḍhēṇkukaḍḍhaka-nīlaḍumphakāś=cha vishṭiṁ na kārayitavyāḥ [|*] prapāpū[ra]-
ka-gōpālāḥ rājagrahēṇa na grāhyā[ḥ*] | gṛih-ā-

9 paṇa-sthitānāṁ mudrā-patraka-dūtakaiḥ sāhasa-varjjam=āhvānaṁ na karaṇīyaṁ(yam |)
parēṇ=ārth-ābhiyuktānāṁ vāda-pratisamāsanē yajña-satra(ttra)-vivāh-ādishu āhvānaṁ na
kārayēt [|*] ṛiṇ-ādān-ābhilēkhita-vyavahārē

10 a-kāshṭha-lōha-baddhēna kṛita-pratibhuvēna(bhuvā) guptir=upāsyā | varshāsu sva-vishayāt
bīj-ārttham=āgataka-karshakāḥ svāminā na grāhyāḥ [|*] Āshāḍha-māsi Paushē cha drashṭa-
vyaṁ māna-pautavaṁ(vam |) ādāne rūpakaḥ

11 sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmmikēṇa | a-saṁvādya vyavaharataḥ śulk-ādikaṁ cha dhāny-ādi pra-
vēśayatō nishkāśayatō vā śulkam=ashṭa-guṇaṁ dāpyaḥ [|*] Pēṭavika-vārikēṇa paṁcha-
rātrakē paṁcha-rātrakē karttavyam=arggha-

12 nivēdanaṁ(nam |) a-nivēdayatō vinayē rūpakāḥ shaḍ=dhārmmikē pādaḥ [|*] Uttarakulika-
vārikaiḥ māna-bhāṇḍa-mēya-gatē bahir=nna gantavyaṁ(vyam |) Uttarakulika-vārikāṇām=
ēva karaṇa-saṁnidhau Chhātrēṇa trir=āghushitāna(nāṁ)

13 nirupasthānād=vinayē rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādaṁ saha dhārmmikēṇa [|*] vyavahār-ābhilēkhi-
taka-karaṇa-sēvakasy=ā-madhyāhnād=ūrdhvaṁ nirupasthitasya vinayō rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sa-
pādās=saha dhārmmikēṇa [|*] ā-ma-

14 dhyāhnād=ūrdhvam=Uttarakulika-vārikāṇāṁ chhalō n=āsti | arggha-vaṁchanē rūpaka-trayaṁ
sa-pādaṁ saha dhārmmikēṇa [|*] mudr-āpachārē vinayē rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sa-pādāḥ saha dhār-
mmikēṇa | sthāvara-[vya]vahārē sāmantaiḥ

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[1] From two sets of impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

[2] Better read *dāpayēt* | *sarvva.*

15 avasitasya vinaya(yō) rūpaka-śatam=ashṭ-ōttaraṁ 100 8 [|*] saṁvadanē rūpakāḥ chatushpañchāśat [|*] jayikē bhāshā phālāvanē chā(cha)[1] rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādaṁ(daṁ |) ullaṁbanē karṇṇa-trōṭanē cha vinayō rūpakāḥ

16 saptavimśat(śatiḥ) [|*] vākpārushya-daṇḍapārushyayōḥ vinayē rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sa-pādāḥ [|*] kshata-darsane rupakāḥ ashṭāchatvāriṁśat [|*] gavāṁ tauṇḍikē vi[ṁ*]śōpakāḥ paṁcha | mahishyās=ta[d*]-dviguṇam |

Second Plate

17 madya-bhājanasy=āvalōkyē rūpakāḥ paṁcha [|*] prathama-bhājanē dhārmmi[kē] adhikaraṇasya rūpaka-dvaya[ṁ] s-ārdha[ṁ*] rū 2½ [|*] anāpṛishṭvā(chchhya) sandhayatō dvitīyē=hani tad-dviguṇaṁ dāpyaḥ [|*] surā-kara[ṇa]-

18 sy=āvalōkyē rūpaka-trayaṁ dhārmmikē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rāj-ārgghikayā madya-chāturtha-dvayaṁ 2 [|*] kāṁsya-dōsy-āyudhānāṁ(nām) Ā[shā]ḍhī[2]-paurṇṇamāsī-bharōlaka-nirōdhēna graha-

19 ṇaka-pravishṭaṁ bhavati | grahaṇakēshu daṇḍakō n=ānusaraṇīyaḥ [|*] rājakīya-gañjē Kalvapāla-vārikēṇa chāturttha-śōṭī-hastēna mēyaṁ muktvā n=ānyat=[ki]ṁchit=karaṇīyaṁ(yam |) nīla-kuṭy-ādānaṁ [D]uṁphakēna

20 dēyaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū 3 [|*] ikshu-vāṭ-ādānaṁ rūpakāḥ dvātriṁśat rū 30 2 dhārmikē rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādaṁ rū 2¼ [|*] alla-vāṭasy=ātō=rddh-ādānaṁ(nam |) yantra-kuṭy-ādānaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū 3 dhārmmikē rūpakaḥ

21 sa-pādaḥ [|*] varsha-paryyushitā vaṇijaḥ prāvēśyaṁ śulk-ātiyātrikaṁ na dāpanīyāḥ nairggamikaṁ dēyaṁ(yam |) bhāṇḍa-bhṛita-vahitrasya śulk-ātiyātrikē |[3] rūpakāḥ dvādaśa |[3] rū 10 2 dhārmmikē rūpakaḥ

22 sa-pādaḥ rū 1¼ [|*] mahish-ōshṭra-bharakasya rūpakāḥ paṁcha sa-pādāḥ rū 5¼ saha dhārmmikēna(ṇa |) balīvardd-ādānaṁ rūpaka-dvayaṁ s-ārdhaṁ rū 2½ dhārmmikē pādaḥ ¼ [|*] garddabha-bharak-ādānē rūpakaḥ

23 sa-pādaḥ rū 1¼ saha dhārmmikēna(ṇa |) atō=rddhēna pōṭṭalikā-sa[ṁ]kāchitak-ādānaṁ(nam |) avalambakasya viṁśōpakāḥ paṁcha |[3] ¼ [|*] pala-śatasya viṁśōpaka-dvayaṁ saha dhārmmikēna(ṇa) | yath-ōpari-likhita-

24 bhāṇḍ-ādānāt dhānyasy=ārddh-ādānaṁ(nam |) ārdraka-lakaṭāyāḥ śulk-ātiyātrikē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmmikēna(ṇa) rū 1¼ [|*] vaṁśa-bhṛita-vahitrasya rūpakāḥ shaṭ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmmikēna(ṇa) rū 6 [¼] [|*]

25 [ska]ndha-vāhyaṁ dhānyaṁ śulkaṁ na pradāpayēt [|*] kaṇikkā-kustumbarī-rājikā- prabhṛitīnāṁ varṇṇikā-grahaṇē sētikā grāhyā | vivāha-yajñ-ōtsava-sīmantōnnayanēshu cha śulkaṁ na pradāpayēt [|*] vara-yātrāyāṁ

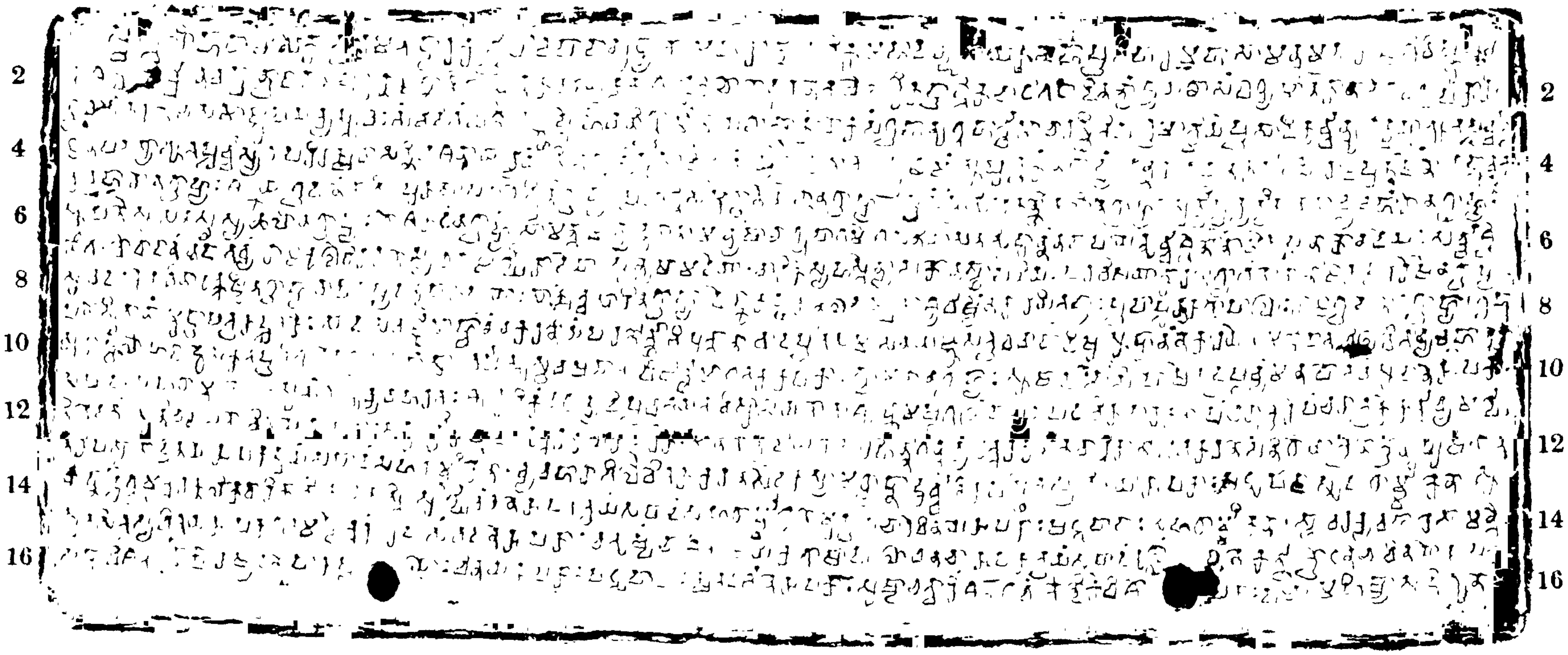
26 śulk-ādi(ti)yā[tri]kē rūpakāḥ dvādaśa |[3] rū 10 [|*] paṭṭaka-dhārmmikē rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādaṁ rū 2¼ [|*] madya-vahanakasy=ādānē rūpakāḥ paṁcha |[3] rū 5 [|*] dhārmmikē rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ rū 1¼ [|*]

27 kha[lla-bha]raka[sya] rūpakaḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmmikēna(ṇa) rū 1¼ [|*] kēlāyāḥ saṁkāchitakasya cha atō=rddh-ādānaṁ(nam |) pāda-ghaṭasya viṁśōpakāḥ paṁcha | saha dhārmmikēna(ṇa) | kaṭu-madyē śīdhu-chāturtha-

[1] We may also suggest *ch=ā-rūpaka°*.
[2] Originally *ṁā* was engraved for *shā*.
[3] The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

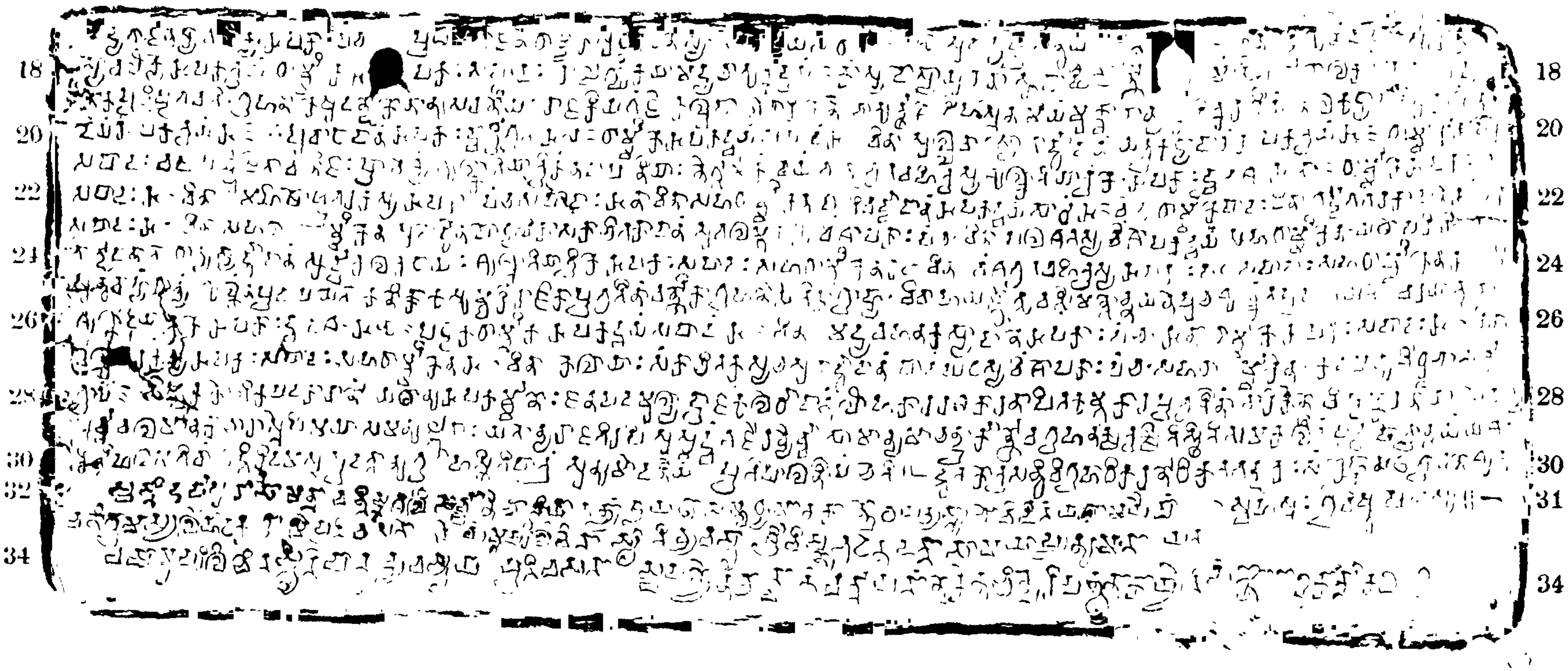
CHARTER OF VISHNUSHENA, SAMVAT 649

First Plate



SCALE. EIGHT-FIFTEENTHS.

Second Plate



28 trayaṁ 3 [|*] Chhimpaka-Kōlika-Padakārāṇāṁ yath-ānurūpa-karmmaṇaḥ janapada-mūlyād= rājakulē=rdh-ādānaṁ(nam |) Lōhakāra-Rathakāra-Nāpita-Kumbhakāra-prabhṛitīnāṁ vārikēṇa vishṭiñ=karaṇīyā | yē ch=ānyē

29 [pū]rvva-valamānak-āchārās=tē=pi mayā samanujñātāḥ [|*] yatō=nya-rājabhir=api asmadvaṁśajair=anyair=vvā sāmānyam=ā-chandr-ā rk-ārṇṇava-graha-nakshatra-kshiti-sthiti-samakālīnaṁ putra-pautr-ānvayaṁ yaśaḥ-

30 kīrtti-phalam=abhivāṁchhadbhir=idam=asmat-pradatt-ānugraha-sthiti-pātraṁ(tram) anumōdanīyaṁ pratipālanīyaṁ ch=ēti || dūtakō=tra sandhi-vigrah-ādhikaraṇ-ādhikṛita-Bhaḍḍakaḥ [||*] **Saṁ 600 40 9 Śrāvaṇa-śu 5** [|*]

31 |[1]sva-hastaḥ śrī-Vishṇushēṇasya ||—

32 Svasti [||*] **Da[2]rpapurāt**=sāmant-**Avantiñ**=kuśalī [sa]rvvān=ēv=ātmīyān=anyāṁś=cha yathāsambadhyamānakān=bōdhayaty=astu vō viditaṁ yathā may=aishāṁ[3]

33 vaṇig-grāmasya Lōhāṭaka-grāmē pra[ti]vasatō y=ēyaṁ(ya)m=uparilikhitā sthiti-vyavasthā śrī-Vishṇubhaṭēna dattā sā may=āpy=anumatā [|*] yata

34 ēshām=uparilikhita-sthiti-pātra-vyavasthayā prativasatā[ṁ] sva-paṇyēna ch=ātmānaṁ varttayatāṁ ṇa(na) kēnachit=paripanthanā kāry=ēti [||*] **Saṁ 300 50 7 Kārttika-ba 7** [|*]

No. 31—MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF VASUDEVA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Recently I had an opportunity of examining a few impressions of an inscription in five lines incised on the base of a stone image of the Buddha now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura as Exhibit No. 2907. The image was discovered at **Palikhra** which is a well-known ancient site about 4 miles from **Mathura**. A short note on the epigraph, with a transcript of the first three lines of writing but without any facsimile, was published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Hyderabad, 1941, pp. 163-64. The author of the note, however, could not read the last two lines of the record and his partial transcript is also not free from errors.

The inscription is **fragmentary**, some letters at the commencement of all the five lines being broken away and lost. The preservation of lines 1-3 of the extant part of the writing is fairly satisfactory, although, even in this part of the record, a few *aksharas* are damaged or unsatisfactorily preserved. The upper part of some letters in line 4 is broken away while, in line 5, some *aksharas* are partially preserved and some altogether lost.

The **characters** of the inscription are Brāhmī as found in the epigraphs of the Kushāṇa age. The **language** is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. As regards **orthography**, the record resembles most other Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāṇas. It is dated in the **year 64** or **67** apparently of the Kaṇishka era which is usually identified with the Śaka-kāla of 78 A. D.[4] The date of the inscription therefore falls in **142** or **145 A.D.**

The first line of the inscription gives details of the date and mentions the monarch during whose reign it was engraved. This is the most important part of the record. The line begins

[1] The following *aksharas* are below the concluding portion of line 30 and actually stand at the end of line 32.

[2] The mark looking like the tail of *da* may be due to a break in the original.

[3] Read °*aitasya*. Lines 32-33 are shorter owing to the space covered by line 31.

[4] *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II), pp. 144 ff.

with °*trasya Vāsudevasya*[1] *Saṁ*. The *aksharas* immediately preceding *trasya*, now lost, must have been *devapu*, *Devaputra* being a characteristic epithet of the Kushāṇa emperors of Kaṇishka's house[2], to which king **Vāsudeva**, mentioned in the passage, is known to have belonged. It is possible to think that *Devaputrasya* in the line was preceded by the expression *Mahārājasya*. In the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa rulers of Kaṇishka's house, the word *Devaputra* is often preceded by *Mahārāja* and in some cases by *Māhārāja Rājātirāja*.[3] The *akshara Saṁ*, which is a contraction of the word *saṁvatsare*, is followed by the symbol for 60 and a unit sign which is partially damaged. This imperfectly preserved figure, however, looks more like 4 or 7 than any other numeral. Thus the inscription under study was engraved in the year 64 or 67 of the Kaṇishka era during the reign of the Kushāṇa emperor Vāsudeva. This is a very important information, supplied for the first time by the present record, as so long the earliest epigraph of Vāsudēva's reign was known to be the year 74[4] of the era in question, corresponding to 152 A. D. in the opinion of most scholars. Since the latest known date of Huvishka's reign is the year 60[5] of the same era, the intervening period between the last known date of that king and the earliest known date of Vāsudēva had so far to be reckoned as no less than fourteen years. The present inscription reduces this period to four or seven years only.

The number 64 or 67 in the date of the inscription in line 1 is followed by *varsh[ā]-māse dviti 2 divasi*...(Sanskrit *varshā-māse dvitīye 2 divase*...), the number of the day in the month being possibly incised at the beginning of the next line (line 2) and now lost. The actual date of the inscription is therefore some day in the second month of the rainy season in the year 64 or 67 of the Kaṇishka era. As the season in question followed the fullmoon day of the month of Āshāḍha and lasted for four months till the fullmoon of Kārttika, the second month of it corresponded to the lunar (*Pūrṇimānta*) month of Bhādra (August-September).[6] The actual date of our inscription was therefore a day of Bhādra in 142 or 145 A. D.

The **object** of the inscription is recorded in the following lines (lines 2-5), the beginning of all of which, as noticed above, is broken away. Line 2 reads : °*naṁ sa[rva]sha yatr=opanāna p[ū]jārtha*, although it is difficult to determine whether an *akshara* is lost at the end of it. In Sanskrit, the passage would be: °*nāṁ sarveshāṁ yatr=otpannānāṁ pūjārtham*. The epithet *upana* (Sanskrit *utpanna*), i.e. ' born ', seems to suggest that *naṁ* at the beginning of the line is the concluding part of an expression like *satvānaṁ* (Sanskrit *sattvānām*), i.e. ' of the creatures [that were born] '. Line 3 reads : °*na parigrahā[ya*] achariyana Mahāsaghi[kā]* with possibly the *akshara naṁ* lost at the end. In Sanskrit, the passage would be : °*nāṁ parigrahāya āchāryāṇāṁ Mahāsāṅghikānām*. Barring *na*(=*nām*) at the beginning of the line, the passage means : ' for the acceptance of the teachers of the Mahāsāṅghika community'.[7] The arrangement of words in this part of the record would suggest that *na* at the beginning of line 3 is the remnant of a word in the sixth case-ending plural, which should have to be read with *pūjārtha* at the end of the previous line. It may be conjectured that the complete passage read something like *pūjārtha [sarva-Buddhā]na* (Sanskrit *pūjārthaṁ sarva-Buddhānām*), 'for the adoration of all the Buddhas'.[8] Consequently it would appear that a lost word at the beginning of line 2, to be read along with the

[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[2] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, op. cit., p. 141.

[3] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 134, 141, 152 ; also pp. 135, 144, 147.

[4] Lüders' List, No. 60.

[5] Ibid., No. 56.

[6] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 63, 119n, 122, 134n ; *JRASB*, Vol. XIV, p. 118.

[7] The Mahāsāṅghikas represented a reformist group that seceded from the orthodox Buddhist Saṅgha at the Second Council held in the third century B. C. See *Mahāvaṁsa*, V. For their mention in Kushāṇa inscriptions, cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 154, etc.

[8] See ibid., pp. 117, 120, 129, etc.

proposed *satvānaṁ* (Sanskrit *sattvānām*), may have been *puṇyaṁ*, 'religious merit', although it would imply a rather poetic arrangement of words in this section. It should, however, be noticed that the lost word in the sixth case-ending plural at the beginning of line 3 makes the arrangement of words equally poetic if *pūjārtha* is read with *satvānaṁ sarvasha yatr=opanāna*. Moreover it would make *yatra* in the above passage in line 2 quite meaningless. We therefore propose to fill up the lacunae in lines 2-3 as follows : [*puṇyaṁ satvā*]*naṁ sarvasha yatr=ōpanāna pūjārtha* [*sarva-Buddhā*]*na parigrahā*[*ya**] *achariyana Mahāsaghi*[*kānaṁ*]. In Sanskrit, the passage would be : *puṇyaṁ sattvānāṁ sarveshāṁ yatr=otpannānāṁ pūjārthaṁ sarva-Buddhānāṁ parigrahāya āchāryā-ṇāṁ Mahāsāṅghikānām*. The concluding lines of the inscription, as will be seen below, speak of the pious work of a person, which, according to lines 2-3 as read by us, was intended 'for the acceptance of the teachers of the Mahāsāṅghika community', which was done 'with a view to honouring all the Buddhas', and 'for which the merit was intended to go to all the creatures born [up till then]'. The use of *yatra* with reference to a pious deed cannot be regarded as improbable in view of the use of *atra* in a similar context in such epigraphic passages as *ya chatra puṇya taṁ Devaputrasya Shāhisya Huvishkasya* (Sanskrit *yat cha atra puṇyaṁ tat Devaputrasya Shāhēḥ Huvishkasya*).[1]

Line 4 begins with : °*nasya pratama sagaha*. The upper part of the letters is broken away. We are inclined to suggest : °*nisya pratimā sagihā*. There is little doubt that *nisya* is the concluding part of a word like *Śākyamunisya* (Sanskrit *Śākyamuneḥ*), which may or may not have been preceded by the word *bhagavato* (Sanskrit *bhagavataḥ*). The passage thus refers to an image of the Śākyamuni (i.e. Buddha). The word *sagihā* seems to stand for Sanskrit *sa-gṛihā*. The passage [*Śākyamu*]*nisya pratimā sa-gihā* (Sanskrit *Śākyamuneḥ pratimā sa-gṛihā*) would mean : 'an image of the Śākyamuni (Buddha) together with a shrine [for it]'. The person responsible for the setting up of the image of the Buddha therefore also constructed a *gṛiha* or shrine for installing it therein. The following word *mātā-pitreṇa* stands for Sanskrit *mātā-pitṛibhyāṁ* [*saha*] and shows that the person responsible for the construction of the Buddha image and the shrine did the work with the help and goodwill of his parents.[2] It may also be suggested that the word intended is *mātā-pitṛiṇām* to be read with the following words in the sixth case-ending. The reading of the next word, which is in the sixth case-ending plural, is doubtful; but it seems to be on a par with the word *kuṭubikānaṁ* in the next line (line 5). The doubtful word may be *abhasitanaṁ* (Sanskrit *abhāshitānām*) indicating persons who are referred to in the following words but are not specifically mentioned. It may possibly also indicate a locality where the family of the person responsible for the image and the shrine resided.

Line 5, which begins and ends with traces of some damaged *aksharas*, reads : *k*[*u*]*ṭ*[*u*]*bikānaṁ Guhasene*[*na*] (Sanskrit *kuṭumbikānāṁ Guhasenena*) which was apparently followed by a word like *pratiṭhāpitā* (Sanskrit *pratishṭhāpitā*). The image of the Buhdha was therefore installed in the shrine mentioned in line 4 by Guhasena who belonged to a family of *kuṭumbikas*, probably agriculturist householders.

TEXT[3]

1 .... trasya[4] **Vāsudevasya Sa[ṁ] 60 [4 or 7] Varsh[ā]-māse dviti[5] 2 divasi[6]**

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[1] Ibid., p. 146.

[2] Ibid., pp. 132, 148, etc.

[3] From estampages.

[4] Apparently *Devaputrasya* which may have been preceded by a symbol followed by *Mahārājasya*.

[5] This is a contraction of Sanskrit *dvitīye*.

[6] Sanskrit ; *divase*. The number following this word seems to be lost at the beginning of the next line

2 .... naṁ[1] sa[rva]sha yatr=opanāna[2] p[ū]jārtha[3]

3 ...... na[4] parigrahā[ya*] achariyana Mahāsaghikā[5]

4 ...... [ni]sya[6] prat[i]m[ā][7] sa-g[i]h[ā][8] mātā-pitreṇa[9] abha[s]i[ta]naṁ[10]

5 .... k[u]ṭ[ub]ikānaṁ[11] [Guha]sene[na] ....[12]

No. 32—SOBHARAMPUR PLATE OF DAMODARADEVA, SAKA 1158

(*1 Plate*)

AHMAD HASAN DANI, DACCA

This copper-plate was discovered in the village of **Śōbhārāmpur**, P. S. Burichong, District Tippera, by Maulavi Mohammad Ibrahim. While he was digging out earth from a vacant portion of his homestead situated in C. S. Plot No. 608 in J. L. No. 42, he found a brick-work about a cubit below the surface of the earth. That brick-work was broken by him out of curiosity and the plate was discovered inside it.

When I was Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Pakistan Circle, I went to Comilla on official tour and there I came to learn through the courtesy of Mr. Ali Ahmed, teacher in the Zilla School, Comilla, about the discovery of the plate. At once the matter was reported to the District Magistrate of Tippera, through whose kind efforts the plate was acquired under the Treasure Trove Act and handed over to me.

This is a **single plate** measuring 10¼" by 9" with a thickness of about ⅛". The upper edge has in the middle a 2" long semicircular projection, containing the royal emblem. The plate bears a Sanskrit inscription of the 13th century A. D., consisting of 35 lines, 22 engraved on the obverse and 13 on the reverse. The emblem on the present plate occupies a position different from that of the Chittagong[13] and Mehar[14] plates of Dāmōdaradēva. The human figure on the plate under study occurs on the reverse, while on the obverse is carved the simple double-lined disc of the sun set within a double-lined crescent. There is no pedestal as we find in the Mehar plate and the sun is also not rayed. On the whole, though the crescent is well drawn, the circle of the disc is crudely outlined. The design on the reverse seems to tally with the figures of the Mehar plate; but the drawing is not clear-cut. In the Mehar plate one can clearly distinguish one figure fallen prostrate on the ground with the right leg drawn in and face turned up, and the other figure sitting on the back of the fallen man, with his left hand holding the latter's hair and the right hand raised

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[1] Possibly we have to suggest *satvānaṁ* (Sanskrit *sattvānām*).

[2] Sanskrit : *sarvēshāṁ yatr=ōtpannānām*.

[3] Sanskrit : *pūjārtham*. An *akshara* may have been lost at the end of the line.

[4] Possibly we have to suggest *sarva-Buddhāna* (Sanskrit *sarva-Buddhānām*).

[5] Sanskrit : *āchāryāṇāṁ Mahāsāṅghikānām*. The *akshara nam* is possibly lost at the end of the line.

[6] Probably we have to suggest *Śākyamunisya* (Sanskrit *Śākyamunēḥ*) which may have been preceded by *bhagavato*. Traces of the *akshara mu* appear to exist before *ni*.

[7] The damaged *akshara* read as *ti* looks more like *kta*.

[8] Sanskrit : *sa-gṛihā*.

[9] Sanskrit : *mātā-piṭribhyāṁ* [*saha*] or *mātā-piṭṛīṇām*.

[10] This may be Sanskrit *abhāshitānām*. There appear to be traces of a letter like *ū* or *b* at the end of the line.

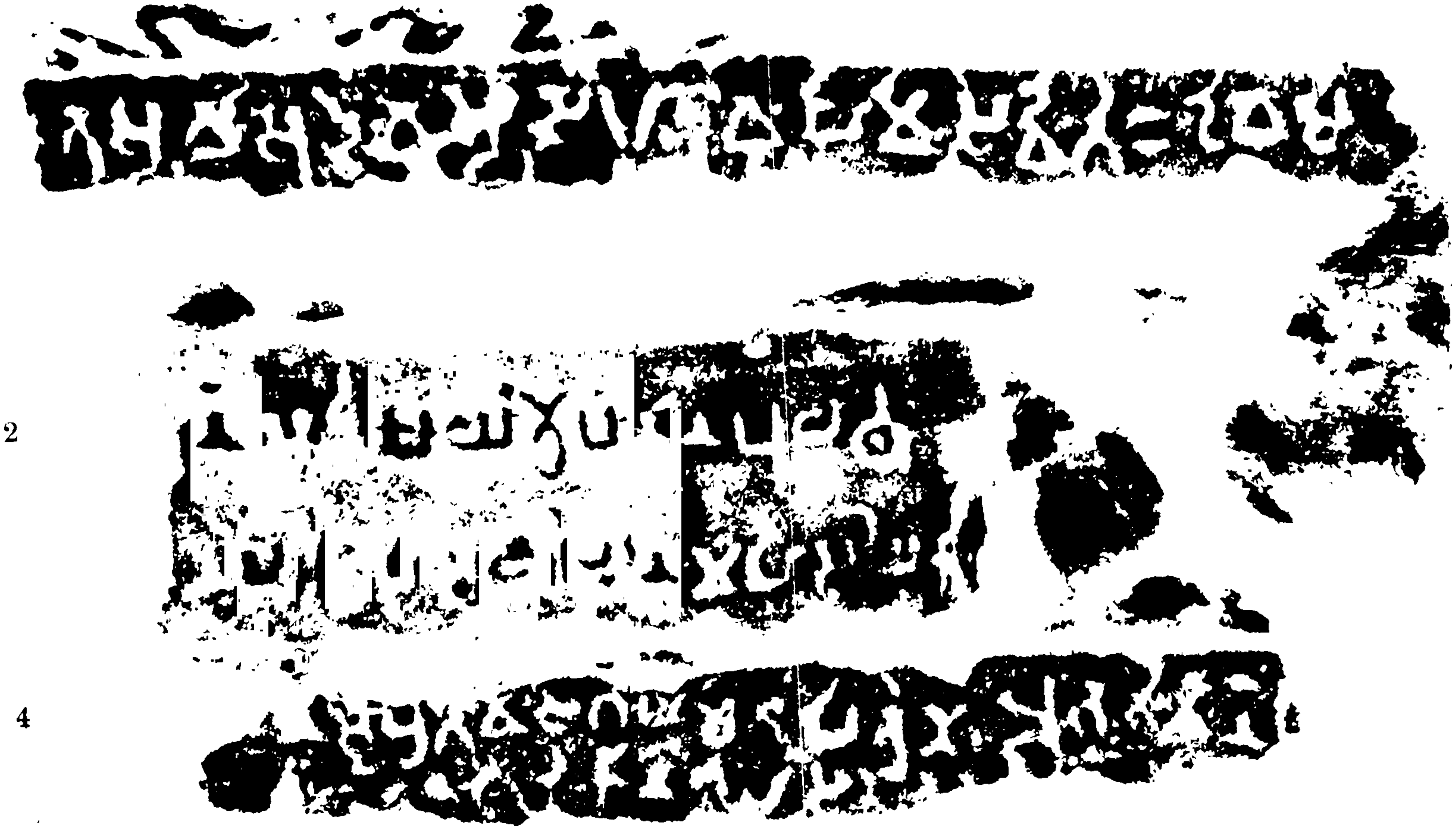
[11] Sanskrit : *kuṭumbikānām*.

[12] Apparently a word like *pratiṭhāpitā* is lost here.

[13] *JASB*, Vol. XLIII (1874), part i, pp. 318-24, and Plate VIII.

[14] Above, XXVII, pp. 182-191.

MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF VASUDEVA



2 2

4 4

SCALE THREE-FOURTHS

aloft probably with the intention of striking. The suggestion that the scene represents a wrestling duel between Kṛishṇa and the demon Chāṇūra is plausible. In the present plate, the person below seems to be on his legs and his body is being squeezed between the legs of the man above, whose right hand is raised aloft while the left is drawn at the side. The head and the upper portion of this man is crudely drawn. On the other hand, the Chittagong plate shows one person being carried by another, obviously suggesting Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa. It is difficult to say why these different forms were adopted by Dāmōdaradēva, although they point to the Vaishṇava leaning of the dynasty.

That **Dāmōdaradēva** who issued the grant professed the Vaishṇava faith[1] is suggested by the opening verse which praises the wonderful deed performed by the nails of Vishṇu's hands in tearing asunder the chest of the demon-chief (Hiraṇyakaśipu).

The **date** of the charter is given in the first line : *Śakābdāḥ 1158* (1236 A.D.) while the actual date of execution of the grant is stated in the last line on the reverse as : *vijaya-rājyē Saṁvat 6 sūryya-gatyā Āshāḍha-dinē 15*, i.e. the 15th day of Āshāḍha of the solar reckoning in the 6th year of his victorious reign. The present record is, therefore, two years later than the Mehar plate and seven years earlier than the Chittagong plate.

As regards **palaeography** and **orthography,** the present record closely resembles the Chittagong and Mehar plates. Some minor differences may be pointed out. The forms of *j* and *g* can be distinguished only by the horizontal stroke over the former. *P* in the Chittagong and Mehar plates looks like the modern Bengali *p*, while in the present plate it comes closer to *y*. Angularity is more pronounced in the letters like *s* and *r*. There is no difference in the signs of the *aksharas ndha*, *nva*, *ttha* and *nu*.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition is partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses containing the *Dēva maṅgala*, the genealogical and grant portions, and the usual imprecation come first and are followed by the prose part giving details of the grant.

The inscription begins with a symbol, which probably stands for *Siddham*. This symbol is followed by the *Praṇava*. Then, as in the Chittagong plate, the year of the issue is stated after the auspicious words *śubhaṃ=astu*. The first verse is in praise of Vishṇu's sharp nails, which tore asunder the chest of the demon-chief (Hiraṇyakaśipu). The second verse praises the Moon, from whom sprang the line of **Purushōttama,** the progenitor of the Dēva dynasty. In the Mehar plate he is called *dēv-ānvaya-grāmaṇī*, i.e. 'leader of the Dēva family'. Therefore, it is reasonable to hold that he was only a *grāmaṇī* and not a ruler. His son, **Madhumathana,** is called 'lord of the earth' and *Dēva-vaṁś-ōdadh-indu*, i.e. 'Moon in the ocean of the Dēva dynasty', and is credited with having 'snatched away the wealth of the enemies in war'. These epithets distinctly show that Madhumathana waged successful wars against his contemporaries and probably carved for himself a principality. He is called *nṛipati* in the Chittagong plate. His son, **Vāsudēva,** is also called 'lord of the earth', and a great 'archer'. From the Mehar plate he is known to be 'versed in all the *śāstras*, and foremost in military skill' In the Chittagong plate, he is described as one 'whose feet were rubbed by the foreheads of princes bowing down to him in homage'. These words show that Vāsudēva imposed his authority over the neighbouring chiefs, and thus led the way for the rise of his son, **Dāmōdaradēva,** born of his queen, Mitradēvī. Dāmōdaradēva was 'well versed in polity', and also bore the title of *Gajapati*. He is said to have caused 'contraction (or dejection) to the lotus-like faces of heroic enemy kings'. In the Chittagong plate he is called 'overlord of all kings', and in verses 4 and 5 of the same plate he is said to have defeated many kings and brought them under subjection. In the Mehar plate also he bears the title of *Gajapati*,

[1] Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 159.

and probably in allusion to it, in verse 6, his 'column of the best elephants, well-equipped in battle-array' is highly spoken of. The other suggestive title that he assumes in that plate is *Arirāja-Chāṇūra-Mādhava*. The editors of the plate have rightly pointed out that this *biruda* 'cannot but remind us of similar *birudas* assumed by Viśvarūpasēna and Kēśavasēna in their inscriptions and applied by them to their three predecessors—Vijayasēna, Vallālasēna and Lakshmaṇasēna'. The assumption of these titles suggests that Dāmōdaradēva came into conflict with the Sēna ruler of Vaṅga, and was probably able to win these titles for himself; or, at any rate, Dāmōdaradēva considered himself strong enough to assume these titles in opposition to the Sēnas. But strange it is to note that Dāmōdaradēva adopts these titles in the fourth year of his reign, i.e. in 1234 A. D., while in the present plate, issued in the year 1236 A.D., only the title *Gajapati* is retained, and in the Chittagong plate dated 1243 A.D., both these titles are dropped. Does it imply that Dāmōdaradēva suffered a set-back towards the close of his reign ? The answer cannot be definitely given in the present state of our knowledge. The inscriptions of Dāmōdaradēva, at least, do not speak of any loss of territory.

Another information that we get from the present plate is the name of Dāmōdaradēva's minister, **Gautamadatta,** who is given the title of *mudr-ādhikāri-sachiva*, and is said to be 'devoted to the feet of Śrī-Gautama'. Here, Gautama probably refers to the Buddha, and hence the minister was perhaps a Buddhist. It was through his request that the present grant was made by the king to the Brāhmaṇas. The fact clearly shows the spirit of toleration then prevalent in East Bengal.

The plate records the grant of three adjoining villages, viz. **Sundaraya, Āhaśyaga**[1] and **Vāṇḍura** together with 15 *drōṇas* of homestead land. The boundaries of the villages are given. They lay in the **Chhātihara** *khaṇḍala*, comprised within the **Miḍillī** *vishaya* in the **Samataṭa** *maṇḍala* within the **Pauṇḍravardhana** *bhukti*. The gift villages cannot be definitely identified. Śobhārāmpur, the find-spot of the present plate, may represent one of the villages, as the plate was discovered inside a brick-work about a cubit below the surface of the earth. This conjecture receives support from the fact that adjacent to it lies a village called Sundram, which recalls the name of Sundaraya. If this identification is correct, then Chhātihara-khaṇḍala lay in P.S. Burichong, and Miḍillī *vishaya* indicated a larger administrative division including Burichong. Therefore, Samataṭa *maṇḍala*, which comprised this *vishaya* as well as the Paralāyi *vishaya* of the Mehar plate, included the greater part of the Tippera District of East Pakistan.

The donees are two Brāhmaṇas, Kauśika and Dēvarāta, of the Agnivēśya *gōtra*. The villages were granted along with the right of enjoying barren lands, waters and fields. Besides, 15 *drōṇas* of homestead land were also given ; but the exact location of this land cannot be made out.

At the end I must express my indebtedness to Mr. D. K. Chakravarti of the V.R. Museum, Rajshahi, for cleaning the plate ; to the Director of Archaeology, Pakistan, for permission to publish it ; to Mr. S. C. Banerji of the Dacca University and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for some suggestions in deciphering the plate.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : verse 1 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 6, 8-11 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 3 *Upajāti* ; verse 4 *Sragdharā* ; verses 5, 7 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 12 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

1 सिद्धम्[3] ॐ शुभमस्तु [।।*] शकाब्दा:(ब्दा:) ११५८ [।*] ये लक्ष्मीस्तन-
लालनाविधि-

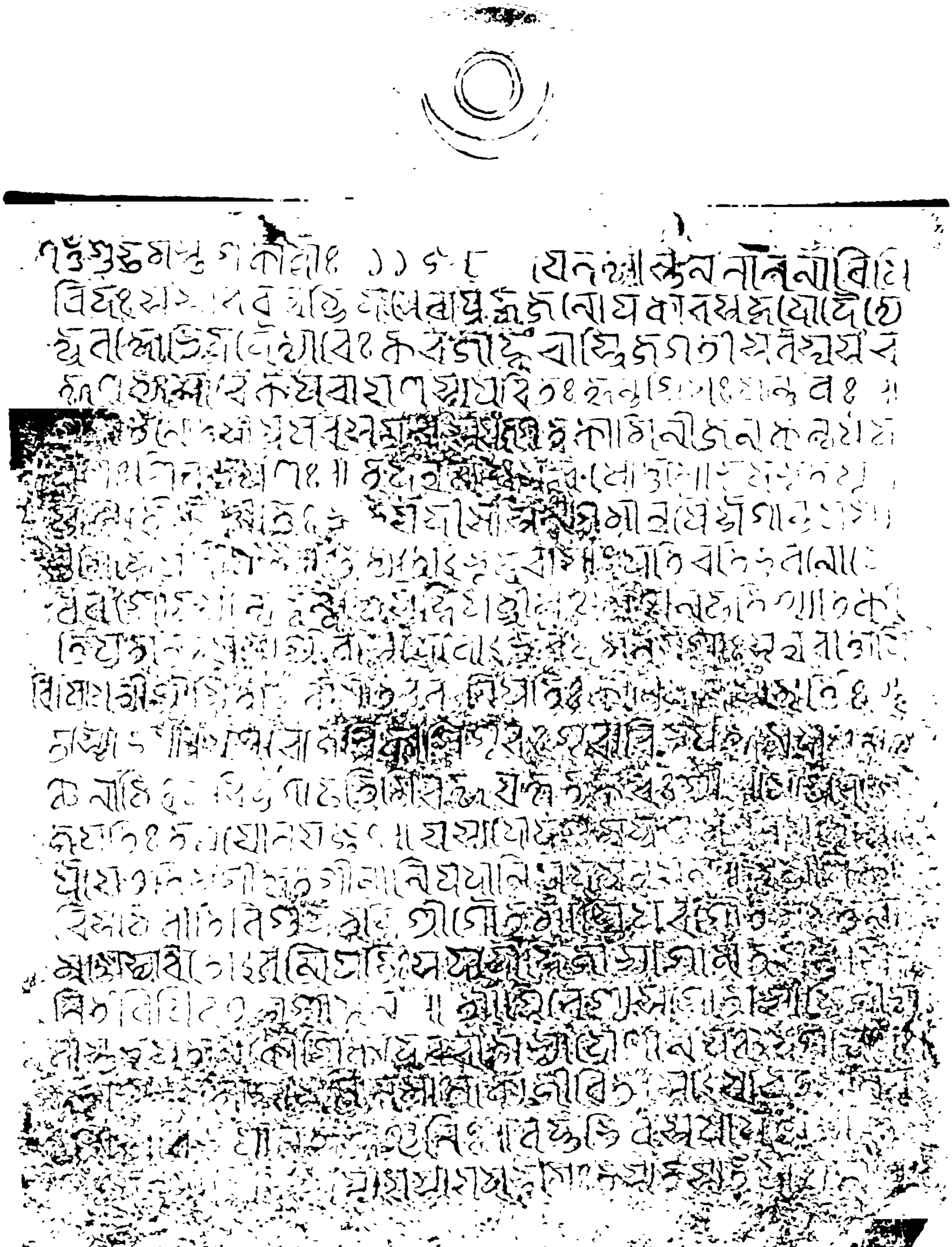
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[1] [See below, p. 188, note 3.—Ed.]

[2] From the original plate and photograph.

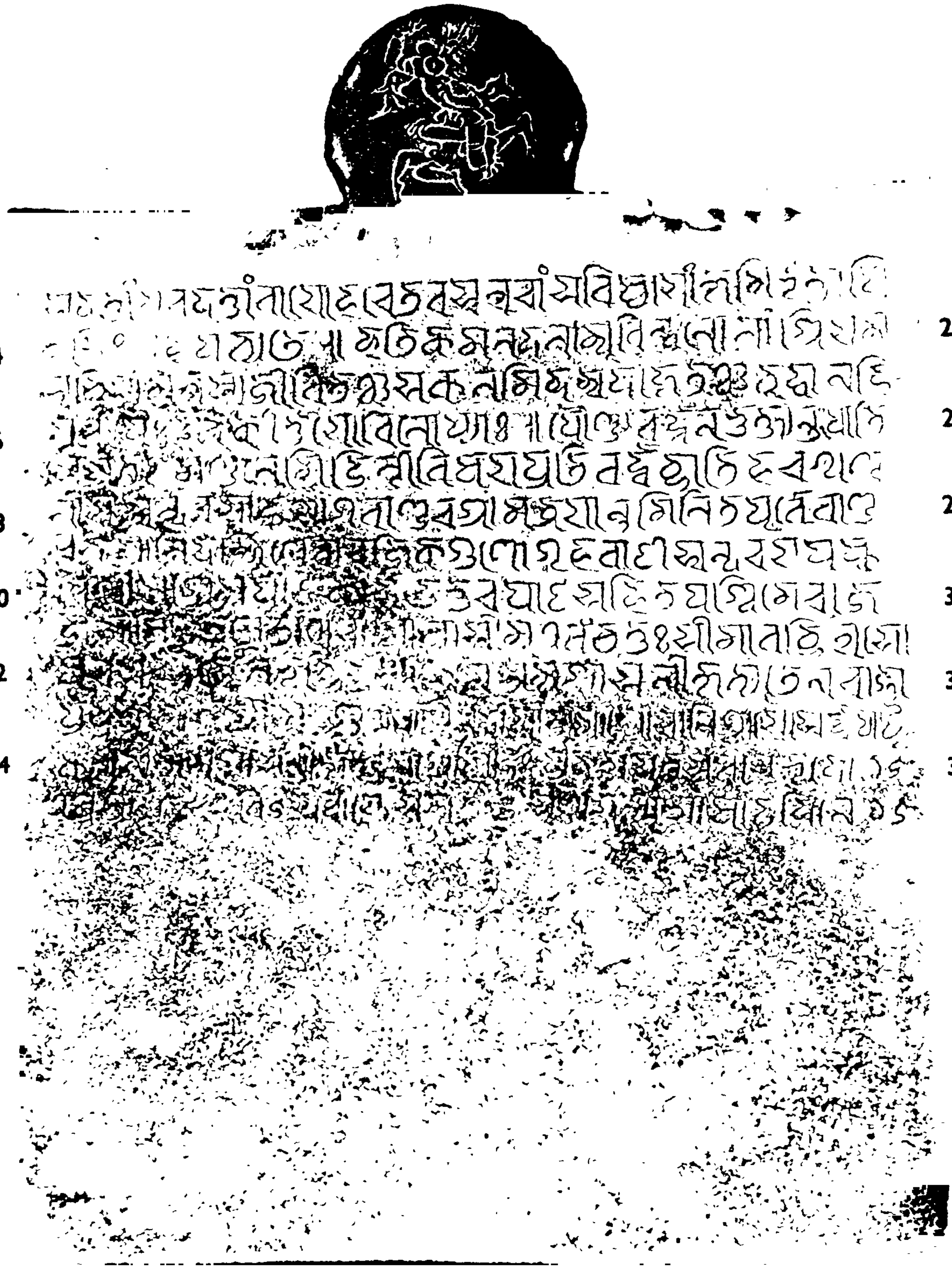
[3] Expressed by a symbol.

Obverse



SCALE : SEVEN-TENTHS

Reverse



2 विदः संसारव(ब)न्धच्छिदः सेवाप्रह्वजनोपकारसुद्ध[1]दो दैत्ये-

3 न्द्रवक्षोभिद[: ।*] दैत्यारेः करजाङ्कुरास्त्रिजगतां सर्वस्य संर-

4 क्षणव्यापारैकपरायणस्य परितः कु[2]न्तश्रियः पान्तु वः ॥ [१*]

5 शशी तनोतु पीयूषरसमु[ल्ला]सयं जगत्[3] [।*] कामिनीजनकन्दर्पद-

6 र्पणः शिव[भू]षणः ॥ [२*] तदन्व[वाये पुरु][4]षोत्तमोऽभूदभूतपूर्व-

7 प्रथितैककीर्त्तिः [।] भूतिर्यदीया सु[र*]नाग[5]मानुषैर्युगान्तपर्य्य-

8 न्तमिवो[6]पजीव्यते ॥ [३*] तत्पुत्रोऽभूद्धरायाः पतिरतिभुवनो दे-

9 ववंशोदधीन्दुर्द्वन्द्वाकृष्टद्विषच्छ्रीर्मथु(धु)मथन इति ख्यातकी-

10 र्त्तिप्रतानः [।] यस्य श्रीवासुदेवोऽभवदमलयशाः सूनुरात्ताधि-

11 वेषो[7] धन्वी श्रीमित्रदेवीपतिरवनिपतिः कान्तिक[न्द]र्पमूर्त्तिः ॥ [४*]

12 तस्योभयान्वयश(स)रोजविकाशिशूरः शूरारिभूपं(प)कुमुदाननकु[8]-

13 ञ्चनार्चिः [।*] दारिद्रगाढतिमिरक्षयकृत्करः श्री[दा]मोदरो ग-

14 जपतिः तनयो[9] नयज्ञः ॥ [५*] यस्य दोर्दण्डमुद्दण्ड . . . . . .

15 र्पयेत् [।*] त्रियुगीकृतशीर्णानि पदानि पदमुन्नयन् ॥[10] [६*] मुद्राधिका-

16 रि[11]सचिवातिविशुद्धवु(बु)द्धि[:*] श्रीगौतमांघ्रिपरगौतमदत्तना-

17 मा[12] [।*] अभ्यर्थितोऽवनिपतिः स ददौ द्विजाभ्यां ग्रामत्रयान्तमि-[13]

18 लितं विधिवत् स्वशासनं(नम्) ॥ [७*][14] अग्निवेश्यसगोत्राभ्यां द्वि[जाभ्यां]

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1 Read *sukha*°. [The correct reading is °*suhṛidō*.—D.C.S.]

2 I am obliged to Dr. D. C. Sircar for the correct reading of this letter.

3 [Read °*yañ=jagat*.—D.C.S.]

4 The letters, though dim in the photograph, are quite clear in the original.

5 The three letters are much corroded.

6 [The correct reading is °*m=ih*°*=ō*.—D.C.S.]

7 In the original plate, the *ē-mātrā* of *vē* looks like *i-mātrā*; but the same mark occurs before *sha* which is also followed by a vertical stroke. The reading in the latter case seems to be *shō*. The top mark in both the letters is probably a mistake. Hence, the first letter is read as *vē* and not *vi*. [The correct reading is *ātt-ādhividyō*.—D.C.S.]

8 I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Sircar for the correct reading of this passage.

9 Read *Gajapatis=tanayō*.

10 The meaning of this verse is not clear. [The reference here is to Dharma. The *aksharas* °*rpayēt* seem to be a mistake for °*rpayat*.—D.C.S.]

11 I am indebted to Dr. Sircar for the correct reading of this designation.

12 [The correct reading is *nāmnā*. The insertion of a *visarga* after *buddhi* in line 16 is wrong.—D.C.S.]

13 [The correct reading is °*trayan=tu*.—D.C.S.]

14 The metre is *Vasantatilakā*; but one syllable is in excess in the last *pādu*.

19 वास्तुभूयुतान् [।*] कौशिकदेवराताभ्यां द्रोणान् पञ्चदशावने: ॥ [८*]

20 [दत्त्वा] ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ – [ग्रामं लो]लमालोक्य जीवितं [।*] सोऽयाचत् पालनं

21 [भूमे]र्भाविभूपान् कृताञ्जलि: ॥ [९*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राज-

22 [भि: सगरादिभि:] [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि: तस्य[1] तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [१०*]

Reverse

23 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) [।*] स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पि-

24 तृभि: सह पच्यते ॥ [११*] इति कमलदलाम्वु(बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रियम-

25 नुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [।*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)द्धा(द्ध्वा) न हि

26 पुरुषै: परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या: ॥ [१२*] पौण्ड्य(ण्ड्र)वर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्त:पाति-

27 समतटमण्डले मिडिल्लीविषयप्रतिवर्द्ध[2]च्छातिहरखण्ड-

28 लीयसुन्दरयाहश्यग[3]वाण्डुरग्रामत्रयान्तमिलित(तं) पूर्वे वाण्डु-

29 रजंघालि[:*] दक्षिणे वारजिकगुणोगृहवाटी सुन्दरयपुष्क-

30 रिणीपश्चिमपाटकार्द्ध उत्तरपाटसहित[:*] पश्चिमे राज-

31 जंघालि[:*] उत्तरे [ताणराखाला]सीम एवं चतु:सीमावच्छिन्न(न्नं) सो-

32 षरं [सजलस्थलं] भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य तेन राज्ञा

33 प्रदत्ता [।*] यत्तु ग्राम [ण्ड[4]मर] . . . [पाडायां . . रा[5]लिग्रा]यौ स[ा*]-र्द्धपा[दै]-[6]

34 क[भू]मिं ताम्रशासनी[कृत्य श्रीश्रीमद्भ्यां] प्रदत्ता यत् स वास्तु[7] भू द्रो[8] १५ [।*]

35 [एवं] . . . . विजयराज्ये सम्वत् ६ सूर्य्यगत्या आषाढदिने १५ [॥*]

[1] Read *bhūmis=tasya.*

[2] Read *pratibaddha.*

[3] [The reading seems to be *Sundaraya-Diśāga°.*—D.C.S.]

[4] [The correct reading is *pradattaṁ(ttam).* | *yatra grāma 3.*—D.C.S.]

[5] [The reading may be....*grāma-mā(ma)dhyē Rō°.*—D.C.S.]

[6] I am indebted to Dr. Sircar for the correct reading of this expression.

[7] [The correct reading is *yattra sa-vāstu.°*—D.C.S.]

[8] ***Bhū° drō°*** obviously stands for *bhūmēḥ drōṇāḥ* ; cf. line 19 above.

No. 33—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM JAIPUR DISTRICT

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the end of 1952 and the beginning of the following year, I was travelling in various parts of Madhya Bhārat and Rājasthān in search of inscriptions. In the course of that tour, I visited Jaipur, headquarters of both the State of Rājasthān and the District of Jaipur (old Jaipur State), in January 1953. There are no inscriptions among the exhibits of the Jaipur Museum ; but Dr. S. P. Srivastava, Chief Superintendent of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rājasthān, was kind enough to allow me to examine some old impressions of epigraphic records that are preserved in that museum. These inscriptions were mostly copied from different parts of the Jaipur District of Rājasthān ; but the findspots of many of them could not be determined. In the following pages I edit two of the inscriptions, impressions of which were kindly supplied to me by Dr. Srivastava. My thanks are due to him for this act of kindness as well as to Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, for a few informations, and to Pandit A. K. Vyas, Superintendent of Archaeology and Museums, Udaipur (Rājasthān), for some suggestions.

1. *Inscription of the time of Allāvadīna ('Alāuddīn), V. S. 1362*

This is a stone inscription in seven lines, the last of which has only two letters. The space covered by the writing measures 31½ inches in length and 8½ inches in height. The inscribed stone must have belonged to a step-well ; but its findspot is unknown to me.

The **characters**, which are neatly and carefully engraved, are Nāgarī. The lines of writing have each a double *daṇḍa* at both ends. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Little calls for special remark as regards the **palaeography** and **orthography** of the record with the exception of the fact that *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v* and *kh* by that of *sh*. The date of the inscription is given as **Saṁvat 1362, Phālguna-vadi 12, Thursday, Uttarāshāḍhā-nakshatra, Varīyān yōga,** which is stated to have fallen in the victorious reign of *mahārājādhirāja śrīmad*-**Allāvadīna,** ' the destroyer of the pride of all kings '. The date seems to correspond to **Thursday, February 10, 1306 A. D.,** taking the month to be *Pūrṇimānta*. On that date *kṛishṇa-dvādaśī* began at ·33 of the day and Uttarāshāḍhā-nakshatra at ·16.

The **object** of the inscription, which begins with an adoration to *Jagajjananī*, ' the mother of the world ', is to record the construction of a *vāpī* or step-well by two brothers, named Bhōjadēva and Padmasiṁhadēva, who belonged to the Chāhumāna (i.e. Chāhamāna or Chauhān) family. They are stated to have been the sons of Gōpatidēva (from Gōpati's wife Dharmādēvī), grandsons of Dhēnūdēva and great-grandsons of Māḍhūdēva. Bhōjadēva (possibly also his brother Padmasiṁha) is described as *Mahā-Khaḍgadhara*. The record was written by Śivarāja, called *Vyāsa*. The expression *khaḍgadhara* means ' a swordsman '; but in inscriptions we have the official designation *Khaḍgagrāha* or *Khaḍgaraksha*[1] which has been interpreted as ' a clan of body-guards carrying swords '. *Khaḍgadhara* of the inscription under study seems to be a similar official designation, although the real status of Chāhamāna Bhōjadēva can hardly be determined. The eulogistic description of the imperial ruler Allāvadīna in the present inscription as *samasta-bhūpāla-māna-marddana*, which does not look like a casual reference to the lord of the land, may suggest that Bhōjadēva was in the service of the Muslim conquerors of Rājasthān. *Vyāsa* was the official designation of Brāhmaṇas employed by the Rājput kings for reciting and explaining the epics and the Purāṇas. It is still the family name of many Brāhmaṇas of Rājasthān. Apparently the

[1] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 853 (text line 18) ; Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, pp. 127 f.

same official or professional position is also indicated by the epithet *Paurāṇika* applied to Vaijāditya, a courtier of Chāhamāna Hammīra (1238-1301 A.D.) of Raṇastambhapura (Ranthambhor), in the Balvan (Koṭah District, Rājasthān) stone inscription.[1]

Allāvadīna is a Sanaskritised form of the Muslim name *'Alāuddīn* and undoubtedly refers to 'Alāuddīn Khajī (1296-1316 A.D.), Sulṭān of Delhi. It is well known that the imperial Chāhamānas who had their capital at Śākambharī (modern Sambhar in the Jaipur District) were overthrown by the Turkish Musalmans about the close of the twelfth century.[2] A member of the fallen house is known to have accepted the suzerainty of the Musalmans and many smaller chiefs must have done the same. During the weak rule of the successors of Sulṭān Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.), a branch of the Chāhamāna dynasty established a powerful kingdom with its headquarters at Raṇastambhapura.[3] The Khalji Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn killed king Hammīradēva of this line and conquered the fort of Raṇastambhapura in 1301 A.D. Minor chiefs of the Chāhamāna lineage, like those mentioned in our record, must have then acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sulṭān. But even before the overthrow of Hammīradēva, there were Chāhamāna partisans on the Sulṭān's side. Thus Bhōja, described as a natural brother and general of Hammīra, joined the Muslim side according to Nayachandra's *Hammīramahākāvya*.[4] This Bhōja, however, seems to the different from the Chāhamāna chief of that name mentioned in the inscription under study.

TEXT[5]

1 [Siddham[6]] || Svasti || Śrī-Jagajjananyai namaḥ || **Saṁvat 1362 Varshē Phālguna-vadi tatkāla-dvādaśī 12 Guru-** ||

2 || **dinē Uttarāshāḍhā-nakshatrē Makara--sthitē chaṁdrē Variyā[7]-nāma-yōgē** samasta-bhūpāla-māna-marddana-mahā- [||]

3 || rājādhirāja-śrīmad-**Allāvadīna**-vijaya-rājyē mahāsha(kha)ḍgadhara-śrī-Bhōjadēvō va(ba)-bhūva | tasya pūrvva- |[|]

4 || jaḥ Chāhumān-ānvayē śrīmān=Māḍh[ū]dēvō va(ba)bhūva [|*] tasmād=dhīmān Dhēnūdēvaḥ saṁjātaḥ [|*] tasmād=Gōpa- ||

5 || tidēvaḥ puṇya-karmmā jātaḥ [|*] tasya bhāryā Dharmmādēvī va(ba)bhūva [|*] tasyāṁ mahāsha(kha)ḍgadhara-śrī-Bhōjadēva-Padma- |[|]

6 || siṁbadēvau putrau jātau [|*] trā(tā)bhyām=iyaṁ vāpi puṇyāya yaśasē cha kāritā | Vyāsa-Śivarājēna li-

7 [khitaṁ[8](tam) ||]

2. *Toḍā-Rāising Inscription of the time Asalema-Sāhi (Islām Shāh); V. S. 1604, Śaka 1469*

The inscription[9] was briefly noticed by Daya Ram Sahni in his *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar*, p. 8. Unfortunately the notice is rather misleading, as Sahni failed to

[1] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 45-52.

[2] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 1086 ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 1094 ff.

[4] Ibid., p. 1100.

[5] From an impression.

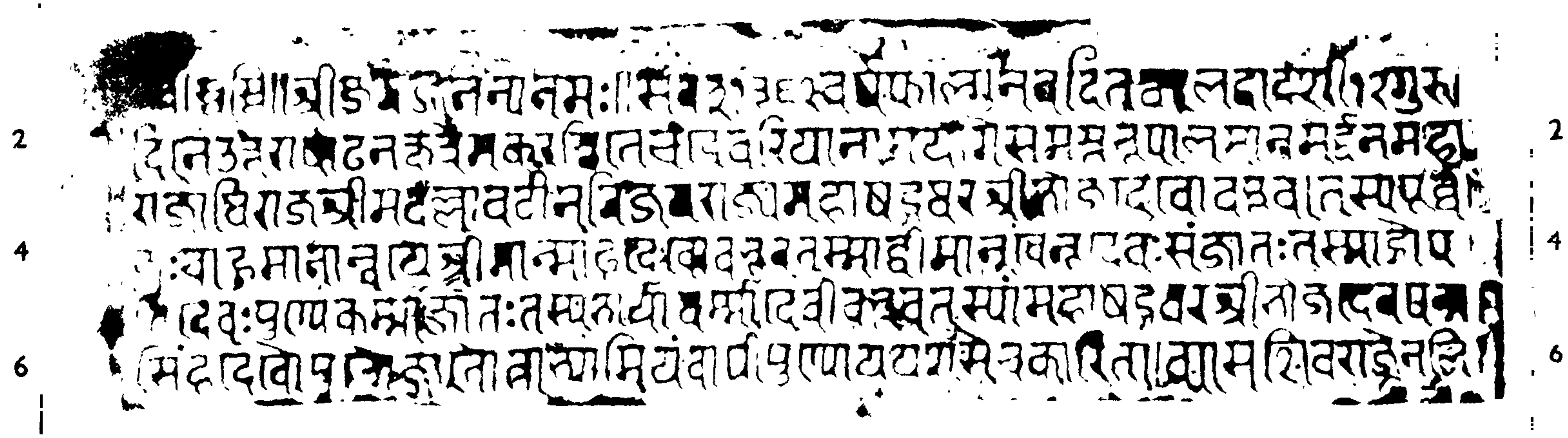
[6] Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.

[7] The correct name of the *Yōga* is *Varīyān*.

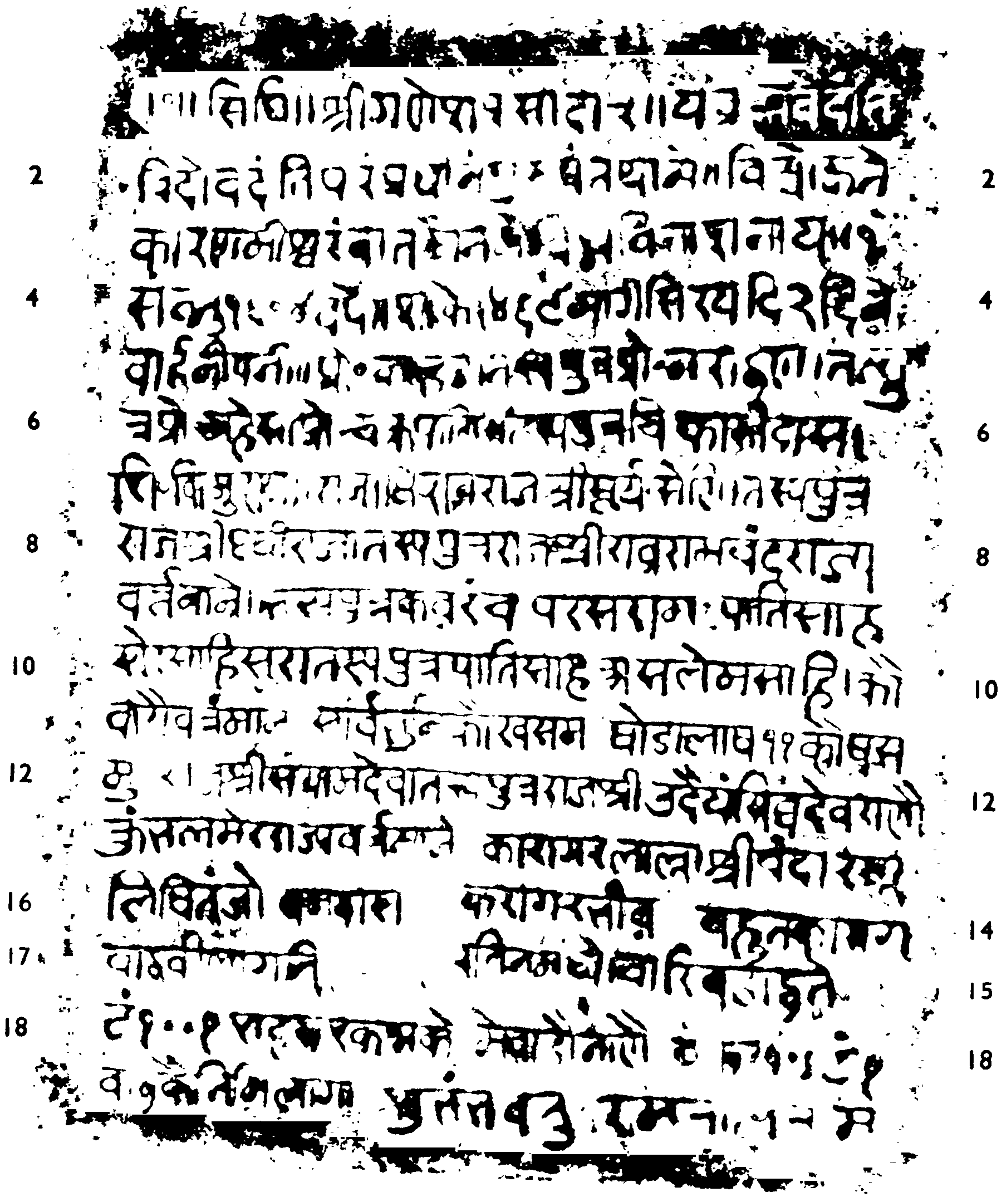
[8] These two *aksharas*, standing below the last three letters of the previous line (line 6), are almost out off in the impression.

[9] As the inscription is partly written in a dialect of Hindi, in which the vowels *e* and *o* are often short, macron over these vowels is not used in this section even in transliterating passages in Sanskrit. This is to avoid confusion. See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 106, note 2.

I. INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ALLAVADINA (ALLAUDDIN), V. S. 1362



2. TODA-RAISING INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ASALEMA SAHI (ISLAM SHAH), V. S. 1604, SAKA 1469



SCALE: SEVEN-SIXTEENTHS

realise the importance of the record. The inscribed stone was found on a step-well called Gaṇeśa-bāvaḍī (°bāwṛī) at Toḍā-Rāising (Toṛā Rāya-siṁha) in the Jaipur District of Rājasthān about 16 miles to the north of Deolī and 20 miles to the south-west of Tonk. The inscription contains seventeen lines of writing, although two of these lines have to be read actually as four as the first half of both of them belong to a supplement. The inscribed space covers an area about 14½ inches in length and 11⅞ inches in breadth.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī of the ordinary type. The sign for *v* has been used to indicate *b* as in the record edited above. In a few cases (cf. *rāva=rāv=rāw* in line 8 ; *Bhīva=Bhīv=Bhiw* in line 14, etc.), however, the letter *v* has been distinguished by the addition of a dot apparently to signify a modification in the pronunciation. This has been transliterated in our transcript by *w*. The single *daṇḍa* standing for a mark of interpunctuation is often placed so close to the preceding *akshara* as to look exactly like an *ā-mātrā*. The record is partly written in Sanskrit and partly in a dialect of Hindī. We have transliterated the Hindī words as they have been written and not as they are pronounced ; e.g. we have quoted a word as *bahuta* and not as *bahut*. The Hindī part of the inscription contains some Arabic and Persian words, e.g. *Pātisāha* (Persian *Pādshāh* or *Pādishāh*, of which the popular *Bādshāh* is an Arabic corruption), *khasama* or *khasamu* (Arabic *khaṣam*), *kārāgara* (Persian *kārīgar* ; cf. Marāṭhī *kārāgīr*). An orthographic peculiarity of the inscription is the representation of class nasals by the *anusvāra* and, in most cases, of *kh* and *ś* respectively by *sh* and *s*. The spelling of names like *Nārāiṇa* (Sanskrit *Nārāyaṇa*), *Parasarāma* (Sanskrit *Paraśurāma*), *Udaiyasiṁgha* (Sanskrit *Udayasiṁha*), etc., is interesting. The Muhammadan names *Sher Shāh* and *Islām Shāh* (sometimes spelt *Islīm Shāh*) have been written as *Sera Sāhi* and *Asalema Sāhi* respectively. In the words *saṁvatu* (line 4) and *khasamu* (lines 11-12), the medial *u* substitutes the mark indicating a half consonant probably due to a peculiarity of the local pronunciation. In *prasādāt* (line 1), however, the half *t* has been written in the usual way. The linguistic peculiarities exhibited by the inscription are noticed in the western dialects of Hindī. The genitive suffixes used are *kau* (i.e. *ko*, masculine singular ; cf. *sāhikau*, line 10 ; *bhūmikau* and *lākha 11 kau=11 lākhakau*, line 11), *kī* (feminine singular ; cf. *vāikī*, line 17) and *kai* (i.e. *ke* ; cf. *vāikai*, line 19).[1] In *vārau* (i.e. *vāro*, line 11) and *rāṇau* (i.e. *rāṇo*, line 12), the nominative singular case-ending *au* has been added to words of the masculine gender ending in *a* or *ā*.[2] In the passage *Mevāḍyai nāṇai* (line 18), the locative singular case-ending *ai* (i.e. *e*) has been suffixed to words ending in *ā*.[3] The word *nāṇā* is derived from Sanskrit *nāṇaka* meaning 'a coin'. The pronominal word *tina* (pronounced *tin*, line 15) is genitive third person plural and means ' of them '. The inscription uses a number of contractions such as *pro*, *ṭaṁ*, *chi*, *jo*, etc.

The **date** of the record is quoted in lines 4-5. This is the second *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Mārgaśira in **Vikrama Saṁvat 1604 and Śaka 1469**. The name of the week-day is quoted as *Vārhanīpati* which apparently stands for *Bṛihaspati*. The date is irregular ; but it must have fallen in **October-November, 1547 A. D.**

The inscription begins with a variety of the *Siddham* symbol, followed by the word *siddhi* and a passage in Sanskrit invoking the grace of the god Gaṇeśa. Next follows a verse in Sanskrit containing an adoration to the god Vighnavināśana (i.e. Gaṇeśa), praised as the Supreme Being. The date of the record, already referred to above, is then quoted in lines 4-5. In lines 5-7 are given the names of the following persons : *pro*° Kānhaḍa (from Sanskrit *Kṛishṇa*), his son *pro*° Nārāyaṇa, his sons *pro*° Maheśa and *pro*° Chakrapāṇi, and the latter's sons *chi*° Kāśīdāsa and *chi*° Kimudāsa. It seems that the contraction *chi* before the names of Kāśīdāsa and Kimudāsa stands for Sanskrit

[1] For *kau* in Brajbhāshā and *kai* in Mewāṛī, see S. H. Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*, 3rd ed., 1938, Table II facing p. 120.

[2] Cf. nominative singular in *o* in the Rājputānā dialects (Kellogg, op. cit., p. 109, § 169).

[3] See Kellogg, op. cit., p. 110.

chirañjīva (literally 'long-lived') indicating that these two persons were alive while their ancestors mentioned in the list were all dead. Unfortunately the contraction *pro* used with the names of the other persons is difficult to interpret in contradistinction to *chirañjīva*. The only suitable word that suggests to us is Hindī *prohita*=Sanskrit *purohita* meaning 'a professional priest'.[1] The inscription does not clearly state the relation of Kāśīdāsa and Kimūdāsa with the object of the inscription, which, as will be seen later, is to record the construction of a step-well. There is, however, little doubt that the said two persons were responsible for the construction of the step-well in question or at least for the supervision of its excavation.

Lines 7-9 give the genealogy of the ruling chief in whose territory the step-well was apparently excavated. This chief was one **Rāmachandra**, called both *Rājan* and *Rāwa* (i.e. *Rāo-Rājā*), who was the son of *Rājan* Pṛithvīrāja and grandson of *Rājādhirāja Rājan* Sūryaśeṇi (possibly a mistake for or corruption of °*sena*). This section also mentions *Kaṁwara* (Sanskrit *Kumāra*, 'a prince') *cha*° Parasarāma (Sanskrit *Paraśurāma*) who was the son of Rāmachandra. The reason of the prince's mention, not apparent from the language of the record, seems to be that the area, where the step-well was excavated, formed a part of his *jāgīr*. The abbreviation *cha* may be a mistake for *chi* or *chirañjīva*, for which *charañjīva* is a popular corruption. In Rājasthānī legal documents, the word *charaṇa* is often found between the names of the father and son to indicate the relation of the latter to the former. Thus *cha* in the passage in question may also stand for *charaṇa* although this is doubtful in view of the fact that the word *putra* occurs in our text to indicate the relation between Rāmachandra and Paraśurāma. These chiefs holding sway over the district round Toḍā-Rāising are not known from any other inscription. The reason for the application of a more dignified regal epithet to the name of Rāmachandra's grandfather is not apparent.

Lines 9 ff. refer to the ruling king and his overlord, to both of whom the chief Rāmachandra of the Toḍā-Rāising region owed allegiance. Mention is first made of the *vāra* (turn or time of rule) of *Pātisāha* **Asalema Sāhi**, the son of Sera Sāhi Sūra, i.e. Islām Shāh (1445-57 A.D.), son of Sher Shāh (1439-45 A.D.) of the Sūr dynasty of Delhi. Then follows a reference to *Rāṇā* **Udaiyasiṁghadeva** (Sanskrit *Udayasiṁhadeva*), son of *Rājan* Saṁgrāmadeva, as ruling over the Kumbhalamera *rājya*. It is interesting to note that the imperial status of Saṁgrāmadeva is especially indicated in the inscription which describes him as *sarva-bhūmikau khasama* (i.e. 'the lord of all land or the entire earth', a conventional designation of the Indian imperial rulers) and *ghoḍā lākha 11 kau khasamu* (i.e. 'the lord of eleven lakhs of horses or horsemen'). But the mention of Udayasiṁha, the ruler of Kumbhalamera, side by side with the emperor (*Pātisāha*) Islām Shāh, both as overlords of the chief Rāmachandra, undoubtedly points to the fact that the Rāṇā was regarded as a feudatory of the Muhammadan monarch, although his father Saṁgrāmadeva, i.e. Saṅgrāmasiṁha or Sāṅgā, was an independent king. The mention of Rāmachandra, his immediate liegelord Udayasiṁha, and the latter's overlord Islām Shāh without clearly specifying the relations of one with the others is not peculiar to the record under study but is also known from other medieval inscriptions of the same region. Of course there are some epigraphs in which the subordinate relation of the feudatory is specifically expressed; cf. the Mandasor inscription of V.S. 1576 and Śaka 1441 introducing *Rāṇā* Saṁgrāmasiṁha's subordinate at Daśapura (Mandasor) in the following words: *mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Rāṇā-Saṁgrāma* || *tasya prasādāt udyotakārī* | *Rāja-śrī-Rāva-Aśokamala* | *Daśapura-nagare Thānāpati* |[2] But there are others which mention the names of the rulers without any specification exactly as in our record. An inscription from Rāmpurā near Mandasor, dated Śaka 1547, introduces the Mughal

[1] For a member of a Purohita family in charge of the construction of a fort, see another inscription from the Jaipur District in *Proc. I.H.C.*, Nagpur, 1950, pp. 193 93.

[2] From an inked impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

emperor Salem Shāh (Jahāngīr), his feudatory *Rāṇā* Karṇasiṁha of Mewāṛ, and the latter's subordinate at Rāmapura (Rāmpurā) in the following words : *Dilīrāja-Pātasāha-śrī-Salemasāhajī Chitrakūṭarāja vāsa Udepu[ra*] Rāṇā-śrī-Amara-sīghajī tasya putra Rāṇā-śrī-Karaṇasīghajī Rāmapura-rājakara Rāva-śrī-Chaṁdrabhāṇajī tasyā rāṇī Chohāṇa Prabhāvatī-bāījī bāvaḍī prasāda bāga udhāsyō.*[1] There is no word in the passage expressing *Rāva* Chandrabhāṇa's subordination to Karṇasiṁha and the latter's subordination to the Mughal emperor, although there cannot be any doubt about their position.

The above section of the inscription is followed by the names of four of the artisans or masons (*kārāgara*) who were employed in the construction of the step-well (lines 13 ff.). These were : *Kārāgara* Lālū,[2] Śrīchandra, Rāgū and *Kārāgara* Bhīwa. It is stated that, of the many workers employed for the work, the four named above were the foremost (*bahuta kārāgara, tina madhye chāri baḍā*). Here ends the main record with the word *iti* and this is followed by a sort of supplement in the concluding lines (lines 16 ff.). Lines 16-17 are engraved as the first halves of lines 14-15 containing the closing part of the record discussed above and may have been written in the original draft, copied on the stone, as a marginal note. The first of these two lines gives the name of the writer while the second saying ' the expenses [on account] of the step-well (*vāikī lāgati* in which *lāgati=lāgti* is the same as Hindī *lāgat*) ' was meant to be a heading for the details of the expenditure given in the following lines. The writer was *jo* Rāmadāsa. The contraction *jo* appears to indicate a word like *joisī, jois, joshī*, etc., which are corruptions of Sanskrit *jyotishin*, i.e. a professional astrologer or astronomer. The amount spent for the step-well, as given in line 18, was *ṭaṁ* 1001 (quoted both in words and figures) for which the equivalent in Mewāṛ currency (*Mevāḍyā nāṇā*) is given as *ṭhaka 6106 ṭaṁ 1* or *ṭhaṁkaḍa 106 ṭaṁ 1.* In this passage, the abbreviation *ṭaṁ* apparently signifies the *ṭaṅka*, very probably meaning the silver coins of that name issued by the Muslim rulers of Delhi, especially those of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh. Unfortunately the ratio between the Mewāṛ coin and the Delhi *ṭaṅka* cannot be determined. The inscription ends with the *maṅgala*, ' May it be well !', and the mention of the name of god Rāma, thrice repeated.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it refers to *Rāṇā* Udayasiṁha (1537-72 A.D.) of Mewāṛ as a feudatory of the Sūr emperor Islām Shāh (1545-54 A.D.), son of Sher Shāh (1539-45 A.D.). We know that in V.S. 1594 (1537 A.D.) Udayasiṁha was recognised as the Rāṇā of Mewāṛ by the feudatories at Kumbhalgaṛh and that he recovered Chitoṛ from Vanavīra in V.S. 1597 (1540 A.D.).[3] He was a contemporary of all the rulers of the Sūr dynasty (1539-56 A.D.), founded by Sher Shāh, although little is as yet definitely known as regards the Rāṇā's relations with the Sūrs. As will be seen below, according to Muslim historians, Sher Shāh occupied Chitoṛ in 1543 or 1544 A.D. ; but they are silent as to whether the Rāṇā offered his allegiance to the Sūr emperor or continued to hold sway over parts of Mewāṛ outside the Chitoṛ region as an independent

[1] My attention to this record was drawn by Professor Ramachandra G. Tiwari of the Pratap College, Amalner, East Khandesh District, Bombay State. Among other records containing statements of this kind, mention may be made of two inscriptions from Sitamau (Mandasor District, Madhya Bharat), transcripts of which were received by me from Mahārājkumār Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Śitamau. One of these is dated V.S. 1761 (1705 A.D.) and contains the passage : *Pātasāha-śrī-Oraṁgajebaḥ Rāṇā Amarasīghaḥ Jāgī[r*]dāraḥ Rāṭhoḍa-Kasodāsa.* The other record, dated V.S. 1775 (1718 A.D.), has : *Pātasāhā-śrī-Sapharakasenajī Rāṇajī Amara (sic. Saṁgrāma)-sīghajī Mahārājajīḥ Keśodāsajī.* Although these inscriptions do not state the relationship existing between Rāṭhoṛ Keśavadāsa of Sitamau and the Rāṇā of Mewāṛ, Amarasiṁha II (1678-1710 A.D.) or Saṁgrāmasiṁha II (1710-34 A.D.), and between the latter and the Mughal emperor of Delhi (Aurangzeb, 1658-1707 A.D., in the first record, and Farrukhsiyar, 1713-19 A.D., in the second), there can be no doubt that the fief-holder of Sitamau owed allegiance to the Rāṇā who himself acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor.

[2] Cf. the name of the mason Lālo mentioned in the *Rāja-praśasti* inscription (above, Vol. XXIX, Appendix, p. 90 text, line 42).

[3] G. H. Ojha, *Udaypur Rājyakā Itihās* (*Rājputānekā Itihās*, Vol. II), pp. 714 ff. ; cf. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Calcutta ed., Vol. I, pp. 334 ff. ; Crooke's ed., Vol. I, pp. 367 ff.

ruler. There is no reference to the Sūr occupation of Chitoṛ in Tod's work which is mainly based on the Rājput chronicles. While briefly describing Sher Shāh's campaigns in Rājputānā against Māladeva, the powerful Rāṭhoṛ king of Jodhpur, Wolseley Haig says, "He (Sher Shāh) left Khavāss Khān and 'Isā Khān Niyāzī to establish his authority in Marwar and marched to Chitor, the keys of which were sent to him by the officer who held it on behalf of Rāṇā Uday Singh of Mewar."[1] Quanungo observes, "He (Sher Shāh) spent a few months at Agra and rejoined his camp at Ajmir about the middle of June 1544. From Ajmir he marched towards Chitor which he easily acquired ... Mewar had not yet recovered from the evil effects of the civil dissensions which ended with the installation of the boy king Udai Singh in 1542 A.D. (see Tod's *Rajasthan*, pp. 330-33). Chitor was placed in charge of Shams Khan, a brother of Khawas Khan (Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, p. 140), Mian Ahmed Sarwani and Husain Khan Khalji (Abbas MS, p. 235)."[2] Ojha quotes Abbas Sarwanī's *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*[3], according to which Sher Shāh advanced against Chitoṛ in A.H. 950 (1543 A.D.) after having dispersed Māladeva's forces: "Sher Shāh...... marched towards the fort of Chitoṛ. When he was yet 12 *Kos* from the fort of Chitoṛ, the Rājā who was its ruler sent him the keys. When Sher Shāh came to Chitoṛ, he left in it the younger brother of Khawās Khān, Miān Ahmad Sarwanī and Hussain Khān Khiljī. Sher Shāh himself marched towards Kachwāṛa." But in this connection the author of the *Udaypur Rājyakā Itihās* observes, "It was almost the beginning of Udayasiṁha's reign. Thus it is possible that Udayasiṁha considered it unwise to fight with Sher Shāh and managed to send him away after making peace with him. Neither the Persian histories nor the local chronicles explain, as is expected in such a case, how Chitoṛ came back into Udayasiṁha's possession [after its occupation by the Sūrs]."[4] N. B. Roy, author of *The Successors of Sher Shah*, does not suggest that any of the later Sūrs had anything to do with Mewāṛ. While describing Sher Shāh's achievements in Rājputānā, Quanungo does not clearly state that any of the Rājput rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sūr emperor. Roy is likewise silent on the point as to how long the Sūrs succeeded in maintaining the position gained in Rājputānā by the founder of their house. The inscription under study, however, suggests that *Rāṇā* Udayasiṁha of Mewāṛ not only acknowledged the suzerainty of Sher Shāh but even continued his allegiance to the Sūr dynasty down to the early years of the reign of Islām Shāh, son and successor of that monarch. There is no reason to believe that Islām Shāh, represented as the overlord of the Rāṇā in October-November, 1547 A.D., himself subdued Udayasiṁha. The mention of the Rāṇā as the ruler of Kumbhalamera in our record seems to suggest that he was staying at the fort of Kumbhalgaṛh till the end of 1547 A.D. while the fortress of Chitoṛ continued to be in the possession of the Afghan governors employed by the Sūr emperors. Apparently the presence of a strong Afghan garrison at Chitoṛ prevented Udayasiṁha from throwing off the Sūr yoke.[5]

When exactly the Rāṇā succeeded in freeing himself from the domination of the Sūrs is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge. After the celebrated Afgan general

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[1] *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 55.

[2] *Sher Shah*, pp. 332-33.

[3] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, p. 406.

[4] Op. cit. p. 718.

[5] Professor Tiwari informs me that the *Amarakāvya* (MS No. 14935 of the Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, folio 32a) represents Udayasiṁha as an independent monarch and speaks of several engagements between the Rāṇā and Sher Shāh, while the *Vaṁśāvalī*, No. 872, states that Udayasiṁha defeated the Pathans. But we can hardly rely on these traditions. It is well known that the Mughal emperor Akbar defeated Udayasiṁha and occupied a considerable part of Mewāṛ including its capital Chitoṛ and that the Rāṇā was compelled to take shelter in the southern part of his dominions. In spite of this, the chroniclers of Mewāṛ continued to represent Udayasiṁha as one who humbled the Mughal emperor (cf. above, Vol. XXIV, p. 68, verse 39). For Tiwari's views, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 311 ff.; *Journ. Bomb. Univ.*, July 1955, pp. 10-11 and notes. He relies too much on the Rajput traditions, for the untrustworthiness of which, see remarks on the evidence of the *Rājapraśasti-kāvya*, above, Vol. XXX, App., p. 118.

Khawās Khān had taken refuge in the hills of Kumāūn, Islām Shāh is stated to have recorded a solemn oath that he had forgiven all his past offences and begged him to attend at court and proceed against the Rāṇā of Udaypur who had again raised his head, plundered several of the royal possessions and carried off the wives and daughters of Muslims, although at the same time orders were sent to the governor of Sambhal to put the general to death as soon as he should come within reach.[1] This event took place in A.H. 959 corresponding to 1551 A.D. according to some authorities.[2] Rāṇā Udayasiṁha thus seems to have thrown off his allegiance to the Sūrs before the date of Khawās Khān's murder.[3] The reference to the Sūr territory, which was plundered by the Rāṇā and whence Muslim women were carried away, seems to point to the reoccupation of Chitoṛ by Udayasiṁha. Tod is silent in regard to the date of the recovery of the Jodhpur region by Māladeva from the Afghans.[4] But B. N. Reu has quoted the following facts: Sher Shāh occupied the Jodhpur region of Mārwāṛ in 1544 A.D. and left Khawās Khān at Jodhpur as his viceroy; the Sūr occupation of parts of Mārwāṛ lasted only for about one year and a half; Māladeva (1532-62 A.D.) drove out the Afghans from Jodhpur before the end of V.S. 1603 (1546 A.D.).[5] Unfortunately no authority has been cited in support of the last statement. Whether *Rāṇā* Udayasiṁha helped the Rāṭhoṛs in ousting the Afghans from Jodhpur cannot be determined, although that is not improbable. But the Rāṇā does not appear to have continued his allegiance to the Sūrs for any considerable length of time after the expulsion of the Afghans from Mārwāṛ. This seems to be suggested by the prominent mention of the Rāṇā's aggression in Islām Shāh's communication to Khawās Khān, which does not mention Māladeva, often described by Muslim authors as the most powerful ruler in Rājputānā. Thus the date of Rāṭhoṛ success against the Sūrs may actually be a little later than that suggested by Reu. Reference has been made by Reu to the existence of Khawās Khān's tomb (now called Khāsgā Pīr's Dargah) at Jodhpur. This may suggest that Jodhpur was under Muslim occupation till the time of Khawās Khān's death.

Another very interesting fact disclosed by the inscription under review is the inclusion of at least parts of the present Jaipur District within the dominions of the Rāṇās of Mewāṛ.[6] Cunningham sketched the history of Toḍā-Rāising on the basis of Rājput traditions which, however, have nothing to say on this particular point.[7] This no doubt shows that these traditions are not quite trustworthy as a source of history. There is also no mention of the chief Rāmachandra

[1] *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, op. cit., p. 59; Roy, op. cit., p. 33; Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 531.

[2] Badāūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Ranking's trans., Vol. I, pp. 525-26.

[3] The date of Khawās Khān's murder is given sometimes as 1546 A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, op. cit., p. 59) and 1550 A.D.=A.H. 957 (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 532, note 1). The first of these two dates is impossible unless it is believed that the hostility attributed to the Rāṇā in Islām Shāh's communication to Khawās Khān was merely a bluff, although the probability is that the Rāṇā's revolt and act of aggression were widely known facts. Our inscription shows that Udayasiṁha did not completely shake off his allegiance to Islām Shāh till the close of 1547 A.D.

[4] Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 30.

[5] *Mārwāṛkā Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 131-32.

[6] Qanungo says that Toḍā was a border town of the expanded dominions of Māladeva (op. cit., p. 264). If it was taken by the Rāṭhoṛ ruler from Mewāṛ, Udayasiṁhá may have recovered it either as a Sūr partisan or in the confusion that resulted from Sher Shāh's victory over Māladeva.

[7] *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. VI, pp. 124 ff. Cf. "Thoda was originally founded by the Dhoda or Dhorè tribe, from whom the present name of the place, *Thoda* or *Thore*, is said to be derived. Thoda next came into the possession of the Solankis, under Siddha Rai Solanki, in Samvat 1131. ....Thoda passed out of the hands of the Solankis in Samvat 1360, when it was taken by the Chohans, probably in the time of Hararaja Chohan who founded Būndi. On the extension of the powers of the Kachhwāhas of Amber, they took Thoda from the Chohans and held it for some years. The possession of Thoda was next made over to the Sisodias by one of the Mughal emperors of Delhi. ....Lastly, Thoda again came into the possession of the Kachhwāhas in whose possession it has since remained." The name of the first ruler of the Sisodia dynasty is given as Rāising (Rāyasiṁha) after whom the place came to be known later as Toḍā-Rāising.

and his father and grandfather in Cunningham's account, although the manuscript of the *Amara-kāvya* (folio 32b) is said to state that Toḍā was given by Udayasiṁha to Rāmachandra.

TEXT[1]

1 Siddham[2] || Sidhi[3] || śrī-Gaṇeśa-prasādāt || Ya[ṁ] Vra(Bra)hma Vedānta-
2 vido vadaṁti paraṁ pradhānaṁ purushaṁ tath=ānye ||(|) vi[śv]-odgate[ḥ*]
3 kāraṇam=īśvaraṁ vā ta[smai] na[mo] Vighnavināśanāya ||[4]
4 **Saṁvatu[5] 1604 varshe** || **Śāke 1469 Mā[rga]sira[6]-[va]di 2 dinē**
5 **Vārhanīpati[7]** || pro°[8] Kānhaḍa | tasya putra pro° Narāiṇa[9] | tat-pu-
6 tra pro Mahesa[10] | pro° Chakrapāṇi || tasya putra[11] chi[12] Kāsīdāsa[13]
7 chi° Kimudāsa || rājādhirāja-rāja-śrī-Sūryaśeṇi[14] | **tasya putra**
8 rāja-śrī-Pṛithīrāja[15] | tasya putra rāja-śrī-rāwa[16]-**Rāmachanda**[17]-rājya
9 varttamāne || tasya putra kawaraṁ[18] cha[19] Parasarāma[20] [|] Pātisāha[21]
10 Sēra Sāhi Sūra[22] | tasya putra Pātisāha **Asalema Sāhi**[23] |[24] kau
11 vārau varttamāna [|*] sārvabhumikau[25] khasama ghoḍā lāsha(kha) 11 **kau sha(kha)sa-**
12 mu rāja-śrī-Saṁgrāmadeva | tasya putra rāja-śrī-**Udaiyaṁ(ya)siṁghadeva**[26] **rāṇau**
13 Kuṁbhalamera-rājya varttamāne [|*] | kārāgara[27] Lālū Śrīchaṁda[28] | Rāgū
14 [29]kārāgara Bhīwa[30] [|*] va(ba)huta kārāga-

[1] From an impression.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Sanskrit *siddhiḥ*.
[4] The metre of the verse is *Upajāti*.
[5] I.e. *Saṁvat*.
[6] I.e. *Mārgaśira* or *Mārgaśīrsha*.
[7] Sanskrit *Bṛihaspati* (or *Brahmaṇaspati* ?).
[8] Possibly a contraction for *prohita*=Sanskrit *purohita*.
[9] Sanskrit *Nārāyaṇa*.
[10] Sanskrit °*putrau*... *Maheśa*.
[11] In Sanskrit *putrau*.
[12] Possibly a contraction of Sanskrit *chirañjīva*.
[13] Sanskrit *Kāśīdāsa*.
[14] Possibly Sanskrit °*sena*.
[15] Sanskrit *Pṛithvī*°.
[16] From Sanskrit *rāja*.
[17] Sanskrit °*chandra*.
[18] Read *kaṁvara* (Sanskrit *kumāra*).
[19] This may be a mistake for *chi* (i.e. *chirañjīva*).
[20] Sanskrit *Paraśurāma*.
[21] Persian *Pādshāh* or *Pādishāh*, i.e. *Bādshāh*.
[22] I.e. *Sher Shāh Sūr*.
[23] I.e. *Islām Shāh* (cf. the spelling *Islim Shāh*).
[24] Omit the *daṇḍa* and read *sāhikau* (i.e. *sāhiko*).
[25] Better read *sarva-bhūmi*.
[26] Sanskrit *Udayasiṁha*°.
[27] Persian *kārīgar*.
[28] Sanskrit *śrīchandra*.
[29] This line is engraved below the latter half of the previous line.
[30] Sanskrit *Bhīma*.

15 [1]ra [|*] tina madhye |[2] chāri va(ba)ḍā ite(ti) [||*]

16 [3]likhitaṁ jo[4] Rāmadāsa[5] [|*]

17 [6]Vāi[k]ī lāgati

18 ṭaṁ[7] 1001 [sa]hasra eka a[ṁ*]ke [|*] Mevā[ḍy]ai[8] nāṇaṭ ṭhaṁka 6106[9] ṭaṁ 1

19 vāikai nimi[tta*] lāgā [|*] śubhaṁ bhavatu [|*] Rāma Rāma Rāma [||*]

No. 34—PURI INSCRIPTIONS OF ANANGABHIMA III, SAKA 1147 AND 1158

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

More than twenty years ago, the late Dr. Hirananda Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, copied some inscriptions engraved on the walls in the celebrated Jagannātha temple at **Purī**, Orissa. While examining the impressions of these records, now preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund, I noticed four interesting epigraphs of the time of the **Gaṅga** monarch **Anaṅgabhīma III** whose reign is usually assigned to *circa* 1211-38 A.D. The inscriptions were found on the walls of the second entrance of the Pātālēśvara (Śiva) shrine within the inner compound of the Jagannātha temple, one (No. 1) being on the right wall and the rest (Nos. 2-4) on the left. Of the three records on the left wall, No. 3 was found to occupy the space below the left half of No. 2.

Some special importance attaches to these inscriptions owing to the fact that, according to a tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, it was Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma who was responsible for the construction of the temple of Jagannātha (Purushōttama) at Purī, although the records of the family attribute it to his great-grandfather Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.). Scholars now usually believe that the temple was begun by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga but completed by Anaṅgabhīma III. Unfortunately so long no inscription either of Anaṅgabhīma III or any of his ancestors including Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (who annexed the Purī region to the Gaṅga empire) was traced in the temple in question. An interesting problem raised by the existence of these inscriptions is whether the god Jagannātha (Purushōttama) or the deities Balarāma, Kṛishṇa and Subhadrā (mentioned in one of the four records) could have been originally housed in what is now called the Pātālēśvara shrine.[10]

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[1] This line is incised below line 14.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[3] This line looks like the first half of line 14.

[4] This is a contraction of *joshī*, *joisī* or *jois* (Sanskrit *jyotishin*).

[5] In Sanskrit °*dāsena*.

[6] This line looks like the first half of line 15.

[7] I.e. *ṭanka*.

[8] The letter may also be read as *ḍau*.

[9] The reading may also be *ṭhakaḍa* 106, although the other reading is preferable as the Mewāṛ coins could hardly have greater value than the Delhi *ṭaṅkas*. A century later, during the reign of Rājasiṁha (1652-80 A. D.), the Dhabbuka or Dhebus coins were the popular currency of Mewāṛ (cf. above, Appendix (*Rājapraśasti*), p. 114). The Gadhaiya Paisās of both silver and copper were also current in Mewāṛ. See W. W. Webb, *The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rājputāna*, 1893, pp. 5-6. Webb speaks of coins (mostly copper 'black *ṭaṅka*' weighing 80 Ratis) issued by some of the Rāṇās (op. cit., pp. 6 ff.).

[10] Mr. P. Acharya informs me that the space inside the shrine is too small to accommodate three deities.

Inscription No. 1 consists of seven lines of writing and occupies a space of about 1¼ feet in length and 10 inches in breadth. There are only five lines of writing in Inscription No. 2, of which lines 1-4 are about 1¾ feet long while line 5 is nearly 2 feet in length. This inscription covers a space about seven inches wide. Inscription No. 3, consisting of eight lines of writing, occupies a space about 1½ feet in length and 10½ inches in breadth. Line 7 of this epigraph is smaller than lines 1-6, while line 8 is even smaller than line 7. Inscription No. 4, which consists of ten lines of writing, covers a space about 1¾ feet long and 1¼ feet wide.

The records are written in the Gauḍīya **characters** of about the thirteenth century A.D. Their **language** is old Oriya with a slight admixture of Sanskrit. They have to be counted amongst the earliest Oriya inscriptions so far discovered. In regard to palæography and **orthography**, the inscriptions resemble some other Orissan records of about the same period.[1] As usual with the medieval inscriptions of Orissa, some of the numerical figures are of the early Bengali type while others are of the Telugu-Kannaḍa type. But the figure for 3 has been written in two different ways in Inscription No. 1, line 7, and Inscription No. 4, line 3. In the former case, it resembles the Telugu-Kannaḍa form of the figure. The use of the pronominal adjective *i*, the locative suffixes *i* and *eṁ* and the dative suffix *kai*, side by side with *ku*, is of grammatical interest. It seems that *kai* and *ku* have been used in two distinct senses, the former to indicate 'for' and the latter 'to'. All the four records bear dates in the Śaka era and in the years of the well-known Aṅka system of regnal reckoning prevalent in Orissa. No. 1 is dated in Śaka 1147 (1225 A.D.), the others (Nos. 2-4) bearing dates in Śaka 1158 (1237 A.D.).

Inscription No. 1 records the grant of three *Vāṭis* of land in a locality called Kshagōpaḍā or Chhagōpaḍā by the *Śrīkaraṇa* (officer of the record department or member of the writer class) Suru-sēnāpati (literally, 'the general named Suru') on Thursday, Āshāḍha-sudi 5, in Śaka 1147 and in the Aṅka year 15 (or the 13th regnal year) of the reign of Anaṅkabhīmadēva (i.e. Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III). General Suru, donor of the grant, is also known from two Srikurmam records[2] of Śaka 1137 (1215 A.D.) and 1163 (1241 A.D.). It is well known that the royal name is found in various forms such as *Anaṅka*, *Aniyaṅka*, *Anaṅga*, etc., although the form found in the present record (No. 1) is also noticed in the other three inscriptions under discussion. *Aniyaṅka* seems to be derived from a combination of Telugu *ani* (cf. Kannaḍa *aṇi*, Tamil *aṇiyam*) 'battle', and Sanskrit *aṅka*, 'mark', etc., and to be Sanskritized into *Anaṅga* through the intermediate form *Anaṅka*.[3] One *Vāṭi*, which is equal to twenty *Māṇas*, is now regarded as equivalent to twenty acres of land. The date of the inscription corresponds regularly to Thursday, June 26, 1225 A.D. The grant was made in favour of the god Purushōttama (Jagannātha), for making provision for the offering (*naivēdya*) of milk, clarified butter, rice and curds to the deity, with the cognizance (*gōcharē*) of Mahādēva Pāṭhin. The exact relation of Mahādēva Pāṭhin with the gift or gift land cannot be determined. We do not know whether he was a royal officer in charge of transactions involving deeds of gift, or a witness of such a transaction, or the original title-holder of the gift land from whom the donor may have purchased it. It is stated that the grant was made with clarified butter, curry (*vyañjana*), curds and betel-leaf. The real significance of the statement is uncertain although a similar one is found in all the four inscriptions. But it is

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[1] In some cases, the superscript *n* has been so written in the inscriptions as to look like the *anusvāra* as in certain modern Oriya conjuncts.

[2] *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1287 and 1299.

[3] Mr. P. B. Desai thinks that *aṅka* is the abbreviation of *aṅkakāra* which occurs frequently in the medieval Kannaḍa inscriptions and literature in the sense of a sworn champion, veteran, leader, etc. Its adaptation can be traced in Telugu *aṅkakāḍu*. *Aniyaṅka-Bhīma* would thus mean 'veritable Bhīma, the indomitable hero in battle'. Aṇiyaṅka was the name of the leader of the Tamil army, who seized the throne of Ceylon according to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (Sewell, *Hist. Ins. S. Ind.*, p. 131).

not impossible to think that it was the custom to offer land to the god for making provision for *naivēdya* formally with an offering of a *bhōga* consisting of clarified butter, curry, curds and betel-leaf.

Inscription No. 2 records the grant of two *Vāṭis* and 5 *Māṇas* (i.e. 2¼ *Vāṭis*) of land in the village of Kshātayī (or Chhātayī)-Utapallī (or Utapallī in the Kshātayī or Chhātayī division) by the footman (*Padātaka*, modern Oriya *Pāika*) Khaṇḍa, who was the son of Chaṇḍānā, on Monday, Makara-badi 7, in Śaka 1158 and in the Aṅka year 29 of *Rāutta* (i.e. feudatory ruler) Anaṅkabhīmadēva (Anaṅgabhīma III) falling in the victorious reign of the god Purushōttama. It is clear from this record that the Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III considered himself a viceroy of the god whom he regarded as the real lord of his kingdom. We have seen elsewhere[1] how the Oriya chronicle *Mādalā Pāñjī* records a tradition according to which a Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma dedicated his dominions in favour of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, as a result of which act he regarded himself as a ruler of the *Rāuta* class and his successor did not enjoy formal coronation. We also know that one of the Bhubaneswar inscriptions[2] of Anaṅgabhīma III mentions his empire as the *Purushōttama-sāmrājya*, 'the empire of Purushōttama', while some records[3] of Bhānu II, great-great-grandson of Anaṅgabhīma III, mention the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha as his overlord. The date of the inscription under review corresponds regularly to Monday, January 5, 1237 A.D. The twentyninth year of the Aṅka reckoning corresponded to the twentyfourth regnal year of the Gaṅga monarch. The grant recorded in this epigraph was made in favour of the god Purushōttama for making provision for offerings to the deity with the cognizance of Viśvapati. It was made with clarified butter, curry, curds and betel-leaf as in the case of Inscription No. 1 analysed above. The meaning of the last line of the record, which speaks of the deities Halin (Balarāma), Chakrin (Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu) and Subhadrā, is difficult to determine. But the mention of these three deities, in connection with the Jagannātha temple at Purī in a record of the thirteenth century is interesting. A Bhubaneswar inscription of the same century, bearing the date Śaka 1200 (1278 A.D.), states how the Gaṅga princess Chandrikā or Chandrādēvī, daughter of Bhānu I, built a Vishṇu temple at Ēkāmra (Bhubaneswar) and 'decorated with diadems and other ornaments Bala, Kṛishṇa and Subhadrā (apparently installed in the said temple)'.[4]

Inscription No. 3 records the gift of one *Vāṭi* of land at Kurāṅga and another plot consisting of one *Vāṭi* at Mūraḍa by Kīrttivāsa(or Kṛittivāsa)-nāyaka on Sunday, Kumbha-sudi 7, in Śaka 1158 and in the Aṅka year 29 (i.e. in the 24th regnal year) of the reign of Anaṅkabhīmadēva (Anaṅghabhīma III). According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, in the Śaka year 1158 expired, Kumbha(i.e. solar Phālguna)-badi 7 fell on February 3, 1237 A.D., which was, however, a Tuesday and not Sunday as stated in the inscription. The grant of the above two *Vāṭis* of land was made in favour of the god Purushōttama for making provision for offerings to the deity with the cognizance of Pāṭhin Mahādēva who is known from Inscription No. 1. It was made with clarified butter, curds, curry and betel-leaf as in the cases of Nos. 1-2.

Inscription No. 4 records the grants of two pieces of land by the *Śrīkaraṇa* Suru-sēnāpati, the donor of the grant recorded in No. 1, on Friday, Phālguna-badi 1, in Śaka 1158 and in the Aṅka year 31 (i.e. in the 25th regnal year) of the reign of Anaṅkabhīmadēva (Anaṅgabhīma III). According to the *Indian Ephemeris*, in the Śaka year 1158 expired, Phālguna-badi 1 fell on February 12, 1237 A.D., which was, however, a Thursday and not Friday as given in the record. The first of the two pieces of gift land measured one *Vāṭi* and was situated in a locality called Rāvaṅga-Ālasaṇā (or Ālasaṇā in the Rāvaṅga division). It was made in favour of the god Purushōttama for making provision for the supply of one *Māṇa* (probably the same as *Maṇa* equivalent to

[1] *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 48 ff. ; above, pp. 19 ff.
[2] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, p. 73 ; *Journ. Kal. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff.
[3] *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1154-5, 1214 ; Vol. VI, Nos. 714, 938.
[4] See above, Vol. XIII, p. 153 (text, line 17).

40 Seers or about 82 pounds) of rice, possibly per day, to the deity with the cognizance of Mahādēva Pāṭhin known from Nos. 1 and 3. The grant was made with clarified butter, curds, curry and betel-leaf as in the other cases analysed above. The other piece of land measured 10 *Māṇas* (i.e. ½ *Vāṭi*) and was apparently situated in the same locality and dedicated to the same god. It is stated to have been granted for making provision for the supply of ten bundles (? *halā*) of fragrant flowers probably per day. This grant was made with the cognizance of a person called Kalūā-mālaṇī.

The dates of the inscriptions under discussion raise certain interesting questions, the first of which relates to the initial year of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III. The late Mr. M. Chakravarti believed that the said Gaṅga king ascended the throne in Śaka 1133 (1211-12 A.D.)[1] and this suggestion has been generally accepted by scholars.[2] Our inscriptions, however, show that a date in his 13th regnal year (15th Aṅka) fell in Śaka 1147 (1225-26 A.D.), while the end of the 24th (29th Aṅka) and the beginning of the 25th (31st Aṅka) year of his reign fell in the month of Kumbha or Phālguna in Śaka 1158 (1236-37 A.D.). This fact would suggest that Anaṅgabhīma III ascended the throne not in Śaka 1133 but in the month of Phālguna in Śaka 1134, that is to say, about the beginning of 1213 A.D. Inscription No. 3 is dated in Śaka 1158, Kumbha-sudi 6, corresponding to February 3, 1237 A.D. This date fell in the king's 29th Aṅka or 24th regnal year, while Inscription No. 4, is dated in Śaka 1158, Phālguna (Kumbha)-badi 1 corresponding to February 12, 1237 A.D. and falling in his 31st Aṅka or 25th regnal year. Thus the end of the 24th and the beginning of the 25th regnal year of Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III fell on a date between the 3rd and 12th February, 1237 A.D. His accession or the beginning of his first regnal year therefore fell on a date in the corresponding period of 1213 A.D. It may be recalled in this connection that a Bhubaneswar inscription of Narasiṁha I, son and successor of Anaṅgabhīma III, is dated in Śaka 1165 and in the Aṅka year 5 (i.e. the 4th regnal year) of that king's reign and that this suggests a later date than the one proposed by Chakravarti for this prince's accession.[3] It has, however, to be admitted that, among other known records of the time of Anaṅgabhīma III, some[4] would support the evidence of the inscriptions under study while some others[5] would suggest a slightly earlier date for his accession. Similarly there is no uniformity in the epigraphic evidence relating to the date of the accession of Narasiṁha I.[6] Much of this discrepancy is no doubt due to the mistakes committed by the scribes responsible for the epigraphs.[7]

According to Chakravarti, the characteristics of the Aṅka system of regnal reckoning are the following: (1) 1 and all figures ending in 0 (except 10) and 6 should be omitted; (2) the last Aṅka of one king and the second Aṅka (i.e. regnal year 1) of the succeeding king fall in the same year; and (3) the year begins on the day of Suniyā, Siṁha (Bhādrapada) śukla-dvādaśī.[8] Inscriptions

[1] *JASB*, 1903, p. 118.

[2] *JAHRS*, Vol. VII, p. 233.

[3] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, p. 121. But this discrepancy may possibly be rectified if the Śaka year is regarded as current (see *IHQ*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 81 ff.).

[4] See *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1290 equating his 22nd Aṅka or 18th regnal year (Siṁha-sudi 7, Friday) with Śaka 1152.

[5] Ibid., No. 1282 dated Śaka 1139 and the 9th Aṅka or 7th regnal year, and No. 1318 dated Śaka 1147 and the 17th Aṅka or 14th regnal year (Mithuna-sudi 11, Wednesday).

[6] Cf. ibid., No. 1261 dated Śaka 1176 (not 1179 as printed)=19th Aṅka or 16th regnal year (Tulā-saṁkrānti, badi 1, Monday), and No. 1265 dated 1179 (not 1129 as printed)=24th Aṅka or 20th regnal year (Tulā-sudi 2, Tuesday) which appear to suggest that Narasiṁha I ascended the throne in the month of Tulā in Śaka 1161 (October, 1239 A.D.). But some inscriptions point to a date several months earlier. Cf. No. 1272 dated Śaka 1163=4th Aṅka or 3rd regnal year (Ṛishabha-sudi 13, Thursday), No. 1305 dated Śaka 1167=10th Aṅka or 8th regnal year (Mīna-sudi 6, Friday), etc.

[7] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 342 ff., for the responsibility of astrologers.

[8] *JASB*, 1903, p. 100.

Nos. 3-4 under review show that the 29th Aṅka of Anaṅgabhīma III was followed immediately by his 31st Aṅka. The year 30 was thus omitted according to rule No. 1 quoted above. But rule No. 3 does not agree with the evidence supplied by our inscriptions. According to the rule, an Aṅka year of a king's reign (with the exception of the 2nd Aṅka or 1st regnal year, according to rule No. 2) began on Siṁha (Bhādrapada)-sudi 12; but we have seen above how the 31st Aṅka or 25th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III began in the month of Phālguna. The conventional beginning of the Aṅka year quoted by Chakravarti therefore seems to have been stereotyped after the age of Anaṅgabhīma III.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the four inscriptions: Kshagōpaḍā or Chhagōpaḍā (No. 1), Kshātayī (or Chhātayī)-Utapallī or Utapallī in the division called Kshātayī or Chhātayī (No. 2), Kurāṅga and Mūraḍa (No. 3), and Rāvaṅga-Ālasaṇā or Ālasaṇā in the division called Rāvaṅga (No. 4). I am not sure about the identification of the localities. If Rāvaṅga was really the name of a district, it may be no other than the Rāvaṅga or Rāmaṅga *vishaya* mentioned in several other records.[1]

TEXT[2]

Inscription No. 1

1 Siddham[3] Svasta(sti |) Sākādva[4] 1[14]7 [| *] Svast[i] [| *] śrī[5]-Anaṅkabhī-

2 madevaśya(sya) prava[rddhamā]na-vija[ya]-rāye[6] samata[7] śrā-

3 hi 15 Āsāḍha-su[kla] 5 Guruvāreṁ[8] śrīkaraṇa-Suru-

4 senāpatiṅka bhumi darta[9] śrī-Pūrushotama[10]de-

5 vaṅku [|*] i naiverdya(dya) du[gdha-ghrita]-chāula-dahī [i-māna]-

6 ṅkai Kshagopaḍā[11] i Māhādeva-Pāḍhīkaṁ(ṅka)[12] gochareṁ

7 dadhi-ghrita-tāmvola-vyañjana-sahīte datta bh[u]mi vāṭi 3 [||*]

Inscription No. 2

1 Siddham[13] Svasti [|*] Śākādvā[14] 1158 śrī-Puruso(sho)ttamasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājye Rāutta[15]-śrīmad-Anaṅka-

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[1] *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 24.

[2] From impressions. As in Oriya the vowels *ē* and *ō* are often short, their length-marks have been omitted in the transcripts of the inscriptions to avoid confusion.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] Sanskrit *Śakābdāḥ*.

[5] The rule of *sandhi* (according to Sanskrit grammar) has been ignored.

[6] Sanskrit *rājyē*. The word *rāye* is pronounced in Oriya as *rāje*.

[7] The expressions *samata* and *śrāhi* stand respectively for Sanskrit *saṁvat* or *saṁvatsarē* and *śaradi* (through Prakrit *sarahi*).

[8] Sanskrit *Āshāḍha-śukla 5 Guruvārē*.

[9] Sanskrit *bhūmir=dattā*.

[10] Sanskrit *śrī-Purushōttama*.

[11] The intended pronunciation may be *Chhagōpaḍā*.

[12] Sanskrit *Mahādēva-pāṭhinaḥ*.

[13] Expressed by symbol.

[14] Sanskrit *Śakābdāḥ*.

[15] This word stands for Sanskrit *Rājaputra* and is used as a viceregal title.

2 bhi(bhī)madevasya [śrāhī] saṁ[1] 29 aṅke abhilī(li)khyamāne ||[2] Makara-kṛishṭa(shṇa) 7[3] Somavāre śrī-Puruso-

3 tmadevakuṁ(ṅku)[4] [pa]dāta[ka]-Khaṇḍa Cha[ṇḍānā]-suta darta bhumī[5] vāṭi-dvayaṁ māṇa-pa[ñcha] Visvapati[6]-go-

4 chareṁ grāma Kshātayī[7]-Utapallī naivedy-ārthaṁ ghrita-vi[ñja]na-dadhi-tāmvola-sahite[8]

5 [9][ta]ṁḍau karārthaṁ Halī Chatrī(krī) Sū(Su)bhadrā śrī-Koñchakau karaśya ṇasyatiḥ ||[10]

INSCRIPTION No. 3

1 [Siddham][11] Svasti [|*] śrī[12]-Anaṅkabhi(bhī)madevasya prava[rddha*]mā-

2 [na]-vīja-rāye[13] samvatta[14] srāhī 29 Śākādvā[15]

3 1158 Kumbha-sukla[16] 6 Ravī(vi)vāre śrī-Pu-

4 rushotmadevaṅka[17] yi[18] Kīrtīvāsanāya-

5 ka-datta bhumī Kurāṅga Vāṭi 1 Mūraḍa

6 vāṭi 1 nau(nai)vedyake(kai) [vāṭi ?] 2 ghṛita-dadhī-[vya][19]-

7 veñjana-tāmvolapatā-dāna-[sa]ge[ṁ(ṅge)]

8 Pāṭhi-Māhādeva[20]-gochare [||*]

INSCRIPTION No. 4

1 Siddham[21] Svasti [*] Śyākādva[22] 1158 [*] svast[i] [|*] śrī[23]-Ana-

2 kaṁ(ṅka)bhi(bhī)madevaśya(sya) pravarddhamāna-vīja-rāye[24]

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[1] *Saṁ* is a contraction of *saṁvat* or *saṁvatsarē*.

[2] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[3] The figure 7 had been at first omitted by the engraver and was later squeezed in the small space between the preceding and following *aksharas*.

[4] Sanskrit *śrī-Purushōttamadēvāya*.

[5] Sanskrit *dattā bhūmiḥ*.

[6] Sanskrit *Viśvapati*.

[7] The intended pronunciation may be *Chhātayī*. ?

[8] Two *aksharas* here are indistinct.

[9] The meaning of this line is not clear. *Karārthaṁ* may be intended for Sanskrit *karaṇ-ārtham*. If *taṁḍau* can be read as *maṁḍo*, the word may be associated with Sanskrit *maṇḍapa* or *maṇḍana*. But it is very doubtful. The *akshara ḍau* may also be read *prai*; but the meaning of the expression is uncertain.

[10] There are a number of *aksharas* after this; but their reading is uncertain.

[11] Expressed by symbol.

[12] The rule of *sandhi* has been ignored.

[13] Sanskrit *vijaya-rājyē*.

[14] This expression stands for *saṁvat* or *saṁvatsarē*.

[15] Sanskrit *Śakābdāḥ*.

[16] Sanskrit *śukla*.

[17] Sanskrit *śrī-Purushōttamadevasya*.

[18] This is either a mistake for *śrī* or an alternative form of *i* as found in Inscription No. 1 above. The usual form of the following proper name is *Krittivāsa*.

[19] This *akshara* is redundant.

[20] Sanskrit *Mahādēva*.

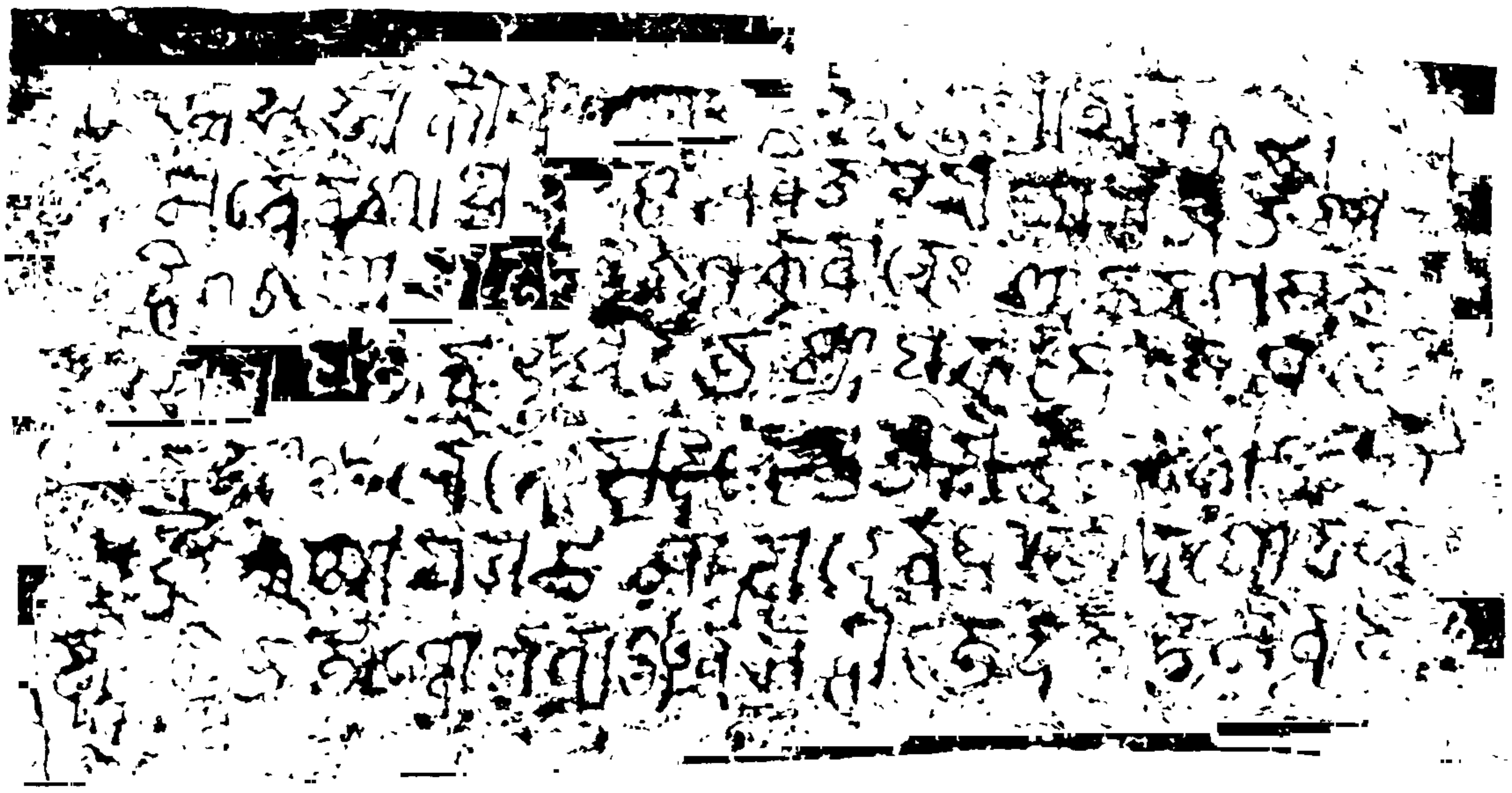
[21] Expressed by symbol.

[22] Read *Śakābdāḥ*.

[23] The rule of *sandhi* has been ignored.

[24] Sanskrit *vijaya-rājyē*.

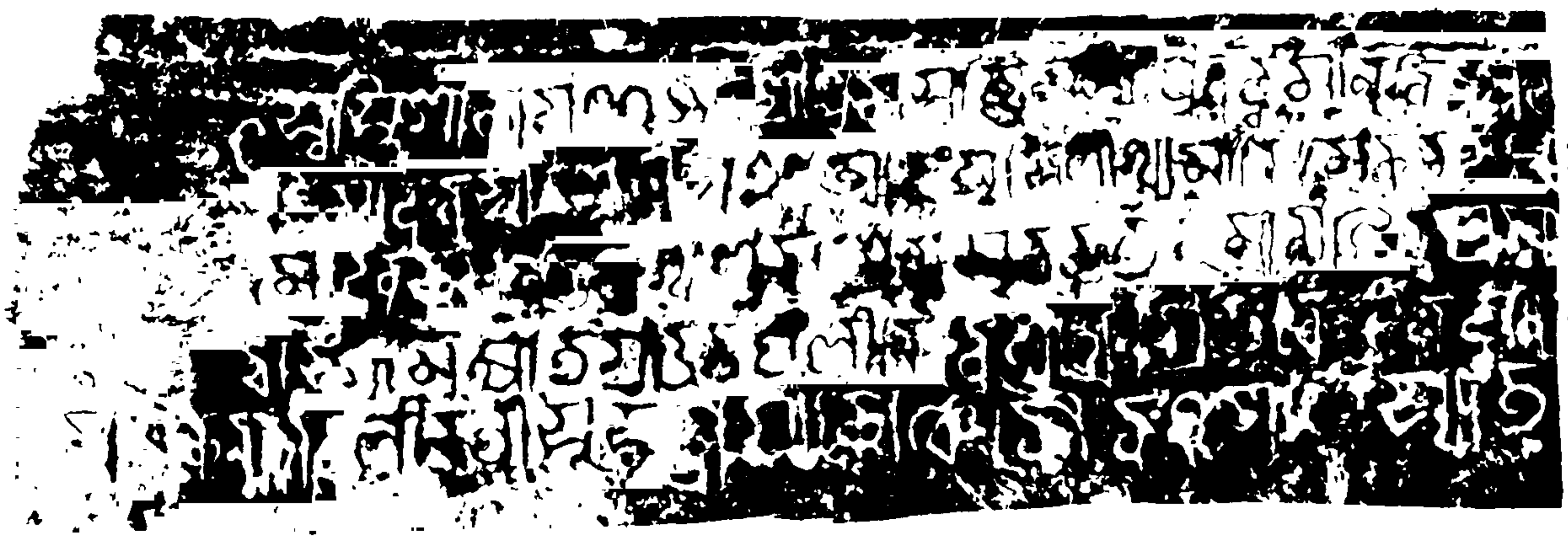
Inscription No. 1



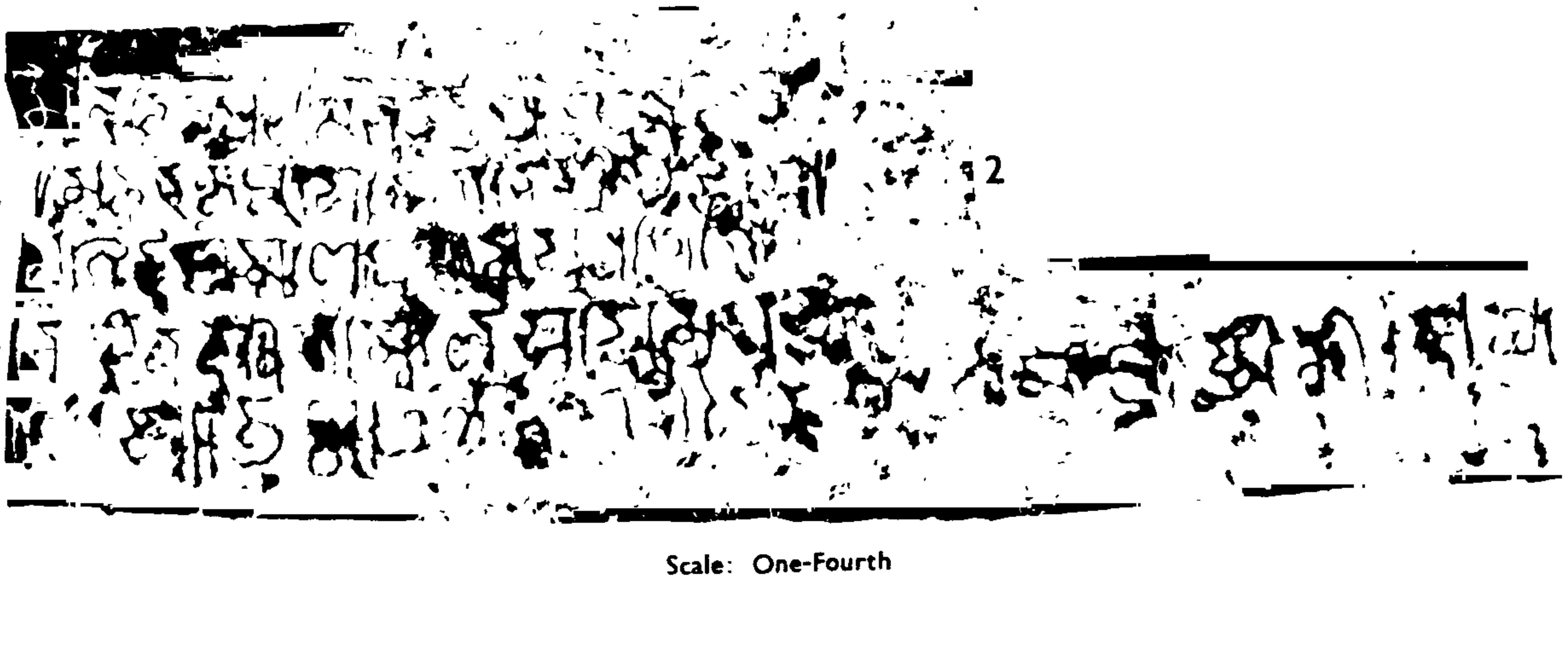
Scale: Two-Elevenths

Inscription No. 2

Left Half

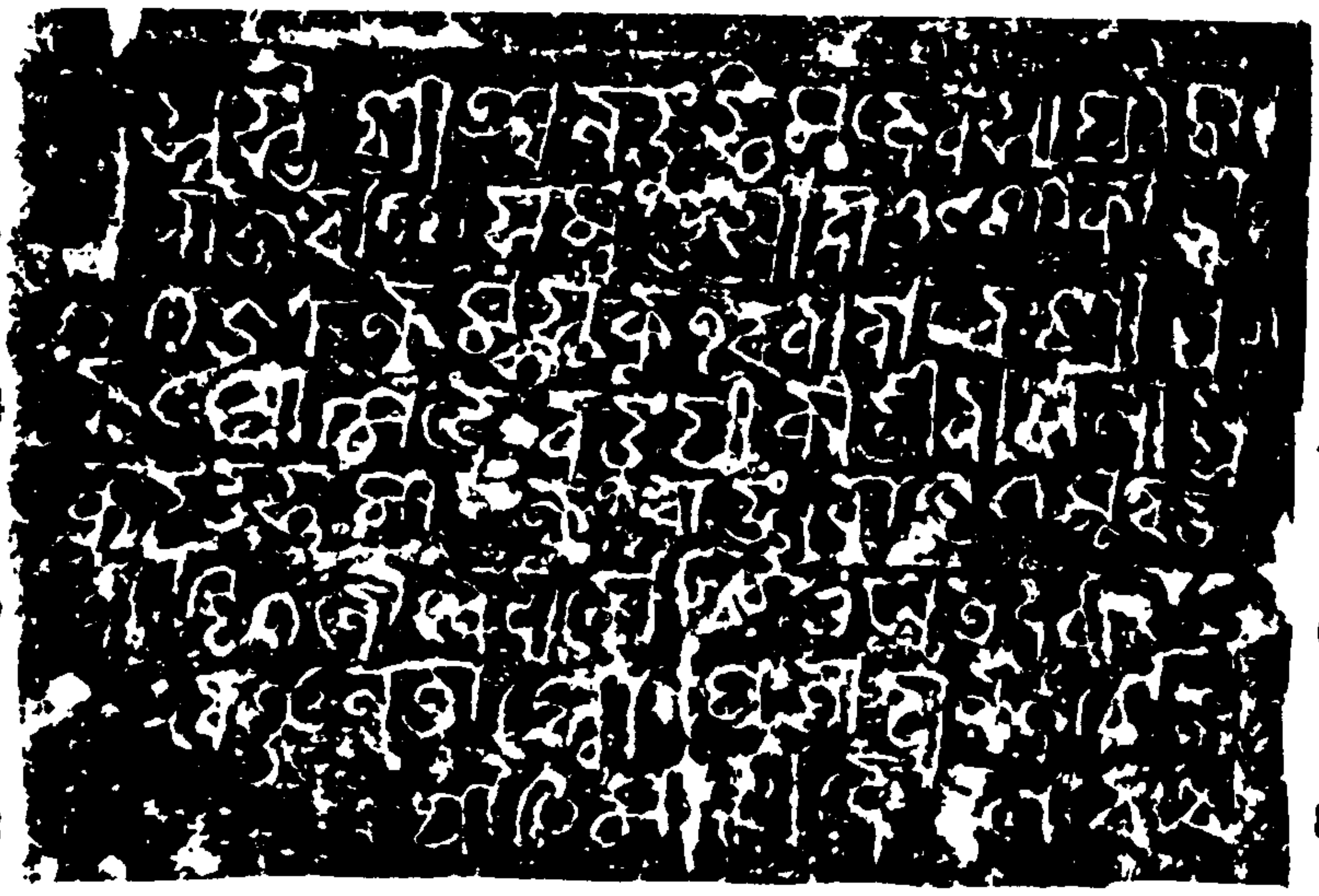


Right Half

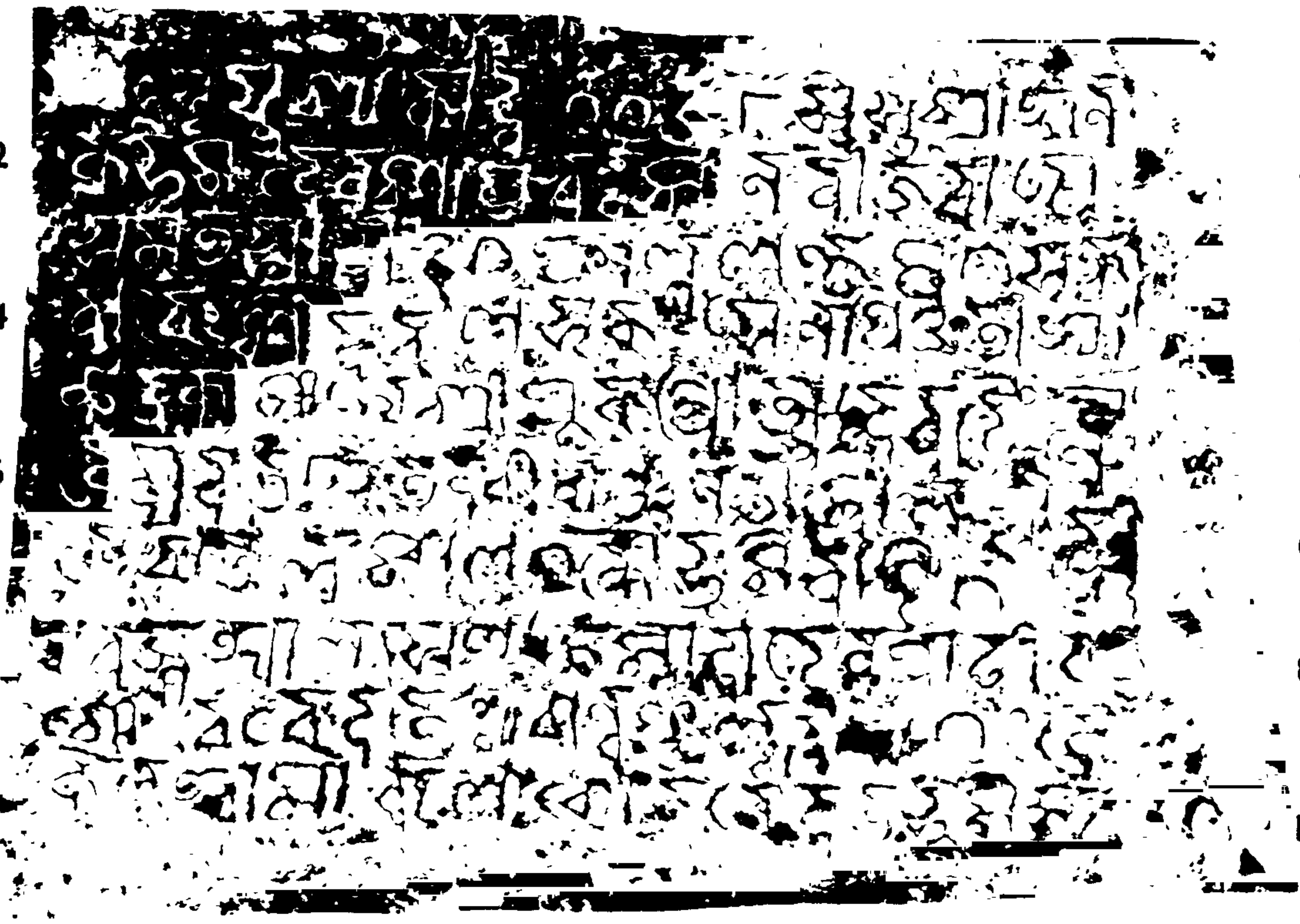


Scale: One-Fourth

Inscription No.3



Inscription No.4



Scale: One-Fourth

3 samata srāhī 31 Phālguṇa(na)-krishṇa 1 Su(Śu)kra-

4 vāreṁ śrīkaraṇa-Suru-senāpatī(ti) ā-

5 iu-kāmārthe[1] śrī-Pūrushotmadevaṅkai nai-

6 vedya darta[2] gh[ri]ta-dadhī-vyañjana-tāmvola-sahī-

7 te chāula-māṇa 1 kau(kai) bhūmi-vāṭi 1

8 Rāvaṅga-Ālasaṇāi Māhādeva-Pāḍhī[kaṁ(ṅka)]

9 gochare dataḥ || gandha-phula-ha[lā ?] 10 kai

10 Kalūā-mālaṇī-gochare data bhūmi-māṇa 10 [||*]

No. 35—KHONAMUKH PLATES OF DHARMAPALA OF PRAGJYOTISHA

(1 Plate)

P. Banerjee, Calcutta

This is a set of **three** copper plates, each measuring 9″×6″. They are the property of the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. They were found by one Budhu Sut while tilling the ground at **Khonamukh**, a village in Mauza Barbhagiya in the Nowgong District of Assam. Khonamukh is about twenty-one miles from the Nowgong town. According to the information supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, the inscription had been kept for some time at the Śivathān of the village, but was brought afterwards to Mr. L. M. Som, then Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong. And, ultimately, it was secured for the Assam State Museum.

The inscription was first published with an English translation by Mr. P. D. Chaudhury in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 113 ff. The late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, aided by Dr. R. G. Basak, suggested some corrections in respect of lines 35, 36, 37 and 40 of the inscription in the same journal, Vol. XI, pp. 1-3. A fresh and critical edition is now attempted from a nice set of inked impressions kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are held together by a ring passing through the circular holes in them. Around the hole in each plate has been left some blank space, about 1½″×1½″ (the width of three lines of writing) in plate 1, and about 1″×1″ (the width of two lines of writing) in plates 2 and 3. Joined to the ring is the king's **seal** which is heart-shaped. The seal is divided into two compartments 'by a ledge running across it'. The upper portion of it shows the figure of an elephant to front while the lower portion is occupied by the legend consisting of the king's name and titles engraved in letters slightly larger in size than those employed in the grant. The seal measures 5″×3½″.

The first and third plates are inscribed only on their inner side. The second plate containe writing on both the sides. The inscription consists of 58 lines of writing. The first inscribed side contains 16 lines, the second and third 15 lines each, and the fourth only 12 lines. The first side of the inscription is broken at places with the result that some letters have completely disappeared. Some inscribed portions of the fourth side (i.e. the third plate) also are either wholly or partially effaced.

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[1] Sanskrit *āyushkām-ā°*.

[2] Sanskrit *śrī-Purushōttamadēvārthaṁ naivēdyaṁ* (i.e. *°devasya naivedy-ārtham*) *dattam*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. The formal part of the grant in lines 26-35 and 44-58 describing the locality and its boundaries, etc., is in prose. The remaining portion giving the genealogy of the donor and the donee is in verse.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to a variety of the alphabet used in the eastern part of India in the 12th century A.D. The letter *r* retains mostly its old form though its more developed triangular shape is also in evidence here and there (cf. *vīr°* in line 25, *viśāradaḥ* in line 36, *Harēḥ* in line 41, etc.). Another peculiarity is the use of three varieties of the sign of the initial *i*. The first of these consists of two dots or ringlets with a complicated hook below. The second one is composed of two similar dots or ringlets with a circumflex above and hook below. The third variety is similar to the second except that, instead of a regular hook, it has got a slanting stroke below. *Anusvāra* is formed sometimes by a dot or ringlet alone (cf. *bhinnaṁ* and *Bhāratīyaṁ* in lines 2 and 17 respectively) but sometimes as in modern Bengali by a dot with a slanting line below it (cf. *Bhīmaṁ* in line 6, *paraṁ* in line 22, etc.). *B* and *v* are denoted throughout by the same sign.

As regards **orthography**, the following points call for remarks. *N* has been need in the place of *anusvāra* in *nistrinsa* in line 22 and *mīmānsā* in line 42. *Visarga* before the dental sibilant changes into that letter in *bhūs=sa* in lines 10-11. Final *m* is often wrongly substituted by *anusvāra*. Consonants following *r* are sometimes doubled.

The execution of the inscription is unsatisfactory. Letters or syllables are often omitted (cf. *kaṇa°* for *karaṇa°* in line 30, *rādhikṛitān* for *rāṇak-ādhikṛitān* in line 31, *pratīn* for *prabhṛitīn* in lines 31-32). There are occasional confusions of sibilants, as in *sṛiṅgāra°* for *śṛiṅgāra°* in line 2, *sasāsa* for *śaśāsa* in line 4, etc. Prakritism is to be found in *vachchharē* for Sanskrit *vatsarē* in line 43.

The present charter was issued by king **Dharmapāla** (son of **Harshapāla** and grandson of **Gōpāla**) of **Prāgjyōtisha** in Assam. Two other copper-plate grants of this king are known. They are the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka and Pushpabhadrā grants, both edited by Padmanātha Bhaṭṭāchārya in the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 146 ff. The introductory as well as the genealogical portion of the present inscription is also found (with but few divergences) in the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant. This agreement which is due to these two inscriptions having been composed by one and the same poet, named Prasthānakalaśa, has helped us in restoring some of the portions missing in the present record.

The present inscription is the earliest of the three grants of Dharmapāla.[1] It was issued in the first regnal year of the king while his Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka inscription was issued in the third year of his reign. The Pushpabhadrā grant which contains no date was issued in his advanced age as Bhaṭṭāchārya has convincingly shown.[2]

The inscription begins with *svasti* and is followed by a laudatory verse in honour of Ardhayuvatīśvara (i.e. Ardhanārīśvara-Śiva).[3] It then gives in the next thirteen verses the genealogy of king Dharmapāla. There was a king Naraka by name, who was born of the Earth and Vishṇu in his Boar incarnation. His son was Bhagadatta. Then after an undefined interval flourished in the latter's family a king named Brahmapāla.[4] His son was Ratnapāla[5] and grandson Purandarapāla

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[1] Mr. Jenkins, Agent of the then Governor General, made mention of a grant of one Dharmapāla, dated in the year 36, when he sent a copy of the grant of Vanamāla to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. See *JASB*, 1840, p. 766. But nothing about its contents or whereabouts is known to us.

[2] *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 147.

[3] The Pushpabhadrā grant of Dharmapāla, which was issued in later years of the king, begins with a verse in honour of Vishṇu. This shows that the king who was a follower of Saivism as it appears from the present grant, in early years, became devoted to Vishṇu in later life. [The adoration to Śiva at the beginning of the Khonamukh and Subhaṅkarapāṭaka inscriptions may be due to their author Prasthānakalasa being a Śaiva.—D.C.S.]

[4] No inscription of Brahmapāla has been discovered as yet. In the inscription of his son, Ratnapāla, he is simply called *Mahārājādhirāja*, while Ratnapāla has full imperial titles. See *JASB*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, p. 111.

[5] For Ratnapāla's reign we have two copper-plate grants, the Bargaon grant and the Suālkuchi grant. See *JASB*, op. cit., pp. 99 ff., and *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 89 ff.

who died as a *Yuvarāja* leaving behind his son Indrapāla.[1] Indrapāla's son was Gōpāla. The latter's son was Harashapāla.[2] From him and his queen Ratnā was born Dharmapāla.

Besides carrying the genealogy of the Pāla kings of Assam three generations further from Indrapāla, the inscriptions of Dharmapāla throw no new light on the history of Prāgjyōtisha. These grants, like those of Indrapāla and Ratnapāla, are not dated in any era. Chronologically, the Pālas of Assam followed the line of Prālambha which again was preceded by that of Sālastambha[3] flourishing perhaps immediately after Bhāskaravarman. Brahmapāla, the first of the Pāla rulers in Assam, was chosen, we are told in his son Ratnapāla's Bargaon grant, as king by the people to continue the line of Naraka, on Tyāgasiṁha (the last king of Sālastambha's family) dying issueless.[4] On palaeographical grounds, Hoernle[5] was inclined to place Ratnapāla's grants in *circa* 1010-1050 A.D. Brahmapāla, then, it appears, ruled somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1000 A.D. Regarding Dharmapāla's period of rule, it may be stated that he flourished three generations later than Indrapāla whose Gauhati plates have been assigned to *c.* 1060 A.D.[6] on palaeographical reasons. Thus Dharmapāla reigned somewhere in the first half of the 12th century A.D. and this is supported by the palaeography of his inscriptions.

The **object** of the inscription is to record a grant made by king Dharmapāla of some land in Mērupāṭaka, producing six thousand measures of paddy.[7] Mērupāṭaka was a plot of land carved out of a bigger area called Digalaṇḍī belonging to the district of Purujī.[8] The donee was *Bhaṭṭa* Mahābāhu, son of Vishṇu and grandson of Ummōka who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and follower of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the *Yajurvēda* and hailed from Madhyadēśa.

It may be stated here that only a portion of Mērupāṭaka yielding six thousand measures of paddy was given by this grant to *Bhaṭṭa* Mahābāhu. Another portion of it yielding the same quantity of paddy was already in the possession of Mahābāhu. As it is stated in line 45 of the inscription, this portion lay on the east of what was conveyed to him by the present grant.

Regarding the localities mentioned in the inscription, the name **Prāgjyōtisha** is applied here to a city, as also in some other records of Assam. The city stood somewhere near the modern town of Gauhati. The other localities could not be identified.

TEXT[9]

First Plate

[Metres : vv. 1-13 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 14 *Mālinī* ; v. 15 *Āryā* ; vv. 16, 17, 19, 20 and 22 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 18 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 21 irregular.]

1 S[v]asti | Vandē tam=Arddhay[u]vatīśvaram=ādidēvam=indīvar-ōraga-phaṇā-maṇi-karṇṇa-pūra[ṁ][10](ram|) [uttu]-

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[1] There are two copper-plate grants of Indrapāla's reign, namely, the Gauhati plates (*JASB*, Vol. XLVI, 1897, pp. 113 ff., and *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 116 ff.) and the Guākuchi grant (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 130 ff.).

[2] No inscriptions of Gōpāla and Harshapāla, the grandfather and father respectively of Dharmapāla, have yet been found.

[3] [But see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 149.—Ed.]

[4] *JASB*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, p. 108.

[5] Ibid., 1898, p. 102.

[6] Loc. cit.

[7] In line 30 of the inscription the piece of land in question is described as *dvi-sahasr-ōtpattika*, i.e. producing only two thousand measures of paddy. But this is apparently a scribal mistake for *shaṭ-sahasr-ōtpattika*, for in line 43 of the record, the land granted to the donee is expressly called *dhānya-shaṭ-sahasr-ōtpattikā bhūmi*.

[8] It is mentioned also in the Pushpabhadrā grant of Dharmapāla, line 46. See *Kamarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 177.

[9] From impressions. Minor errors in the published transcript of the inscription have not been noted in all cases.

[10] In the place of *karṇṇapūra[ṁ]*, Padmanātha Bhaṭṭāchārya reads *kaṇṭha-ba[ndhaṁ]* in the Subhankarapāṭaka inscription (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 150).

2 [ṅga-pīna][1]-kucha-kuṅkuma-bhasma-bhinnaṁ sṛi(śṛi)ṅgāra-raudra-rasayōr=iva sarggam=ēkaṁ-(kam) || [1*] Dēvasya Sū[ka]-

3 [ra-tanōs=ta][2]nayaḥ Pṛithivyāṁ jātō va(ba)bhūva nṛipatir=Nnarak-ābhidhānaḥ | jitvā Śatakratu-puraḥ[sa]-

4 [ra-dikpatī]n[3] yaḥ **Prāgyōtishā[4]-puri** chirāya sasāsa[5] rājyaṁ(jyam) || [2*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ samabhavad=Bhagada-

5 [tta-nā[6]]mā dhām-ādhikō nṛipati-mauli-nighṛishṭa-pādaḥ | yat-saṁgara-śrama-visī(shī)dad-asīma-śaurya[ṁ]

6 [mū]rchchhā priy=ēva parirabhya raraksha Bhīmaṁ(mam) || [3*] Tasmina(smin) mahī-pati-kulē Kulaśaila-kalpaḥ Prāchī-

7 [pa]ti-pratikṛitir=nnṛipatir=vva(bba)bhūva | śrī-Vra(Bra)hmapāla iti viśruta-nāmadhēyō dhyē-yō dvi-

8 [shā]ṁ guṇavatāñ=cha bhay-ānurāgaiḥ || [4*] Prādurvva(rbba)bhūva suta-ratnam=anūna-dhāmā śrī-Ratnapā-

9 [la] iti tasya yathārtha-nāmā | yasy=āsa saṁgara-jitō nṛipa-chakra-mauli-mālā-dharē

10 [cha]raṇa ēva mahīpa-lakshmīḥ || [5*] Tasy=ātmajō=jani Purandarapāla-nāmā dhām-aika-bhū-

11 s=sa sukṛitī yuvarāja ēva | sāyujyam=āpa vidhi-viparyayataḥ[7] pitṛīṇām=utpādya sādhu-chari[taṁ]

12 sutam=Indrapālaṁ(lam) || [6*] Rājā chirāya sa mahīṁ praśasā(śā)sa samyak śakti-traya-prathita-śaurya-vi[n]i-

13 rjjit-āriḥ | ishṭaiḥ prahṛishṭa-Va(Ba)labhit-kratubhiḥ kṛitīnām=agrēsaraḥ Smara iva pramadā-janānāṁ(nām) [|| 7*]

14 Tasy=ātmabhūr=abhavad=apratima=pratāpō Gōpāla ity=avanipāla-kula-pradīpaḥ | yaḥ sīmni śau-

15 rya-dhaninām guṇinām vadānya(nyō) dākshiṇya-puṇya-vidushāṁ vasati sma lōk[ē] || [8*] Tasmād=va(d=ba)bhūva tanayaḥ pitṛi-

16 harsha-pālaḥ śrī-Harshapāla iti sādhu-jan-ōpagītaḥ | samprāpya chāru-charitaṁ chiram=āpa sa[khya]-

Second Plate, First Side

17 [sau]khy-āmṛitaṁ Kamalayā saha Bhāratīyaṁ(yam) || [9*] Santarppitāḥ samara-bhūmishu yēna sa(śa)śvat khaḍga[8]-prahāra-da-

18 lit-āhita-kumbhi-kumbhaiḥ | rakshōga[9]ṇā[ḥ*] prachura-phēna-vimiśram=aśram=ushṇ-ō-shṇam=āśu tṛishitāḥ paritaḥ piva(ba)nti [|| 10*]

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[1] The restoration here and in the following lines is based on the reading of the Subhaṅkarapāṭaka grant.

[2] Only traces of *sta* remain.

[3] The letter *tī* is partially extant.

[4] Read *Prāgjyōtishā°*. The more familiar form of the name is Prāgjyōtisha.

[5] Read *śaśāsa*.

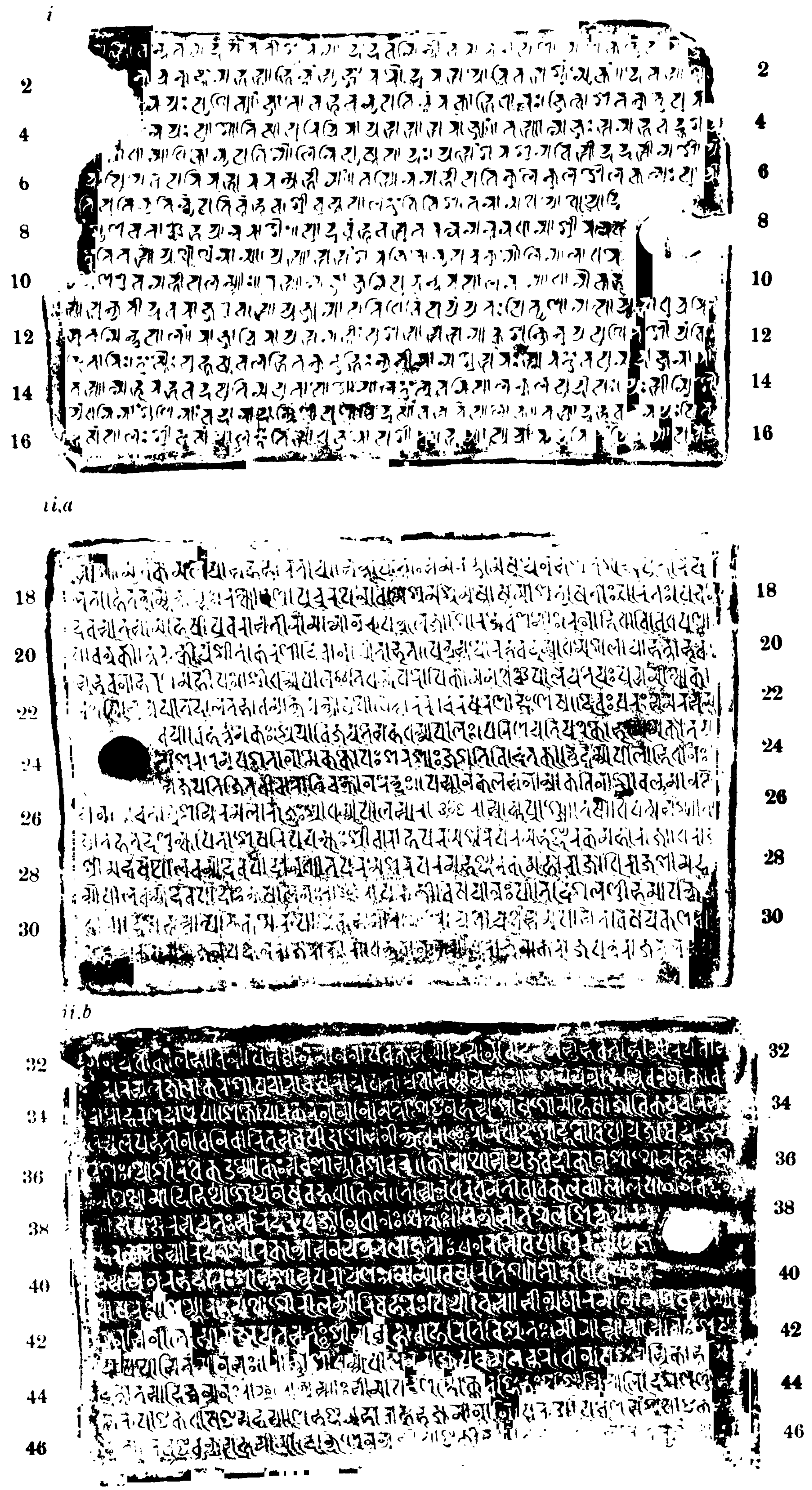
[6] The letter *nā* is only partially extant.

[7] Read *vidhi-paryayataḥ* for the sake of metre.

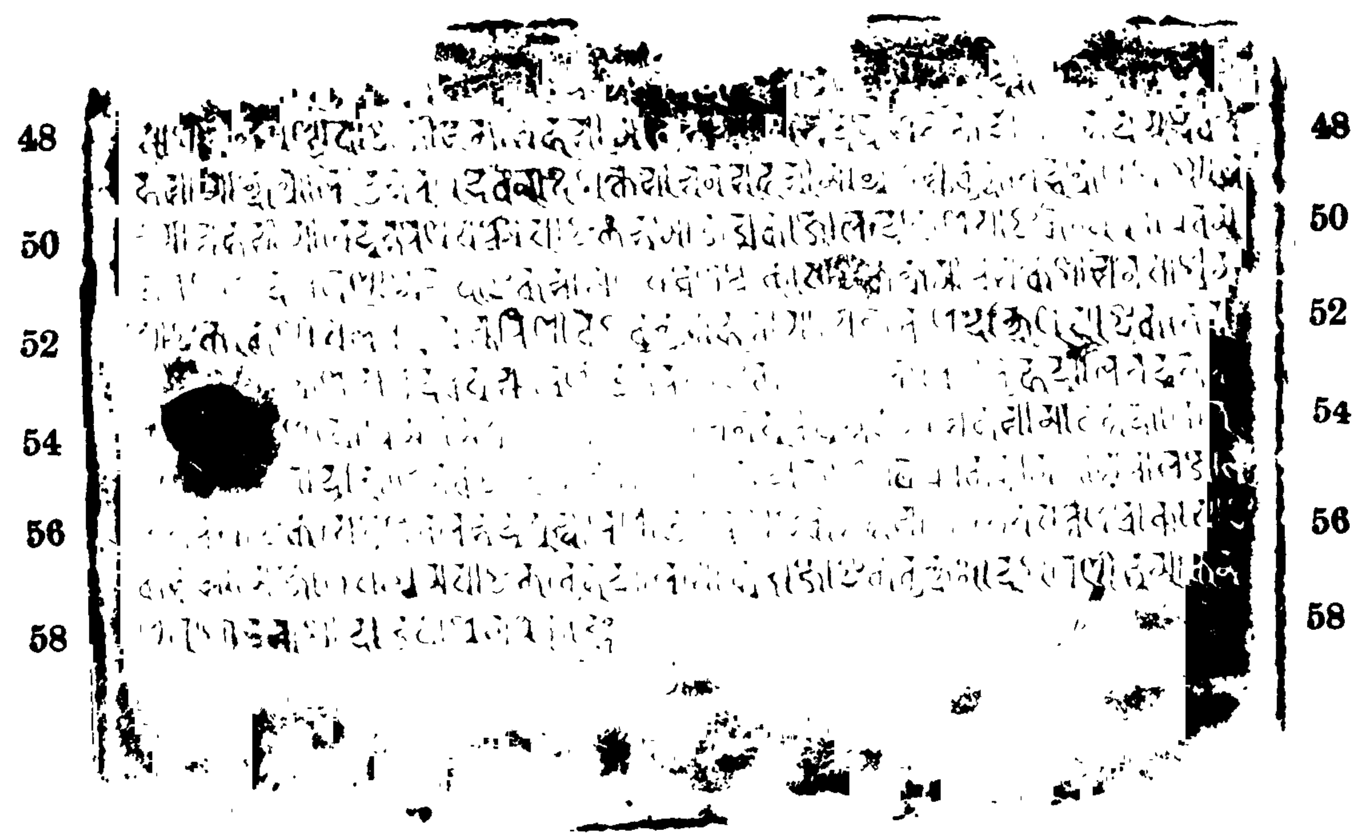
[8] The Subhaṅkarapāṭaka inscription reads *śastra* (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 153).

[9] The letter *ga* is ill-formed.

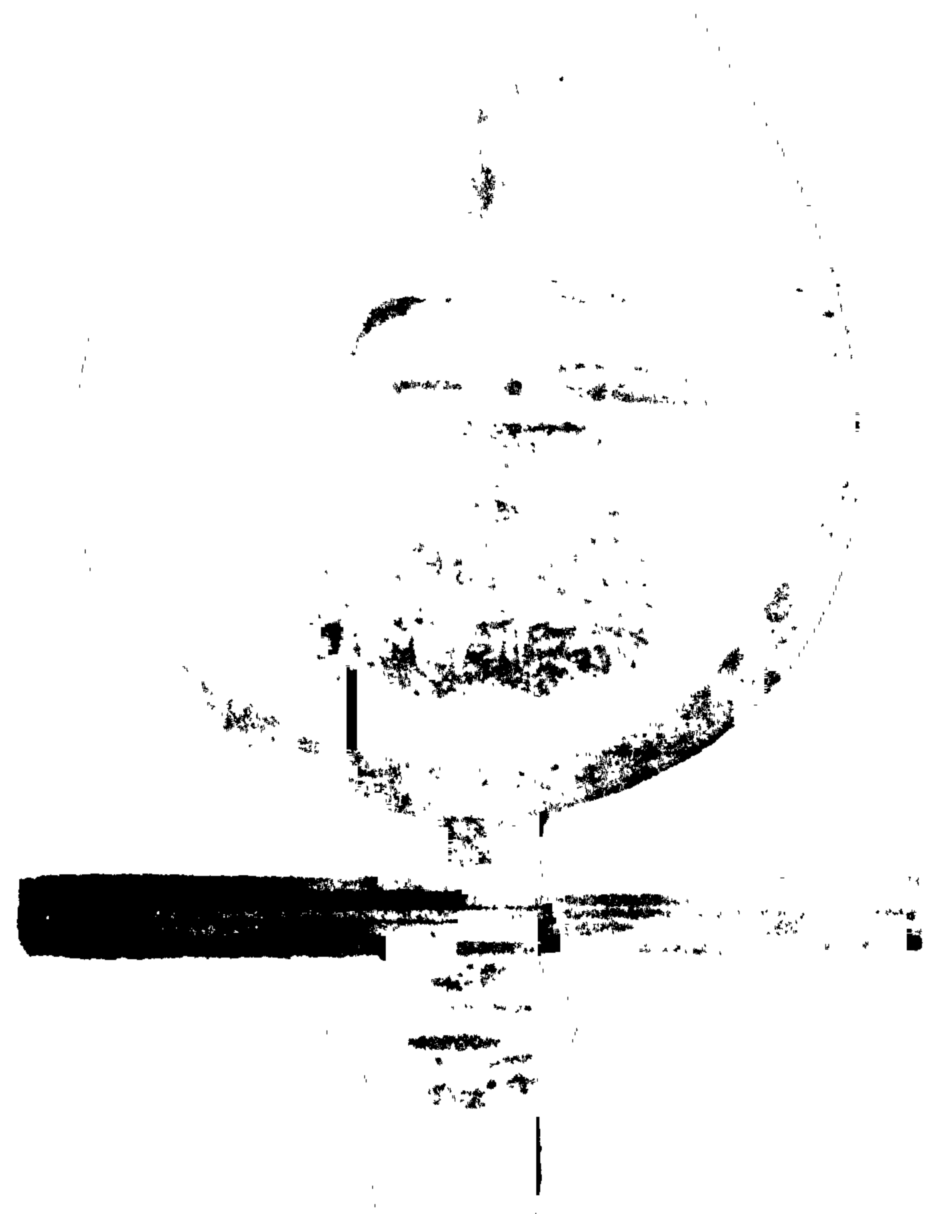
Khonamukh Plates of Dharmapala of Pragjyotisha



SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS



Seal



(From a Photograph)

19 Dēvasya tasya mahishī pravarā satīnām=ātm-ānurūpa-kulajā Girij=ēva Śambhōḥ | Ratn-ābhidhā vividha-puṇya-

20 pavitra-kīrttir=utkīrya śītakiraṇād=iva nirmmit=ābhūt || [11*] Putras=tayōr=abhavad=amvu(mbu)dhi-mēkhalāyā bha[r]ttā bhuvaḥ(va)-

21 s=tribhuvan-ābharaṇa[ṁ] mahīpaḥ ||(|) śrī-Dharmmapāla iti dharmmaparō=pi kāmam=arthañ=cha pālayatē(ti) yaḥ prasamīkshya[1] kā-

22 laṁ(lam) |[| 12*] Nistrinsa[2]-ghāta-dalit-[ē]bha-vimukti(kta)-muktā-pushp-ōpahāra-ruchirēshu raṇ-āṅgaṇēshu ||(|) dēvaḥ paraṁ samara-sambha-

23 vayā viharttum=ēkaḥ śriyā vijayatē saha Dharmmapālaḥ |[| 13*] Pariṇayati ya ēkō bhūmim==ēk-ātapa-

24 ttrāṁ śaraṇam=upagatānām=ēkakō yaḥ śaraśya(ṇya)ḥ [|] jagati vidita-kīrttir=Dharmmapāl-ābhidhānaḥ

25 sa jayati jita-vīr-ārāti-chakrō narēndraḥ || [14*] Prasthānakalasa-nāmnā kavinā gō-varṇṇamāna-vai-

26 dyēna | rachitā praśastir=amalā rājñaḥ śrī-Dharmmapālasya || ||[3] [15*] Svasti Prāgjyōtish-ādhipaty-asaṁkhyāt-ā-

27 pratihata-daṇḍa-kshapit-āśēsha-ripu-pakshaḥ(ksha)-śrī-vāräha-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-

28 śrīmad-dHarshapālavarmmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-**Dha-**

29 **rmmapālavarmmadēva**-pādāḥ kushalinaḥ[4] || || Purujī-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Digalaṇḍī-bhūmy-apakṛishṭa-

30 dhānya-dvi[5]-sahasr-ōtpattika-Mērupāṭaka-bhūmau || || Yathāyathaṁ samupasthita-vishaya-ka[ra*]ṇa-vya-

31 vahārika-pramukha-janapadān rāja-rājñī-rādhikṛitān=anany=api[6] rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājaval[l]abha-pra-

Second Plate, Second Side

32 [bhṛi*][tī]n yathākāla-bhāvinō=pi sarvvān mānanā-pū[r]vvaka[ṁ] samādisa(śa)nti viditam=astu bhavatāṁ bhūmir=iyaṁ vāstu-

33 [kē]dāra-sthala-ja[7]l-ākara-gōprachār-āvashka(ska)r-ādy-upētā yathāsaṁsthā sva-sīm-ōddēśa-paryantā hastiva(ba)ndha-naukāva(ba)ndha-

34 chaurōddharaṇa-dāṇḍapāśik-auparikara-nānā-nimitt-ōtkhēṭana-hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-gō-mahish-ājāvika-prachāra-sa-ja-

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[1] The Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka inscription has *susamīkshya* (*Kāmarupaśāsanāvalī*, loc. cit.).

[2] Read *nistriṁśa*.

[3] The punctuation mark here (and also in lines 29, 30, 35 and 44) consists of two pairs of *daṇḍas*, and an ornamental design between them, looking like four *Nandipadas*.

[4] This word can be spelt with *ś* or *sh* as pointed out by Padmanātha Bhaṭṭāchārya (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 154 f., n. 8).

[5] Here *dvi°* appears to be a mistake for *shaṭ°*; cf. line 43.

[6] Read *rāṇak-ādhikṛitān=anyān=api*.

[7] An *ā-mātrā* had been originally engraved after *j* through inadvertence.

35 la-sthala-prabhṛitīn[1] vinivārita-sa[r*]vva-pīḍā śāsanīkṛitya || || **Madhyadēś-ōdbhavō viprō** yajvā Vēd-āṅga[2]-pā-

36 ragaḥ | yōgī rathika Ummōkaḥ sarvva-śāstra-viśāra[da][ḥ*] || [16*] **Kāsya(śya)pō=sau Yajurv-**vēdī Kānva(ṇva)-śākhō mahāmakhaḥ [|]

37 Agnishṭōm-ādibhir=yō(yā)gair=yēn=ēshṭaṁ va(ba)hudhā kila || [17*] **Tasminn=adhvara-**dhūma-tīvra-vikala-vyālōla-pāṭhān vaṭūn[3]

38 k[r]īḍā-pañjara-saṁyataḥ sarid-uru-prajñā-nidhānaḥ |[4] śukaḥ[5] ||(|) [ya]nrā(tr=ā)sīt **khalu** śikshayan=mu-

39 hur=alaṁ[6] saṁsmārayan[7] śārikā āsan yanra(tra) cha lajjitāḥ punar=asi(pi)[8] viprāś=chiraṁ[7] ṛitvijaḥ [|| 18*]

40 Tasya sūnur=abhūd=vīraḥ śā(śa)stra-śāstra-parāyaṇaḥ | nāmnā **Vishṇur=iti khyātō bhuvi** Vishṇur=-i-

41 v=āparaḥ || [19*] Śambhōr=abhūd=yathā Gaurī Lakshmīr=iva **Harēḥ priyā** | **tasy=āsīn=** Manōramā-nāma apar-ākhyā[9]

42 Manasvinī | [||] [20*] Tābhyām=ajāyata sutaḥ śrīmān=Mahāvā(bā)hur=iti viśrutaḥ | Mīmāns-ābhyāsa[10]-niḥśēsha-

43 dōsha-prōsi(shi)ta-mānasaḥ || [21*] Rājñā śrī-Dharmmapālēna rājyē **prathama-vachchha-(tsa)rē** | dhānya-shaṭ-sasrikā[11] bhūmi-

44 r=ddattā tasya dvijanmanaḥ[12] || || [22*] Asyāḥ sīmā pūrvvēṇa Hākkēvaṭṭi-bhūḥ Phēṭṭasim-mali-Digalaṇḍī-bhūḥ

45 Mērupāṭaka-dhā[13]-shaṭ-sahasrāṇi **Bhaṭṭa-Mahāvā(bā)hu-bhujyamānāni** | **Purujyāṁ pūrvvēṇa** Saṁkhu[14]pāṭaka-bhūmau

46 **kshētrāli-Vaṭavṛiksha-saha-sīmā** | **dakshiṇēna Arjjā[15]pāṭakī-bhūmau tad-vakrēṇa Bhalla(llā)-**chaṇa[16] vṛiksha-sīmā [|]

Third Plate

47 ....[17] sīmā dakshiṇēna ....[18] bhūmī vṛi(bṛi)had-āli[ḥ|*] Aśvas[tha](ttha)[vṛiksha]-sī[mā] |

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[1] Read *prabhṛitīnāṁ*.

[2] Chaudhury and Bhattasali read *Yajurvvēd-āṅga*.

[3] Chaudhury reads this portion as *vyālōla-yāmana-vaṭana* and Bhattasali as *vyālōla-yāmaṁ navaḥ*.

[4] The punctuation mark is unnecessary here.

[5] Chaudhury does not read this as well as the next word.

[6] Bhattasali reads *gurur=alam* and Chaudhury *mudgaralaṁ*.

[7] The rule of *Sandhi* has been neglected here.

[8] Bhattasali reads *dhana-rasē* which does not yield a satisfactory sense.

[9] [Reads *Nēpur-ākhyā*. The metre of the stanza is irregular.—D.C.S.]

[10] Read *mīmāṁs-ābhyāsa*.

[11] Intended for *sahasrikā* ; *sasrikā* is written perhaps for the sake of the metre.

[12] As the lower dot is not clear, instead of *visarga* the sign looks like an *anusvāra*. The sixth case has been used here instead of the fourth case according to the rule *vivakshāyāṁ shashṭhī*.

[13] Read *dhānya*.

[14] Chaudhury reads *Saṁkha°*.

[15] Chaudhury reads *Ajjā°*.

[16] Chaudhury reads *Halāvana*. [He seems to be right.—D.C.S.]

[17] About ten letters here are obliterated completely.

[18] About five letters here are obliterated completely.

MGIPC—S1—8 DGA/55—23-2-57—450.

48 [1]paśchimēna Khaṇṭāpāṭṭakī[2]-bhūmī[3]-saha-sīmā vṛi(bṛi)had-āli[ḥ*] | tad-vakrēṇa Jatōdīpam(paṁ)[4] Svayambhūdēva-[sa]-

49 ha-sīmā kshētr-āli[ḥ*] | uttarēṇa Dēvanātha-śa(sa)tka-sā(śā)sana-saha-sīmā Aśvastha(ttha)-vṛiksha[ḥ*] | tad-vakrēṇa Khāgāli[5]-

50 bhūmī[6]-saha-sīmā | tad-uttarēṇa Pañchāpaṭaka-bhūmau Jaḍmakā[7]-jōla[m*] | dakshiṇa-pāṭaka iti|| Ēvam=a-

51 para-khaṇḍa-Digalaṇḍī-Mēreupāṭaka-sīmāḥ [|] pūrvvēṇa Chōkkāpāṭaka-Kumāra-satka-śāsana-paśchima-

52 pāṭaka[ḥ*] | Kaṇṭā-phala-vṛiksha-puska(shka)riṇī-Vaṭa-vṛiksha-saha-sīmā | Pannā[8]vāṇa-dakshiṇa-pāṭaka[ḥ*] | tad-va-

53 krēṇa Bhāvadēva-puska(shka)riṇī-u(ṇy-u)ttara-pāṭaka[ḥ*] Kōñchalīviḍi-vṛi(bṛi)had-āli[ḥ*] | tad-uttarē-

54 ṇa | paśchimēna Madhumathana-śa(sa)tka-śāsana-pura-putta[9]-bhūmau(mi)-saha-sīmā vṛi-(bṛi)had-āli[ḥ*] | ta-

55 tō dakshiṇēna Vaṭavṛiksha-saha-sīmā | tatō dakshiṇēna Pāñchāka-bhūmi-[Mau]sarōla[10]-jōla-

56 u(l-ō)ttara[11]-pāṭaka[ḥ*] | pūrvvēṇa Va(Ba)labhadra-puska(shka)riṇī-u(ṇy-u)ttara-pāṭaka-saha-sīmā | tata(taḥ) pūrvvēṇa Chōkkā-pāṭa-

57 ka-bhū-sīmni[12] jōla-paśchima-pāṭaka[ḥ*] | vṛi(bṛi)had-āli[ḥ*] | Sāhaḍā-jōṭaka-vṛikshaḥ Digalaṇḍī-bhūmī Kama-

58 ṇḍa[la]-gōtrasya[13] śri-Dāṁḍu[14] paśchimē ēk-āṅśa[15].....................

Seal

1 Svasti [|*] Prāgjyōtish-ādhipati-ma-

2 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Dharmma-

3 pālavarmmadēvaḥ ||

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[1] Chaudhury does not read the first six *aksharas* of this line.

[2] Chaudhury reads *pāṭaki*.

[3] Chaudhury reads *bhūmau*.

[4] I am not sure of the reading. Chaudhury reads *dvīpaḥ*. [The reading appears to be *Chūtādīpaḥ*.—D.C.S.]

[5] This may be the same place as Khaggāli mentioned in the Pushpabhadrā grant of Dharmapāla, line 51 (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 178). Chaudhury does not read this place name.

[6] Chaudhury reads *bhūmau*.

[7] Chaudhury does not read this word.

[8] [The reading may be *Pannya*°.—D.C.S.]

[9] [The reading may be *pratta*.—D.C.S.]

[10] Chaudhury reads *Māsarōla*.

[11] Chaudhury does not read this word.

[12] Chaudhury reads *bhūmiḥ* in place of *bhū-sīmni*.

[13] Chaudhury does not read these letters.

[14] The reading may also be *śri-dāḍu* intended for *śrī-dāru* (tree) which may be the same as *suvarṇa-dāru* mentioned in the Nowgong grant of Balavarman, line 48 (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 80). Chaudhury reads *śri-dāu*. [The reading seems to be *Dāuṁ*.—D.C.S.]

[15] Read *ēk-āṁśa[ḥ]*.

No. 36—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BHILSA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

Bhīlsā or **Bhēlsā** (24 N, 76 E), standing on the bank of the Betwā (ancient **Vētravatī**), is the headquarters of a District of the same name in the old Gwalior State now forming a part of the State of Madhya Bhārat. Near it, on the opposite bank of the river, lies the village of Besnagar representing the ancient city of Vidiśā or Vaidiśa, capital of the Ākara or Daśārṇa *janapada*, roughly corresponding to East Malwa. As the principal city in this area, Vidiśā gave place to Bhīlsā in the early medieval period. Such facts as the issue of the Vadner plates[1] of the Kalachuri king Buddharāja in the Kalachuri year 360 (608 A.D.) from Vaidiśa and the mention of Vidiśā in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[2] (sixth century) and Rājaśēkhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[3] (earlier part of the tenth century) show that the old city retained some of its importance even in the post-Gupta period. But soon we notice the total eclipse of Vidiśā and the rise of Bhāillasvāmin or Bhailasvāmin, of which *Bhīlsā* or *Bhēlsā* is a later corruption. **Bhāilla°** or **Bhailasvāmin** was originally the name of an image of the Sun-god worshipped in a great temple at the place which became gradually famous under the deity's name.

An inscription[4], noticed by F. E. Hall at Bhīlsā nearly a century ago, has the passage *Bhāillasvāmi-nāmā ravir=avatu bhuvaḥ svāminaṁ Kṛishṇarājam*. This shows that Bhāillasvāmin was regarded as a representation of *Ravi* or the Sun-god and that the record was incised during the rule of king Kṛishṇa. This ruler has been supposed to be the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛishṇa III (*circa* 939-68 A.D.).[5] Another inscription, discovered at Bhīlsā and supposed to be written in characters of the tenth century, is stated to contain a eulogy of the said god ;[6] but, as will be shown below, the earliest Bhīlsā inscription referring to the temple of Bhāillasvāmin bears a date in the second half of the ninth century. About 1030 A.D., Albērunī mentions the city of Bhailsān (Bhāilla° or Bhailasvāmin) and places it on the road from Mathurā to Ujjayinī and Dhārā.[7] He further says that it was 'a place most famous among the Hindūs' and that 'the name of the town is identical with [that of] the idol worshipped there'. A charter[8] of the Chandēlla king Madanavarman, dated V.S. 1190 (1133 A.D.), was issued from his camp near Bhailasvāmin, apparently meaning the deity who seems to be also mentioned as 'Bhāsvat on the bank of the Mālavanadī (Vētravatī?)' in an earlier Chandēlla record[9] of V.S. 1011 (954 A.D.). An inscription[10] from Udaypur (founded by and named after Paramāra Udayāditya) in the Bhīlsā District, dated V.S. 1229 (1173 A.D.), speaks of the surrounding area as Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala (i.e. the district called Bhāillasvāmin consisting of twelve sub-divisions) which included Bhṛiṅgārikā-chatuḥshashṭi-

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[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1207.

[2] Chapter XVI, verse 32.

[3] G.O.S. edition, p. 9.

[4] See *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, 1862, p. 111 ; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 21, note.

[5] An inscription (No. 159 of App. B, 1952-53) in the Gwalior Museum, recently examined by me, seems to lend some colour to this identification. The epigraph, assignable to a date about the tenth century on palaeographical grounds, records the death of a warrior in a battle with the Karṇāṭas who may have been no other than the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

[6] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, Saṁvat 1979, No. 25 ; Hariharnivas Dvivedi, *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (in Hindi), p. 101, No. 743.

[7] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Part I, p. 202 : cf. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, p. 59.

[8] Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 231.

[9] Above, Vol. I, pp. 124 ff. (cf. *Mālavanadī-tīra-sthitēr=Bhāsvataḥ* in verse 45).

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 344 ff.

pathaka (i.e. a sub-district called Bhṛiṅgārikā consisting of sixty-four villages) governed by a *Daṇḍa* (i.e. *Daṇḍanāyaka*) probably having his headquarters at Udayapura (i.e. Udayapur, the findspot of the record). The name of the district was no doubt derived from that of its chief city which again assumed the name of the deity worshiped there.

In 1233 or 1234 A.D., Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi sent or led an army against Malwa and the Muhammadans ' took the fort and city of Bhīlsā or Bhīlasān '. While describing the said expedition, Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*[1] says that, at Bhīlsā, the Muhammadans destroyed a temple which was one hundred and five *gaz* in height. The same work seems to indicate that the temple was built three hundred years earlier thus referring its construction to a date about the tenth centrury, although, as indicated above, we have now evidence regarding the existence of the Bhāillasvāmin temple at Bhīlsā as early as the second half of the ninth century. However, the glory of the god Bhāilla° of Bhailasvāmin did not totally eclipse with the demolition or desecreation of his temple in 1233-34 A.D. But it was not destined to continne for a long time. According to Badāūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*,[2] in 1292 A.D., during the reign of the Khilji Sulṭān Jalāluddīn Fīrūz of Delhi, his nephew 'Alāuddīn, governor of Karra, obtained permission ' to proceed to Bhīlsā and attacked that country and brought much booty thence to present to the Sulṭān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hrndūs he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāūn to be trampled upon by the people'. Thus ended theworship of the god at the city which received his name and is still continuing to enjoy it in its colloquial form.

A. *Inscription of V. S. 935*

In December 1952 and January 1953, I was travelling in certain areas of Madhya Bhārat and Rājasthān in search of inscriptions. In that connection I visited Gwalior during the last week of December 1952. There I had an opportunity not only of attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress but also of inspecting a number of stone inscriptions exhibited in the local museum under the Archaeological Department of the old Gwalior State (now Madhya Bhārat). One of these records was a stone inscription collected from Mahalghāṭ at Bhīlsā. It has been noticed in the Annual Report of the State Archaeological Department for Saṁvat 1970 (Inscription No. 8) as well as in H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (p. 3, No. 10), published by the same Department. According to the account published in these works, the inscription is fragmentary and illegible and its purport not clear. On a careful examination of the record, however, I found that the major part of the inscription could be satisfactorily made out. It was also found that it is **the earliest among the known inscriptions mentioning the temple of Bhāillasvāmin at Bhīlsā.**

The inscription under discussion contains only twelve lines of writing and covers a space about 16" in length and 13" in height. The writing is considerably damaged in lines 10-12. A portion has broken away from the left hand side of the inscribed stone and this has caused the loss of one or two *aksharas* at the beginning of lines 3-9.

The **characters** of the record belong to the North Indian Alphabet of the ninth century, sometimes called early Nāgarī. Its **language** is corrupt Sanskrit. As to the **orthography** of the inscription, it may be said that it exhibits some errors of spelling. The record bears the **date : [Vikrama] Saṁvat 935, Vaiśākha-sudi 3.** This date falls in **878 A.D.**

The inscription records the grant of an *akshayanikā* made in favour of the *āyatana* or temple of the illustrious **Bhāillasvāmin**. The expression *akshayanikā* is apparently a mistake for

[1] Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 328 ; cf. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 217 ; Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, trans., pp. 622-23.

[2] Ranking's trans., Vol. I, p. 96,

akshaya-nīvikā[1] which means 'a permanent endowment (providing a periodical income to be regularly and perpetually enjoyed by the donee)'. The donor was a merchant of the Pāravāḍa[2] community(*jāti*). His name was Haṭiāka and that of his father Chachchhiāka. It is stated that the grant was made by the libation of curds and water at the various *tīrthas* or bathing *ghāṭs* of the locality. This reminds us of the fact that the inscription was actually found at Mahalghāṭ at Bhīlsā. The inscribed stone seems to have been originally embedded in the stairs of the *ghāṭ* in question. We know that grants were made in ancient India by the donor by pouring water in the donee's name or, when the latter was a person present to receive the donation, in the cavity of his folded hands.[3] The mention of curds along with water in the same context in the inscription under review is interesting.

The endowment consisted of the income derived from three *vīthīs*. The word *vīthī* is used in Sanskrit literature in the sense of 'a market, a stall, or a shop in a market',[4] although in some parts of ancient India it was often used in the sense of a territorial unit smaller than a district.[5] That the word *vīthī* in the inscription under review means 'a stall or shop in a market' is suggested by certain early medieval records of the Malwa region, incorporated in the Siyadoni (Jhansi District, U.P.) inscription[6] (in corrupt Sanskrit). *Vīthīs* are frequently mentioned in these records as lying in *haṭṭas* or market-places and as objects belonging to persons or deities, or gifts made in favour of deities worshipped in a local temple, or standing on the boundaries of other *vīthīs*. They are sometimes stated to have stood on the *haṭṭa-rathyā* or market-road and often to have faced this or that direction. Some of the epithets (such as *āchchhannā*, *avaliptā*, *kṛit-ōpasannā* and *uvaṭaka-sahitā*), applied to the *vīthīs*, are also used in the records in relation to houses. An *āvāsanikā* or house is stated to have been granted with all the rooms and *vīthīs* in it (*asy=ābhyantarē samasta-gṛiha-samētāṁ samasta-vīthī-samētāṁ*) and in this connection it is further said: *yaḥ=kō=pi vīthīshu pravasati sa cha gōshṭhī-bhāvitaṁ bhāṭakaṁ dadāti dāyādasya adhikāraṁ n=āsti*. The reference to *bhāṭaka* (rent) for staying at the *vīthī* makes its nature fairly clear. As will be seen from our discussion below, the word *vīthī* has been used in the Siyadoni inscription and the record under discussion in exactly the same sense.

The first of the three *vīthīs*, the rent of which appears to have been assigned by the merchant Haṭiāka as an *akshayanīvikā*, is described as follows: *vaṇik(nig)-Vuvāka-satka-vīthī bhōgādhi(dhī)nā-(natvēna) gṛihītā pa 13 (or 130) [sā] cha mayā pradat=ā(tt=ā)grahāraṁ(ratvēna) Nārāyaṇasya-(ṇāya)*. The word *satka* is a Sanskritized form of Pali *santaka* and means 'belonging to'. The passage *bhōg-ādhīnā gṛihītā* seems to mean 'taken under possession'. This suggests that the *vīthī* in question was purchased by Haṭiāka from its owner Vuvāka. Unless such was the case, Haṭiāka could not have included its income in the *akshayanīvikā* created by him.

The suggestion appears to be supported by the following grant recorded (in corrupt Sanskrit) in the Siyadoni inscription: *śrī-Vishṇu-bhaṭṭārakasya vaṇika-Śrīdharēṇa Mahāditya-sutēna vilēpana-sanmārjjana-pūjāpana-dhūpa-pradīpa-naivēdy-ārthaṁ śrīmad-Ādivarāha-drammasya pād-aikaṁ pradattaṁ ētad-arthē māsān=māsaṁ prati dīyamānaṁ Pañchiyaka-dramm-aikaṁ sāsanaṁ likhitaṁ ankē paṁ dra 1 ētad-arthē sā cha vīthī Nāga-satkā dakshiṇ-ābhimukhā uvaṭaka-sahitā kṛit-ōpasannā bhōg-ādhīnā tishṭhati.............asyā vīthyā mōchāpana-kālē apara-vīthī anurupā sāsanē likhāpya*

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[1] Some early medieval inscriptions of the Malwa region use the form *akshayanīmī* or *akshayanīmikā* (above, Vol. I, pp. 160, 165).

[2] This may be the same as the Por, Porwār or Porwāl caste, often called Prāgvāṭa-vaṁśa in inscriptions. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 287 (cf. also Nos. 1523, etc.); Wilson's Glossary, s.v. *Porwāl*.

[3] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 192. The practice is still prevalent in some parts of the country.

[4] Cf. *Śiśupālavadha*, IX, 32.

[5] Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 71; *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 23.

[6] Above, Vol. I, pp. 173 ff.

mōktavyā.[1] The passage quoted above seems to record the grant of a quarter Ādivarāha-dramma (a coin apparently named after Pratihāra Bhōja I Ādivarāha, *circa* 836-85 A.D.) per month and, for this purpose, it appears to have been so arranged that a Pañchiyaka-dramma (another coin possibly equal to a quarter Ādivarāha-dramma)[2] would be paid monthly out of the rent of a *vīthī* belonging to Nāga but made *bhōg-ādhīnā* (probably under a lease) by the donor who agreed that the said *vīthī* could be taken away only after substituting another of its kind for it. In the inscription under study, in what we have read as *pa* (followed by a number) in lines 4, 6, 7 and 11, *p* has a sign above it resembling an old medial *ō* mark, although medial *ō* is written differently in other cases occurring in the record. The mark as well as the fact that the *akshara* in question is followed by a number suggests that this *pa* in our record is a contraction. Possibly it stands for the coin called Pañchiyaka-dramma which, as known from its mention in the Siyadoni inscription quoted above, was current in the Malwa region in the early medieval period. Thus our inscription seems to say that the *vīthī* in question, which belonged to Vuvāka and fetched a monthly or annual rent of 13 or 130 Pañchiyaka-drammas, was purchased by Haṭiāka and was granted by him as an *agrahāra* in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) worshipped in the Bhāillasvāmin temple apparently as a subordinate deity. The custom of installing the images of various gods and goddesses in the temple (or in shrines built in the temple precincts) of a well-known deity is not only prevalent even today but is also evidenced by numerous epigraphs including the Siyadoni inscription referred to above. The word *agrahāra* usually means an area of land granted in favour of Brāhmaṇas as a rent-free holding. But in inscriptions we have sometimes reference to other kinds of *agrahāras* such as the *Vaiśy-āgrahāra* (i.e. land given as a rent-free holding in favour of certain Vaiśyas).[3] In the record under study, the *vīthī* in question was made what may be called a *dēv-āgrahāra*. In connection with this grant, the inscription uses the word *mayā* (i.e. ' by me ') instead of *tēna* (i.e. ' by him ') required by the context. This coupled with the fact that the other two *vīthīs*, as will be shown below, were granted for the merit of the donor's parents probably suggests that the first of the three *vīthīs* was granted for his own merit.

The second of the three *vīthīs* belonged to a merchant whose name cannot be fully read. It was situated at Khahanāsithī which seems to have been the name of a market place. Its rent was *pa* 50 (i.e. 50 Pañchiyaka-drammas). The third *vīthī* belonged to a person named Gōvinda. Its rent was *pa* 40 (i.e. 40 Pañchiyaka-drammas). These two *vīthīs* were purchased by Haṭiāka who granted them in favour of the Mothers (i.e. the Mother-goddesses worshipped in the Bhāillasvāmin temple or in shrines in its precincts) for the merit of his parents. The rent of the three *vīthīs* was expected to meet the expenses of the regular offerings (*niyata-bhōga*) to the god and goddesses in question. The intention of the donor seems to have been that the *vīthīs* themselves could be utilised (*samālabhyāḥ*), probably implying their sale or mortgage, at critical junctures (*sandhi-pātē*) or emergencies. The concluding part of the inscription is very much damaged and the purport of this section is not clear.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it refers to the **existence of the temple of Bhāillasvāmin at Bhīlsā as early as 878 A.D.** So long we had no definite evidence regarding the worship of the said god at Bhīlsā before the tenth century. In regard to the name of the god Bhāillasvāmin, it is possible to suggest that the deity was originally installed by and named after a person called Bhāilla. Such a personal name is not unknown in the records

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 178, text lines 37-38.

[2] The word *dramma* was derived from the Greek *drachma* weighing originally 67·5 grains, although the Indo-Greeks adopted the Persian Siglos standard of 86·45 grains (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 3, 6). The silver coins of the Ādivarāha type appear to have followed the 67·5 grains standard (cf. Smith, *Cat. C. Ind. Mus.* pp. (241 f.). The Pañchiyaka-dramma seems to have been a much heavier copper coin like the Yaudhēya *drammas* (cf. ibid., p. 182, coin No. 18 b).

[3] Cf. *JRAS*, 1952, p. 5.

of the Malwa region. An inscription[1] in the Gwalior Museum, recently examined by me, mentions one Bhāilla-bhaṭṭa, although, as the epigraph is palaeographically assignable to a date about the ninth or tenth century, it is uncertain whether the person in question was named after the Sun-god of Bhīlsā. That sometimes other representations of the god in different parts of the Malwa region were named after the famous deity of Bhīlsā is possibly suggested by a Siyaḍoni (Jhansi District, U.P.) epigraph[1] of V.S. 1005 (948 A.D.), which mentions a god named Bhāillasvāmin installed in a temple of that locality by a merchaṇt named Vikrama ; but it is also possible to think that Bhāillasvāmin of Siyadoni was named after another person called Bhāilla. In the latter case the Siyadoni Bhāillasvāmin may not have represented the Sun-god. Vā(Bā)illa-bhaṭṭa, mentioned in a Gwalior inscription[2] as a person, after whom the god Vishṇu established in a local temple was called Bāillabhaṭṭa-svāmin, may be a variant form of the same personal name.[3]

Of **geographical** names, the inscription only mentions Khahanāsithī. It was probably situated in the Bhīlsā area. The inscription also indirectly refers to its findspot (i.e. Mahalghāṭ at Bhīlsā) as *iha* (i.e. 'here').

TEXT[4]

1 Siddham [5] **Samva(Saṁva)t 935 V[ai]śākha-sudi 3** ady=ēha ch=āṇyōnya-tīrthē[6] vaṇi-

2 [k-śrī]-Haṭiākēna Chachchhiāka-sutēna Pāravā[ḍa]-jātyēna[7] sva-

3 ya-dadhē-jalābhyāṁ[8] akshayanikā[9] pradanā(ttā) |[10] śrī-[Bhā]illasvā-

4 ..[11] yatanē [| *] Vaṇik(ṇig)-Vuvāka-satka-vīthī bhōg-ādhi(dhī)nā[12] gṛihītā pa[13] 13[14]

5 ..[15] cha mayā[16] pradat=ā(tt=ā)g[rah]āraṁ[17] Nārāyaṇasya(ṇāya) aṇya(nya)-vaṇik(ṇig)-[Jña]-

6 ..[pā]ka-satka-vīthī bhōg-ādhi(dhī)nā Khahanāsithyāṁ[18] gṛihīta(tā) pa[13] 50

7 ..pa cha[19] Gōvinda-satka(tkā) tasy=aiva[20] vīthī bhōg-ādhi(dhī)nā gṛihītā pa[13] 40

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[1] No. 169 of App. B, 1952-53.

[2] Above, Vol. I, p. 177.

[3] For the same name and its variants, see also above, Vol. I, p. 168 ; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 287, 1537 ; Cunningham's Reports. Vol. III, p. 43, etc.

[4] From impressions.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] Read *ch=āny-ānya-tīrthēshu.*

[7] Read *jātīyēna.*

[8] The intended reading seems to be *svayaṁ dadhi-jalābhyāṁ.*

[9] Read *akshayanīvikā.*

[10] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[11] The lost *akshara* seems to have been *myā* so that the reading of the passage is *Bhāillasvāmy-āyatanē.*

[12] I.e. *bhōg-ādhīnatvēna.*

[13] This *akshara* has a sign (resembling an old medial *ō* mark) at the top. It seems to be an abbreviation of *Pañchiyaka-dramma* which was the name of a coin current in the Malwa region in the early medieval period. Note the same contraction in lines 6, 7 and 11 below.

[14] We are not sure whether a figure has been broken away after this. See, however, line 11 below, where the same number is possibly given as 130.

[15] The lost *akshara* may have been *sā.*

[16] In the context, *tēna* is more suitable. Could the author mean *ātmanaḥ puṇyēna* (i.e. *puṇy-ārtham*) as opposed to *mātā-pitṛi-puṇyēna* in line 8 below ?

[17] Better read *°hāratvēna.*

[18] The implication is possibly *Khahanāsithī-haṭṭē.*

[19] The original reading may have been *api cha.*

[20] This may suggest that the *vīthī* in question was in the direct possession of the owner while the two other *vīthīs* were under tenants paying rent for them to their owners.

8 [ā]bhyāṁ vīthyāṁ[1] sā(mā)tā-pitṛi-puṇyēna (ṇy-ārthaṁ) Mārtarāṇāṁ[2] pradatā(ttē) | [ē]bhi[r=a]-

9 ..[3] niyata-bhōgaṁm=utpadyatē[4] [| *] tē(tāḥ) hi samālabha(bhyāḥ) saṁdi(dhi)-pātē=ṇya-(nya)[ch=cha]

10 ..... turma[5] .... chatubhi chatubhi mā[6] ... ōbha ....i....... i....kā

11 .... ḍātavya pa[7] 130 pa[7] 5 .... hē

12 .... svītasya[8] syaṁ vaṇik(ṇig)-dātavyam=iti [||*]

B. *Eulogy of Sun-god, composed by Chhittapa*

In course of my tour in Madhya Bhārat and Rājasthān about the end of 1952 and the beginning of 1953, already referred to above, I reached **Bhilsā** on the 20th of January 1953. While putting up at the local Dak Bungalow, I had the opportunity of inspecting a number of antiquities gathered in the compound of the Dak Bungalow itself. I was told that the relics had been collected by a local enthusiast named Rājmal Jain Maḍavaiyā but that the Archaeological Department of the old Gwalior State (now Madhya Bhārat) had recently taken interest in them and arranged them as exhibits in a sort of an open air museum.[9] Some of the antiquities were found to be valuable from the historical and aesthetic points of view and I was really very sorry to see them exposed to damage by the sun and rains. It appeared to me that they were safer when they were hidden in the earth. In the interest of antiquarian studies in India, it is extremely desirable that the exhibits of the open air museum in the compound of the Bhīlsā Dak Bungalow should be properly preserved in a suitable building.

As Bhīlsā was once the famous seat of the Sun-god Bhāilla° or Bhailasvāmin, two stone inscriptions among the exhibits of the open air museum attracted my special attention. Both the records are mutilated ; but an interesting fact about them is that they contain each a eulogy of the Sun-god. There is little doubt that the inscribed stone slabs were originally embedded in the walls of the **Bhāilla°** or **Bhailasvāmin temple** at Bhīlsā.

The first of the two epigraphs is extremely damaged. The right hand side of the stone has broken away and the writing of the lower lines is completely obliterated. Of the first six or seven lines of the inscription a few expressions only can be satisfactorily deciphered. Each of the lines contains about thirty *aksharas* in a space about 17″ in length. The characters are Nāgarī and the epigraph may be palaeographically assigned to a date about the eleventh century. The language of the record is Sanskrit. The inscription begins with one of the several forms of the *Siddham* symbol which is followed by the passage *Ōṁ namaḥ Sūryāya*. Then follow the stanzas in praise of the Sun-god. The first half of verse 1 in line 1 begins with the expression *Udayagiri* and seems to end with the word *vihāya*. The second half of the stanza begins with *amva(mba)ra-chūḍāma°*, the following letters of the line (line 1) being broken away and lost. Line 2 begins with the expression *anitā°* possibly introducing the first or third foot of a different verse. The mention of

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[1] Read *imē vīthyau*. This seems to refer to the gift of the second and third *vīthīs* mentioned in lines 6-7.

[2] Read *Mātṛīṇāṁ* or better *Mātṛibhyaḥ*.

[3] The intended reading seems to be *ābhir=api* referring to the three *vīthīs* granted.

[4] Read *bhōga utpa°*.

[5] The reading may be *pitur=mātuś=cha* referring to the two gifts made in the name of the donor's parents.

[6] Read *chaturbhiś=chaturbhir=mā°*. The reference may be to a period of four months (*māsaiḥ*).

[7] For this contraction, see lines, 4, 6 and 7 above.

[8] The intended word may be *svīkṛitasya* although its exact implication in the present context cannot be determined.

[9] See *Quinquennial Administration Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, for the Saṁvats 1998-2002 (Years 1942-46), pp. 1-2.

Udayagiri and *ambara-chūḍāmaṇi* in verse 1 suggests that the stanza speaks of the Sun-god. About the beginning of line 4 we have the word *jayati* while about the end of line 6 we can read *mōhahara-dīpaka namas=tē*. As the latter passage undoubtedly refers to the Sun-god and occurs in a stanza far removed from the beginning of the inscription, it seems that the whole record was a *praśasti* of the deity in question.

The other inscription is more interesting. In the *Quinquennial Administration Report of the Archaeological Department* of the old Gwalior State, referred to above, it has been described as follows: " .... a loose fragment picked up in ruins is written in old Nāgarī script assignable to the 12th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. This is broken at the top and left side It seems to have been a *praśasti* recording the merits of a distinguished personage, perhaps a king or a minister, who is compared to the Sun but whom, unlike the Sun, Rāhu could not hold in his grips As the inscription is badly mutilated, its object cannot be made out. The *praśasti* was composed by Mahākavi-chakravartī Śrī-Dvittapa (?) at the instance of Daṇḍanāyaka Śrī-Chandra."[1] Elsewhere in the same work, while repeating the same views, it is said that the record ' does not convey any sense nor any purport can be extracted from it '.[2] Unfortunately most of these statements are wrong. In the first place, the major part of the writing on the stone, mutilated though it is, can be satisfactorily deciphered. Secondly, the theme of the record is not the *praśasti* of a king or minister but the *stuti* of the Sun-god. Thirdly, the name of the author of the eulogy is not *Dvittapa* but *Chhittapa* who is fortunately well-known from several sources. It may be pointed out in this connection that Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (also a publication of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State or Madhya Bhārat), referred to above, contains a similar misleading note on the same inscription.[3] Dvivedi quotes the poet's name quite confidently as *Dvitraya* which is, however, even more erroneous. While the *Report* reads one of the three *aksharas* of the name wrongly, Dvivedi's reading of all of them is wrong.

The piece of stone bearing the inscription is fairly big in size. The writing occupies only its upper part and covers an area about 38" in length and about 11·5" in height. The top and left sides of the inscribed stone have broken away. The number of *aksharas* lost at the beginning of the lines is about four in some cases but slightly more in others. Thus line 4 of the extant part of the record originally contained seventy *aksharas* (without counting the five cases of the use of the single or double *daṇḍa*) of which only four are now lost. There are traces altogether of twelve lines of writing in the inscription ; but the last line is less than half the other lines in length. Of the first line only traces of the lower part of a few *aksharas* at the end can be seen. It is impossible to determine whether one or more lines of writing are lost above this although for the sake of convenience it may be regarded as line 1 of the original record. Many of the *aksharas* in line 2 are also either completely or partially broken away. Even in the extant part of the epigraph some letters here and there are more or less rubbed out. The reading of many of the effaced passages could be ascertained only on repeated examination while that of a few of them still remains undetermined or doubtful.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī and may be assigned to a date about the eleventh century. Two floral designs in line 11 and the ornamental lengthening of the head of medial *ā* and that of the tail of medial *i* or *ē* in some cases are interesting to note. Medial *ē* has been written both as a *prishṭha-mātrā* as in Gauḍī and as a *śirō-mātrā* as in modern Nāgarī. In some cases, the form of *ś* resembles that of *s* ; cf. *kauśalaṁ* in line 3, *śray=ā°* in line 6, etc. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. With the exception of a few passages at the end in lines 11-12, the whole record is written in verse. The metre of all the stanzas is *Anushṭubh*. In regard to **orthography**, the

[1] See op. cit., p. 25.
[2] Ibid., p. 69, No. 2.
[3] See op. cit., p. 92, No. 666.

inscription closely resembles other epigraphs of the area and period in question. The record bears no date; but, as will be shown below, **there is reason to assign it to a date in the eleventh century.**

The inscription under discussion originally contained at least twenty-three stanzas in the *Anushṭubh* metre. They are all addressed to the Sun-god and the last of them speaks of the composition as a *stuti* (eulogy). Out of these, the text of ten stanzas (verses 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22) only have been fully deciphered, although there is some doubt about the reading of a few letters in one (verse 17) of them. Of the remaining thirteen stanzas, two (verses 1-2 in line 1) are completely lost, while the other eleven (verses 3-5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23) are partially preserved. The meaning of some of the damaged verses is not clear.

Verse 5 refers to the sage Agastya who is famous in the solar mythology of India not only as the son of Mitra (the Sun-god) and Varuṇa but also as one who prevented Vindhya (the Vindhyan range) from his attempt to obstruct the sun's passage in the sky. Verse 6 says how the Sun-god's youngest brother (i.e. Vishṇu, the youngest of the twelve Ādityas including the Sun-god, according to some accounts[1]) cut off the head of Rāhu, although the demon's life was spared as a result of his entreaty. Verse 8 represents the sun's rays as the source of the splendour of such objects as the jewel on the hood of Śēsha-nāga, the pearls in the bed of the sea and the stars in the sky. The next stanza (verse 9) says that the sun's rays, when they come into contact with the moon, the horizon and the clouds, become respectively the moonlight, the twilight and the rainbow. In regard to the idea that the moonlight is nothing but the sun's rays reflected on the moon, it may be pointed out that it was fairly popular with ancient Indian writers.[2] The ancient Indian conception about this is made quite clear by Mallinātha in his commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, III, 22: *atra Varāha-saṁhitā-vachanaṁ 'salilamayē śaśini ravēr=dīdhitayō mūrchchhitās=tamō naiśaṁ kshapayanti darpaṇ-ōdara-nihitā iva mandirasy=āntar'=iti; yathā darpaṇ-ōdara-nihitā ravi-dīdhitayas=tad-gatam=andhakāraṁ nāśayanti tathā svataḥ salilamayē chandrē tāḥ pratiphalitā naiśaṁ tamō ghnant=īty=arthaḥ.* The other idea, reflected in the verse in question, that the rainbow is produced by the sun's rays falling on the dripping clouds is also very interesting. Although it is supported by modern scientific observation, it does not, however, appear to have been quite popular with ancient Indian writers.

Verse 11 illustrates the maxim *prēmṇō hi kuṭilā gatiḥ* (love's way is tortuous) by pointing out how Svarbhānu (i.e. Rāhu) prefers the moon to the sun in spite of the latter having his own name (Bhānu) and how the sun hides himself from the lotus (at night) in spite of the latter's attachment for him. Verses 18 and 20 are remarkable for their pleasant idea and sweet expression and are really worthy of a great poet. Verse 23 refers to the conclusion of the eulogy. Then follow references in prose to the author of the said eulogy, the person who was responsible for tracing the inscription on the stone and the devotee of the Sun-god who got the stone inscribed and apparently embedded it in a wall of the temple of the deity at Bhīlsā. The eulogy is stated to have been the composition of the *Mahākavichakravartin Paṇḍita śrī*-Chhittapa. The name of the *lēkhaka* who traced the writing on the stone with a view to facilitating the work of the engraver cannot unfortunately be made out. The person who got the eulogy written and the stone inscribed for embedding it in a wall of the Sun-god's temple was *Daṇḍanāyaka śrī*-Chandra. We have seen above how a *Daṇḍa* (*Daṇḍanāyaka*) was probably in charge of a sub-division of the Bhāillasvāmin (Bhīlsā)

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[1] See *Mahābhārata* I, 123, 66-67, XIII, 150, 14-15; *Harivaṁśa*, I, 9, 48; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, VI, 6, 39; etc.

[2] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, III, 22; Hayungthal plate (lines 24-25) of king Harjaravarman of Assam (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 51); etc. Prof. P. C. Sen Gupta points out to me that the same idea can be traced in ancient Indian astronomical works such as Varāhamihira quoted in Pṛithūdaka's commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (Chapter VIII), the *Sūryasiddhānta* quoted in the commentary of Utpala (966 A.D.) on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā.*, etc.

district according to an inscription of 1173 A.D. Chandra of the inscription under study appears to have been a similar Sub-divisional Officer of the Bhīlsā region. He was apparently a devotee of the Sun-god of Bhīlsā and got a eulogy of the deity composed by the poet Chhittapa who may have been an inhabitant of the same area.

The inscription ends with the *akshara chha* placed between double *daṇḍas*. This *chha* is really one of the many variants of the *Siddham* symbol.[1] While at the beginning of records the symbol appears in several forms (variations of a sign resembling the modern Oriya 1 or 2 as reproduced in Ojha's *Prāchīnalipimālā*, Plate LXXIX, with the occasional addition, in the former variety, of a cipher below or at the right), at their end it is usually found in the form of *chha* or *tha* or a symbol standing midway between the forms of these two *aksharas*.[2]

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of the **poet Chhittapa**, who enjoyed the title *Mahākavichakravartin*, as the author of the *khaṇḍakāvya* in praise of the Sun-god, quoted in the record.

A number of stanzas of a poet named Chhittapa are found in the Sanskrit anthologies and some other works. But no complete work of the poet has so far been discovered. The *pratīkas* of all the stanzas attributed to Chhittapa have been quoted in alphabetical order by F. W. Thomas in the excellent introduction of his edition of the *Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya*.[3] Unfortunately there was a confusion about the poet's name which is sometimes quoted also as Chittapa, Chhittipa, Chhinnama and Chhitrama. Moreover stanzas attributed to this poet in some sources are assigned in others to 'an unknown author' (*kasy=āpi*) or to various authors such as Siṁhadatta, Navakara, Dākshiṇātya, Akālajalada and Hanumat or to such works as the *Bhōjaprabhandha*. Six stanzas of Chhittapa are quoted in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of the Paramāra king Bhōja (*circa* 1010-55 A.D.), one in the *Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya* compiled before the end of the twelfth century, and forty-nine in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* compiled by Śrīdharadāsa at the court of king Lakshmaṇasēna of Bengal in 1205-06 A.D. Poet Chhittapa therefore could not have flourished much later than the middle of the eleventh century. The following stanza of the poet, quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (III, 36), throws further light on his age :

Vālmīkēḥ katamō=si kas=tvam=athavā Vyāsasya yēn=aisha bhōḥ
ślāghyaḥ syāt=tava Bhōja-bhūpati-bhuja-stambha-stutāv=udyamaḥ |

paṅguḥ parvatam=ārurukshasi vidhu-sparśaṁ karēṇ=ēhasē
dōrbhyāṁ sāgaram=uttitīrshasi yadi brūmaḥ kim=atr=ōttaram ||

This shows that Chhittapa was a contemporary and probably a court poet of a king named Bhōja who has been identified with the celebrated Paramāra monarch of that name. Thomas rightly says, "The rather numerous citations in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* are, therefore, by a contemporary". His ascription of Chhittapa to the tenth century is, however, apparently due to oversight, as the poet must have flourished in the eleventh century when his contemporary and patron, Paramāra Bhōja, ruled. The title of *Mahākavichakravartin* may have been conferred on *Paṇḍita* Chhittapa by the same king. Possibly Chhittapa was an eminent poet at Bhōja's court. The Bhīlsā region is known to have formed a part of the dominions of the Paramāras. Chhittapa's friend, *Daṇḍanayaka* Chandra, therefore, seems to have been an officer in the employment of Paramāra Bhōja.

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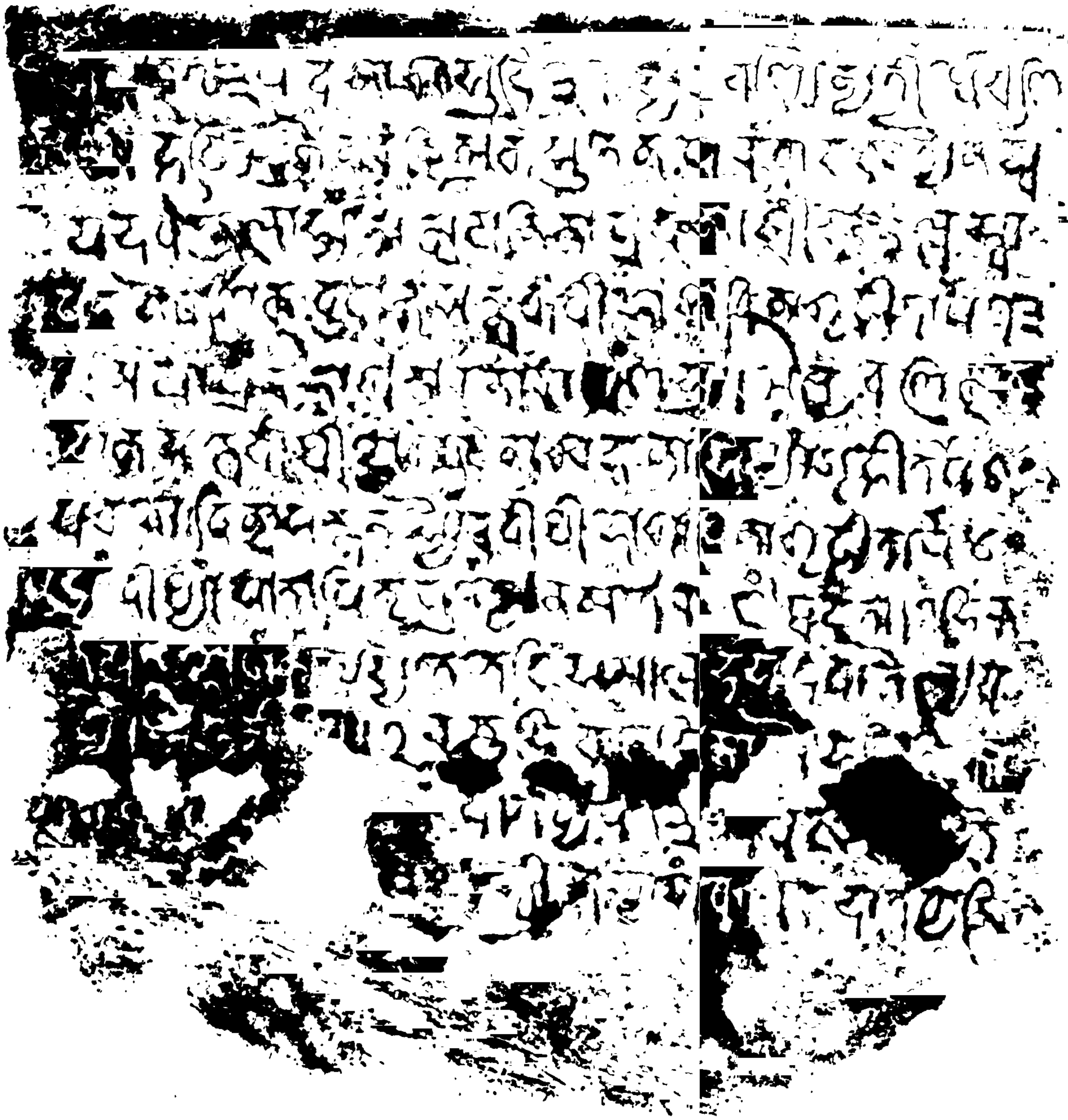
[1] Cf. above, Vol XVII, p. 352 ; *Proc. IHC*, 1939, pp. 471ff.

[2] For *chha* see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 140-1 (text, lines 4 and 15), Vol. XXV, p. 63 (text, line 94), p. 221 (text, line 141) ; etc. See also *Naishadhīya*, XVI, 98 (cf. *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Baroda, Vol. III, No. 4, June 1954, p. 368) ; Hēmachandra's *Ēkāksharakōśa*, v. 13 ; *Śāśvatakōśa*, Poona, 1930, p. 74. For *tha*, see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 298 (text, line 30), Vol. XIX, p. 81 (text, line 41). For the intermediate sign, see ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 80 (text, line 38). Consult the Plates in all the cases. The mark is sometimes found at the end of a stanza or section of a record.

[3] Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 37-40.

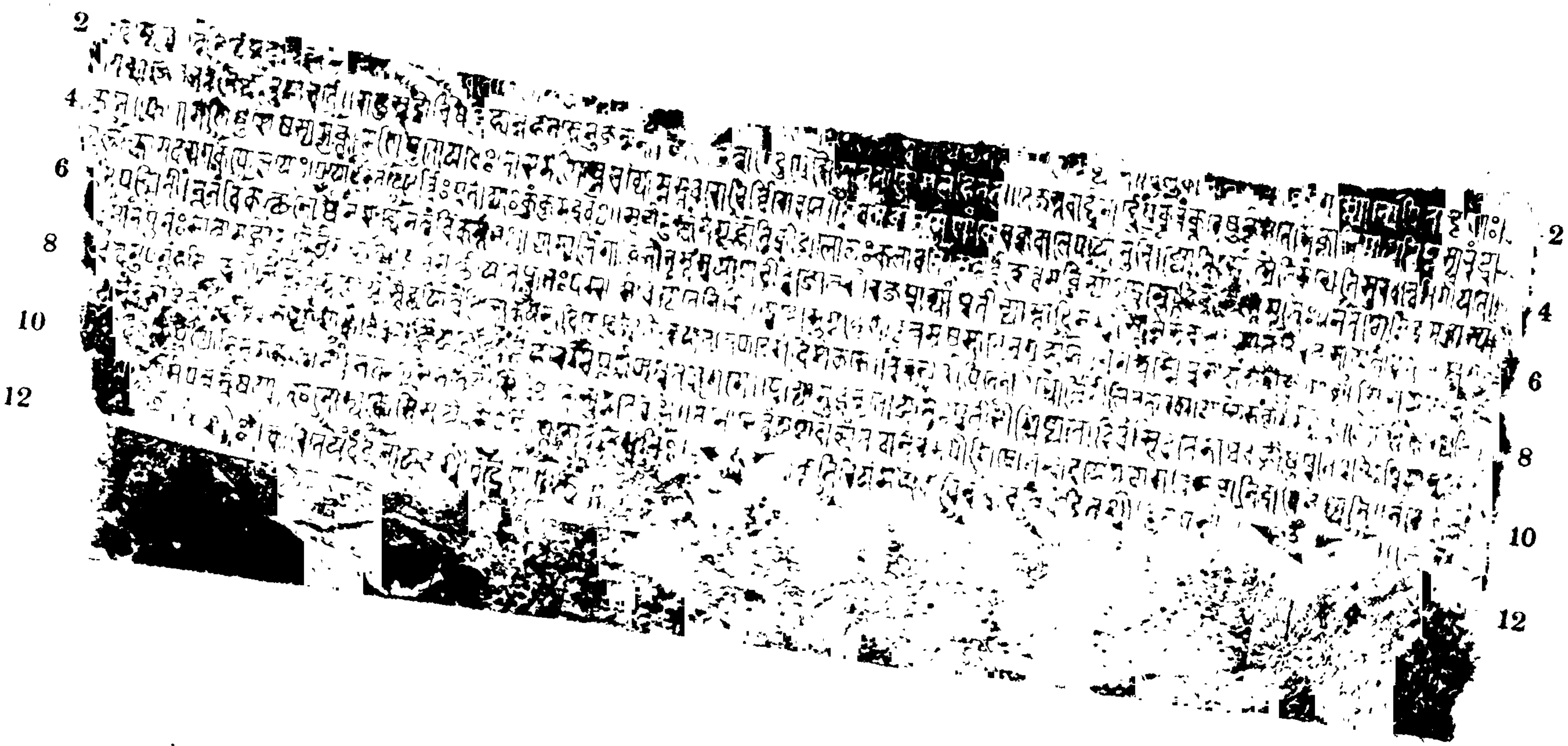
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BHILSA

A. Inscription of V.S. 935



SCALE: FIVE-TWELFTHS

B. Eulogy of Sun-god, composed by Chhittapa



SCALE : ONE-FOURTH

Our inscription not only sets at rest the confusion regarding the poet's name but also offers us the only *kāvya* of the author so far discovered. Its importance to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature is therefore inestimable.

TEXT[1]

1 ....[|| 1*]....................[|| 2*]............ [gṛihṇāti][2]

2 .....t | .... myētē vīta-ni ... [tṛishṇā-hīnō lilēkha tē] || [3*] .... nūnaṁ ṭējasvinō=nyasya na tva[ṁ] nām=āpi mṛishyasi || [4*] Chuluk-āchānta-sapt-avdhi(bdhi)r=Agastyō=nyē=pi tādṛiśāḥ |

3 .... rāga-vyājēna bhartt[u]ṁ bhikshāṁ nu yāchatē || [5*] Rāhus=tvad-rōchishē druhyan=na hatas=tē=nujanmanā | śirō lūtv=āpi dushṭē=rau yāchanā-kauśalaṁ hi tat || [6*] Tējas=tav=ārddram=ārddrēshu krūraṁ krūrēshu jṛimbhatē | bhakt-ābhiprāya-nighnasya chaṁdrā-

4 .... kshatē || [7*] Phaṇā-maṇishu Śēshasya muktā-maṇishu tōyadhēḥ | tārā-maṇishu cha vyōmnas=tava rōchir=vvirōchatē || [8*] Tava saṁkrāntam=ēṇāṁkē chakravālē payōmuchi | jyōtir=jyōtsn=ēti saṁdhy=ēti suradhanv=ēti gīyatē || [9*]

5 ......[ṭē] lāksha-mada-rāgaḥ kapōlayōḥ | payōdhara-taṭē tē=rchchiḥ pratīchyāḥ kuṁkuma-dravaḥ || [10*] Svarbhānus=tvāṁ na gṛihṇāti krīḍā-lōlaḥ kalāvati | antarddhatsē tvam=avji(bji)nyāḥ prēmṇō [h]i ku[ṭilā] gatiḥ || [11*] Na tath=ōnnidram=avj-ā(bj-ā)syā-

6 .... si padminīṁ(nīm) | nūnaṁ vikatthanō=rthēna [śa]vdē(bdē)na tvaṁ Vikarttanaḥ || [12*] Dyām=āliṁg=āvji(bji)nī[ṁ] chumva(mba) śray=āpāchīṁ vraj=ōttarāṁ(rām) | raja prāchyāṁ pratīchyām=vā(chyāṁ vā) dina-śrīs=tvān=na muṁcha[ti ||] [13*] Prāta[r=hi?] rahasā ya[t*] tvaṁ dina-lakshmyā

7 .... [rō]chamānaṁ punaḥ sā tvām=ahnām=antē=nugachchhati || [14*] Pūrvvam=utthīyatē prātaḥ paśchāt=saṁviśyatē niśi | ahō sugṛihinī-vṛittam=ushasā tē=nugṛihyatē || [15*] Namas=tasmai prabhā[tā]ya g......[dyāṁ sthirāyatē |]...

8 .... d[i]vaṁ tvam=upagūhasi || [16*] Kapōla-[bhittau?] svachchhāyāṁ sva-chchhāyāṁ tvaṁ vilōkayan | di[vō dēvyāś=chinta?]yā tad=ōpāvēśaṁ viśaṁkasē || [17*] Kara-sparśē=pi tē nātha dyaur=nnimīlita-tārakā | y=āsau sarvvāṁ[ga-saṁkrāntā na vidmaḥ kiṁ karishyati ||] [18*]

9 ....chaṁdra-tāḍaṁkaḥ pr[ā]chyā[ṁ] saṁdhy-āṁśukaṁ divaḥ | hriyatē=h=[ō]ḍu-hāraś=cha pūrṇṇa-pātraṁ tav=āgamē || [19*] Prāchyām=udgachchhatō yātuḥ pratīchīṁ ślishyatō divaṁ(vam) | svadatē nātha va(ba)h[v]īshu pratipattiḥ priyāsu [tē ||] [20*]

10 .... gṛihṇāsi puṇyāni cha mahātmanāṁ(nām) | na tathā sita-ti(tē)jāṁsi viyatō=bhyudgatē tvayi || [21*] Tamō bhē[ttu]ṁ yathā vā(bā)hyaṁ tath=āntaram=ap=īśishē | tav=ōdayē yathā rātris=tathā nidr=āpi naśyati || [22*] Na[rō] .....

11 .... tma-gu[ṇa]-saṁpan-nunūshayā | inō=sy=arkkō=si sūryō=si par-yāpt=ēty=ēva tē stutiḥ || [23*] ||[3] kṛitir=iyaṁ mahākavi-chakravartti-paṁḍita-śrī-**Chchhitt-apasya** [||] [4] || lēkha........[5]

12 .... [ma]ṁ[gala]ṁ [mahā]-ś[r]īḥ || kārit=ēyaṁ daṁḍanāyaka-śrī-Chandrēṇa || chha ||

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[1] From impressions.

[2] The letters of this line are almost completely lost. Considering the number of letters in the lines, it may be supposed that this line contained two and a quarter stanzas in *Anushṭubh*.

[3] There is an ornametal floral design between the double *daṇḍas*.

[4] There is another similar floral design between these double *daṇḍas*.

[5] The reference here is to the *lēkhaka* meaning the person responsible for tracing the record on the piece of stone for facilitating the work of engraving and probably not to the engraver.

No. 37—BHANJA GRANT FROM KHICHING

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

On December 1, 1941, a copper-plate grant was dug up from the compound of the Ṭhākurāṇī temple at Khiching (ancient Khijjiṅga) which is an important locality in the old Mayurbhanj State in Orissa. Since then the plate was lying at the Museum at Baripada, headquarters of the State. About the end of December 1948, I met Mr. Paramananda Acharya, then State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj, at Delhi, where we had assembled for the eleventh session of the Indian History Congress, and received from him information about the discovery. Mr. Acharya then kindly agreed to send the plate to me for examination and publication. The plate reached me sometime afterwards at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, where it was properly cleaned and several sets of its impressions and photographs were prepared. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. Acharya for his kindness in allowing me to publish the inscription.

This is a **single** copper plate measuring about 8¼" by 7". On a projection at its top centre, is affixed a circular **seal** which is about 2 ¼" in diameter. At the lower end of this seal, which is designed in the form of an expanded lotus, is carved, on a counter-sunk surface, the emblem of a lotus on stalk, above which there is a couchant bull facing proper right and flanked by a few indistinct devices. Above the bull is the legend in two lines : (1) *Śrī-Māhadā-* (2) *bhañjadēvasya*, 'of Māhadābhañjadēva.' It will be seen from our discussion on the inscription below that the name of the Bhañja king who issued the charter, as it is found in the body of the epigraph, does not quite tally with the name as given in the legend on the seal. It may also be pointed out that, although the seal resembles that attached to other records of the Ādi-Bhañja royal family of Khijjiṅgakōṭṭa (Khiching), in the present case the legend is found not below but above the couchant bull. The design of the seal of the Ādi-Bhañja kings as well as their custom of using single copper plates for their charters was possibly borrowed from the Bhauma-Karas to whom they may have originally owed allegiance. The plate is written on both sides, the obverse bearing seventeen lines of writing and the reverse sixteen lines. The letters are fairly deeply incised ; but they have suffered here and there owing to corrosion. The plate weighs 102 *tolas*.

The **characters** employed in the inscription belong to the Gauḍīya alphabet and may be palaeographically assigned to a date not much earlier than the eleventh century A. D. The style of writing is cursive and even careless. As is expected in a record of the age and region concerned, *b* has always been indicated by the sign for *v*. But sometimes *v* and *ch* have the same form ; cf. *kulaṭ=ēva* (line 27), *khichiṅga*, *charaṇ°* (line 14), *chā* (line 28). In the case of many other letters also, two or more forms have very often been employed. In the passage *bhava-bhaya-bhidurō* (line 2), the letter *bh* has three different forms. The letter *t* has been written in both the Dēvanāgarī and the Bengali fashion ; cf. *nṛipati* (line 6) and *prathitaḥ*, *tasy=ē°* (line 10). *D* is sometimes undistinguishable from *ḍ* and has in some cases a form resembling that of *bh*. For the various forms of this letter, see *dakshō* (line 5), *prativa(ba)ddha* (line 16), *pradattō°* (line 20), *dattā* (line 21), *°gar-āda(di)bhi°*, *yadā* (line 22), *°d=aphala* (line 23), *para-dattā* (line 25), *°m=udā°* (line 32), etc. *P* and *y* have several forms and are often undistinguishable from each other ; cf. *tapō°* (line 4), *rūpaḥ*, *putra* (line 8), *nṛipati* (line 9), *punya(ṇya)* (line 19), *°r=yasya yasya* (line 22), *para-dattā* (line 25), *vi(sa)padi* (line 29), etc. *R* has various forms ; cf. *°bhidurō* (line 2), *śūraḥ* (line 11), *rājā* (line 12), *para-dattā* (line 25), *vi(vi)nasva(śva)ra* (line 28), etc. Often *n* is written exactly like *r* ; cf. *nidhana* (line 5), *nṛipati*, *ripu-vana-da(dā)vānala* (line 6); but, in many cases, it has its usual form ; cf. *°r=vvinītō* (line 7). For various forms of the medial *u* and *ū* signs, see *bhū(bhu)* (line 1), *ku* (lines 13 and 27), *mu* (lines 20 and 31), *hu* (lines 21 and 27), *nu* (line 24), *vu(bu)* (line 32), etc. For peculiar forms of some other *aksharas*, cf. *khya* (line 8), *ksha*,

kshā (line 5), *yō* (line 25), etc. The inscription contains the initial vowels *ā* (line 3), *i* (line 30) and *u* (line 20) and the figure for 3 (line 33).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in verse and partly in prose. There are some verses describing the members of the Ādi-Bhañja family at the beginning of the charter. These are more or less the same as found in many other records of the family, all of which were discovered in the Mayurbhanj region of Orissa.[1] As usual there are some imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end of the record. From the view-point of **orthography** also the present inscription resembles those of the other members of the Ādi-Bhañja dynasty. There are many cases of errors of grammar and metre as well as wrong spelling due to carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver. The verse referring to the reigning monarch has been adopted from the records of the earlier members of the family by simply changing the king's name ; but it has not been noticed that the change does not suit the metre at all.

The charter is dated in the **year 3** apparently referring to the regnal reckoning of the reigning monarch. The letters indicating the month and day are doubtful. The date of the record does not therefore help us in determining the actual age of the charter. But there is reason to believe that the ruler who issued it flourished sometime in the eleventh century A. D. As will be seen below, the issuer of the present charter was a son of the Ādi-Bhañja king Raṇabhañja, two of whose records are known to be dated respectively in the years 288 and 293[2] of an unspecified era. There can be little doubt that this era is no other than the reckoning used by the imperial Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa. We have recently shown that the Bhauma-Kara era started from 831 A. D.[3] Thus the dates of Raṇabhañja's inscriptions would appear to correspond to 1119 and 1124 A. D. It is, however, difficult to believe that these Bhañjas could have continued their independent rule in the Mayurbhanj region for a long time after the expiration of Bhauma-Kara suzerainty in lower Orissa by the Sōmavaṁśīs of upper Orissa in the first half of the eleventh century[4] and the extermination of the Sōmavaṁśīs from the said region by the great Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga about the beginning of the next century.[5] Moreover, the practice of writing numbers by symbols instead of figures of the decimal system, which is exhibited by Raṇabhañja's records, seems to have become obsolete in Orissan epigraphy before the middle of the eleventh century. It therefore seems that, as in some other early medieval Orissan records like the Santiragrama grant[6] of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādēvī and the Talmul plate[7] of Dhruvānanda, the symbol looking like that for 200 in the inscriptions of Raṇabhañja actually stands for 100. The reading of the dates of Raṇabhañja's records may thus be really the years 188 and 193 of the Bhauma-Kara era, corresponding respectively to 1019 and 1024 A. D. The present inscription may therefore be assigned to a date about the **middle of the eleventh century A. D.**

The charter begins with a verse in adoration to Bhava, i.e. Śiva. Verse 2 says how the *Gaṇadaṇḍa*,[8] called Vīrabhadra, came out by breaking the egg of a pea-hen in the great hermitage called Kōṭṭāśrama. He is said in the next half verse to have been a king reared by the sage Vasishṭha and an expert in killing his enemies. The following verse says that in his family,

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[1] N. N. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 141 ff., 144 ff. ; H. P. Sastri, *JBORS*, Vol. IV, pp. 175 ff. ; P. C. Ghosh, *JASB*, Vol. XL, Part I, pp. 168 ff. ; *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 427 ff., 429 ff. ; above, Vol. XXV, pp. 155 ff., 159 ff., 162 ff., 173.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1487 ; above, Vol. XXV, pp. 156-57.

[3] *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148-55 ; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 191, note 2.

[4] *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 289-300.

[5] Ibid., loc. cit. ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 241.

[6] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff.

[7] Cf. ibid., pp. 183 ff.

[8] H. P. Sastri wrongly reads *galad-aṇḍa* in the Khandadeuli plate (*JBORS*, Vol. IV, p. 173).

called Ādi-Bhañja, was born a heroic son[1] named Kōṭṭabhañja. In the next verse Raṇabhañja is introduced not, however, exactly as the son of Kōṭṭabhañja. It may be pointed out here that the verse in our record closely follows the language of the inscriptions of Raṇabhañja's sons, while in Raṇabhañja's own Jamdapir plate, as will be shown below, the verse in question describes Digbhañja, represented in that inscription as the father of Raṇabañja. This omission of the name of Raṇabhañja's father in his son's charters is compensated in one case by describing him as born in the family of Kōṭṭabhañja. Just as in the case of the sons of Raṇabhañja in their records, the next verse of our plate introduces śrī-**Mahanmadāhavabhañjadēva** as the son of Raṇabhañja, as a resident of **Khichiṅga-kōṭṭa** and as a devotee of Hara (Śiva). As will be seen from our discussion below, *Mahanmadāhavabhañja* may not be the correct form of the name of the issuer of the charter. It has to be noted that the two verses describing Digbhañja and his son Raṇabhañja in the latter's own records are found to be used in the charters of his sons (including the present inscription), which omit Digbhañja altogether, to describe Raṇabhañja and his particular son who issued that charter. The prose portion (lines 16-20) that follows these verses records the grant of the village called Mōkuga, attached to the Phaṁsarā(?) *vishya*, made by the king in favour of one Kalasarma (probably Kālaśarman), son of Pālaka. The grant was made in the name of *Bhagavat* Śaṅkara-bhattāraka, i.e. the god Śiva. The donor seems therefore to have been a Śaiva.

The importance of the record under discussion lies in the fact that it reveals the name of a new king of the Ādi-Bhañja dynasty of Khijjiṅga-Kōṭṭa. He is represented as the son of Raṇabhañja ; but his name is given as *Māhadābhañja* in the legend on the seal and *Mahanmadāhavabhañja* in the body of the epigraph. With the exception of only one record, the genuineness of which has been doubted, all the Bhañja grants begin with an account of the following two persons :(1) *Ganadaṇḍa* Vīrabhadra, and (2) a hero called Kōṭṭabhañja born in his family. It seems that, while Vīrabhadra was a mythical personage, Kōttabhañja was the real founder of the Ādi-Bhañja dynasty of rulers. The earliest records of the family belong to the grandsons of this Kōṭṭabhañja. The Adipur plate (No. 1)[2] records two grants, the first of them being that of Narēndrabhañja who was the son of Vibhramatuṅga and grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja. The last few lines of the inscription record a second and apparently later grant made by Raṇabhañja, another son of Vibhramatuṅga, in the year 293 (193 ?). This seems to suggest that Narēndrabhañja was an elder brother of Raṇabhañja. Probably Narēndrabhañja died without leaving any issue and was succeeded by his brother. The Adipur plate (No. 2)[3] also records one grant of Narēndrabhañja and another of Raṇabhañja. There is little doubt that this Raṇabhañja is the same as the Ādi-Bhañja king of that name who issued the Jamdapir (Bamanghati) plate (No. 1)[4] in the year 288 (probably 188). This is definitely indicated by the dates of his grants found in this record and in the Adipur plate (No. 1). In the Jamdapir inscription, the name of Raṇabhañja's father is given as Digbhañja. The son of Kōṭṭabhañja, who was the father of Narēndrabhañja and Raṇabhañja, was therefore called both Vibhramatuṅga and Digbhañja, the former (not ending with the word *bhañja*) being merely a *biruda*.

After Raṇabhañja, the Ādi-Bhañja throne passed to several of his sons who appear to have become kings one after another. The Ukhunda plate[5] was issued in the fourth regnal year of Pṛithvībhañja, son of Raṇabhañja. It is interesting to note that the name of Digbhañaj-Vibhramatuṅga is omitted in this record and that Raṇabhañja is pertinently described as born *in the family* (*tasy=ānvayē*) of Kōṭṭabhañja. Three other sons of Raṇabhañja were Rājabhañja who

[1] In some records of the family, the word *putraḥ* belongs to the following verse and refers to Kōṭṭabhañja's son Digbhañja.

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 155 ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 159 ff.

[4] *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 141 ff.

[5] *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 427 ff.

issued the Jamdapir (Bamanghati) plate (No. 2),[1] Śatrubhañja who issued the Kesari Plate[2] and Māhadābhañja or Mahanmadāhavabhañja of the Khiching charter under discussion. The order of succession amongst these sons of Raṇabhañja, who claim to have been residents of Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa (with the exception of Śatrubhañja who may have ruled a part of his father's kingdom side by side with one or more of his brothers), cannot be determined. In the Khandadeuli plate[3] of Narēndrabhañja, his father Pṛithvībhañja seems to be described as the *aupāyika* son of Raṇabhañja. This may suggest that Pṛithvībhañja claimed to be an adopted son of Raṇabhañja. The Kesari plate, which does not strictly follow the draft of the Ādi-Bhañja records discussed above and may be later than the records of the other sons of Raṇabhañja, describes Śatrubhañja as the son of Raṇabhañja, grandson of Durjayabhañja and great-grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja. It seems that Durjayabhañja was another name of Digbhañja-Vibhramatuṅga.[4] This record also speaks of the queen Anakaḥdēvī and the crown-prince Narēndrabhañja who may have been a son of Śatrubhañja. The only other known inscription of the Ādi-Bhañja family is the Adipur plate (No. 3)[5] of Durjayabhañja who was a son of Vibhramatuṅga and grandson of Raṇabhañja. The genuineness of this grant has been doubted and it has been assigned to the fifteenth century. It is, however, not improbable that the record actually belongs to a grandson of Raṇabhañja. This supposition would suggest that Raṇabhañja had, besides Rājabhañja, Pṛithvībhañja, Mahanmadāhavabhañja and Śatrubhañja, another son named Vibhramatuṅga, or that Vibhramatuṅga was the *biruda* of one of the known sons of Raṇabhañja. Now this record mentions the queen Chihipamahādēvī and the crown-prince Kōṭṭabhañja who may have been a son of the reigning monarch. The style of mentioning the queen and the crown-prince connects the record with the Kesari plate. The name of king Durjayabhañja also reminds us of the fact that the Kesari plate alone mentions Digbhañja-Vibhramatuṅga under this name. It thus seems possible to suggest that, amongst the sons of Raṇabhañja, it was Śatrubhañja who had the *biruda* Vibhramatuṅga and was the father of Durjayabhañja of the Adipur plate (No. 3). But whether Narēndrabhañja, son of Śatrubhañja, was the same as Durjayabhañja cannot be determined. The above discussion on the genealogy of the Ādibhañjas may thus be summarised in a tabular form as follows:

Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra
- Kōṭṭabhañja I
  - Digbhañja or Durjayabhañja surnamed Vibhramatuṅga I
    - Narēndrabhañja I
    - Raṇabhañja
      - Rājabhañja
      - Pṛithvībhañja
        - Narēndrabhañja II
      - Māhadābhañja or Mahanmadāhava-bhañja
      - Śatrubhañja (probably surnamed Vibhramatuṅga II)
        - Prince Narēndrabhañja III
        - Durjayabhañja II
          - Prince Kōṭṭabhañja II

[1] *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff. It is not possible to take Rājabhañja as a son of Digbhañja (cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1489 and p. 379).

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, pp, 162 ff.

[3] *JBORS*, Vol. IV, pp. 175 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 151.

[5] Ibid., p. 173.

The name of the issuer of the charter under discussion, viz. Mahanmadāhavabhañja, is rather peculiar. It cannot be ignored that merely the king's name, shorn of epithets excepting *Śrī* or *Śrīmat*, is expected in this context and that the *charaṇa* of the verse containing the lengthy name has actually several syllables in excess. It has also to be noticed that the legend on the seal offers apparently the same name in the shorter form as *Māhadābhañja*. The expression *Mahanmadāhava* is impossible according to Sanskrit grammar. If, as Mr. P. B. Desai suggests to me, the intended reading of the passage in question is *śrīman-Mahadāhavabhañja*, we may have a good name, viz., Mahadāhavabhañja. But, even in that case, the name of the same ruler as found on the seal remains inexplicable unless it is conjectured that *Māhadā* was a colloquial abbreviation or mistake for *Mahadāhava*.[1]

The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khiching claimed descent from *Gaṇadaṇḍa* Vīrabhadra, born of a pea-hen's egg. The pea-fowl was probably the totem of this family of rulers. This fact seems to be connected with the name of the old State of Mayurbhanj (Mayūra-bhañja) which, however, may have also been the name of a person. Whether Vīrabhadra, probably also called Ādi-Bhañja, was further known by the name Mayūrabhañja because of his birth from a pea-hen's egg cannot of course be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The epithet *Gaṇadaṇḍa*, applied to him, cannot be satisfactorily explained. Possibly Vīrabhadra was identified with Śiva's creation of that name who was the leader of the god's *Gaṇa* or host of attendants. Kōṭṭāśrama, birth-place of Vīrabhadra, seems to be given the Sanskritic name Kauts-āśrama in the Khandadeuli plate. But it may actually represent Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa or a locality in its suburbs.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Khichiṅga-kōṭṭa (Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa of other records) and Kōṭṭāśrama has already been determined.[2] Mr. P. Acharya suggests to me the identification of the village of Mōkuga with the present Mokuna about four miles from Khiching. If this identification is accepted, the Phaṁsarā(?) *vishaya* must also have been situated in the Khiching region.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : verses 1, 7 *Āryā* ; verses 2-5 *Upagīti* ; verse 6 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 8-10 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 11 *Drutavilambita* ; verse 12 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

1 Siddham[4] Svast[i] [||*] Sakala[5]-bhū(bhu)van-aika-ma(nā)-

2 [thō] bhava-bhaya-bhidurō [Bhavō Bhavā][6]nīśaḥ [| *] vivē(vi)va(dha)-samādhi-

3 [vi]vi(dhi)jñaḥ sa[rvva]jñā(jñō) vaḥ śivāy=ästha(stu) |[| 1*] Āsī[t*] Kōṭy-āśrama[7]-ma[hā]-

4 tapōvan-ādhishṭhānē [| *] māyūr-āṇḍaṁ bhitvā(ttvā) gaṇadaṇō(ṇḍō) Vī-

5 rabhadr-ākhyaḥ |[| 2*] Pratipaksha-nidhana-dakshā(kshō) Vaśishṭha-muni-pa(pā)-

6 [li]nō(tō) nṛipatiḥ [|| 3*][8] Tasy=Ādi-Bhañja-vansē(vaṁśē) ripu-vana-da(dā)vānala[ḥ*]

[1] For mistakes in the legend on the seals attached to royal charters, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 88; Vol. XXIX, p. 183, etc.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 154.

[3] From the original plate and impressions.

[4] Expressed by symbol

[5] The space between *ka* and *la* was left blank for fixing the seal.

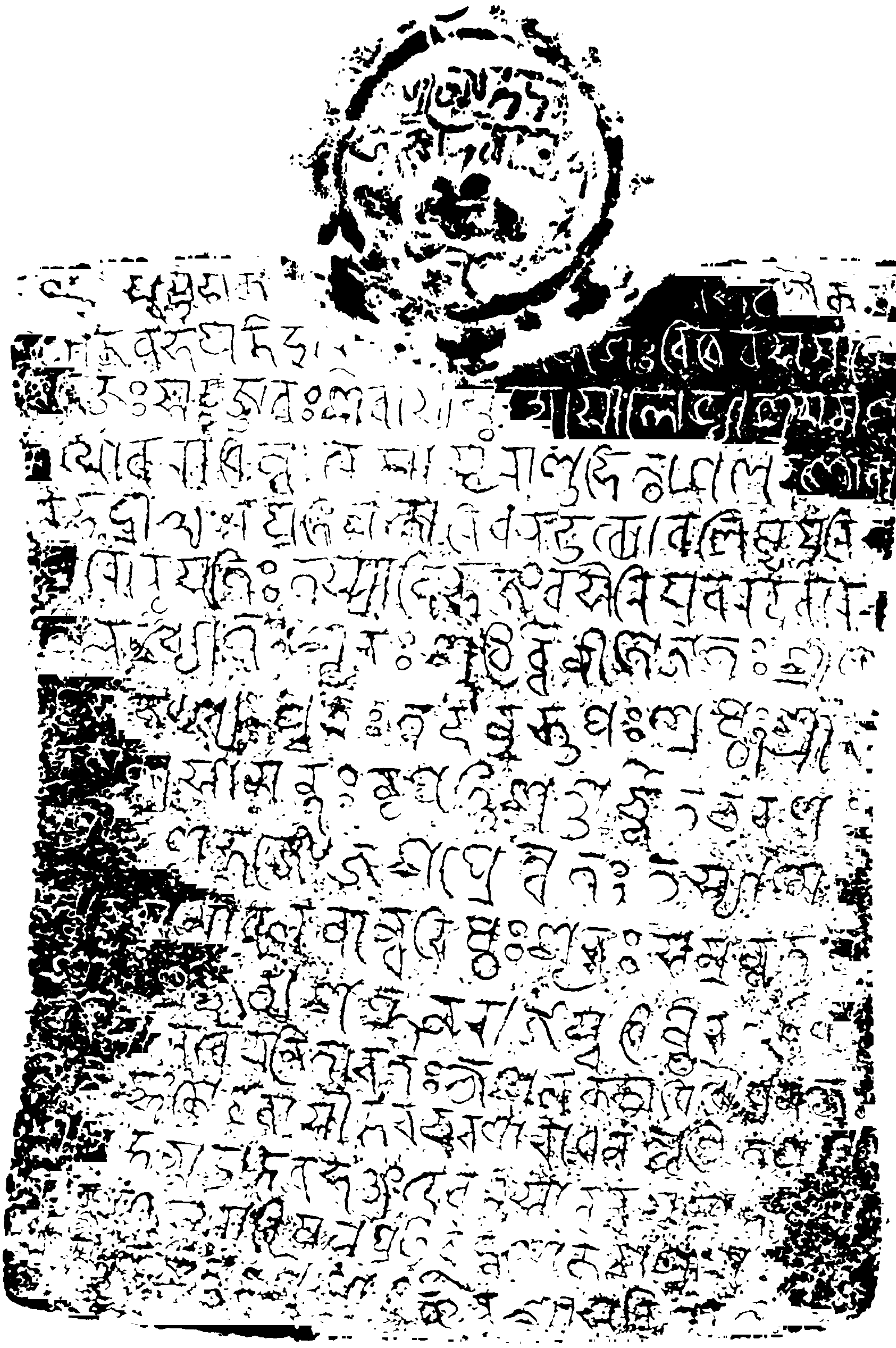
[6] These four *aksharas* are partially or wholly covered by the lower front end of the seal.

[7] Read *Kōṭṭ-āśrama*. The form of *kō* is peculiar. For the sake of metre, it is better to read °*śrama iti*.

[8] This is only a half verse in the *Upagīti* or *Udgīti* metre.

BHANJA GRANT FROM KHICHING

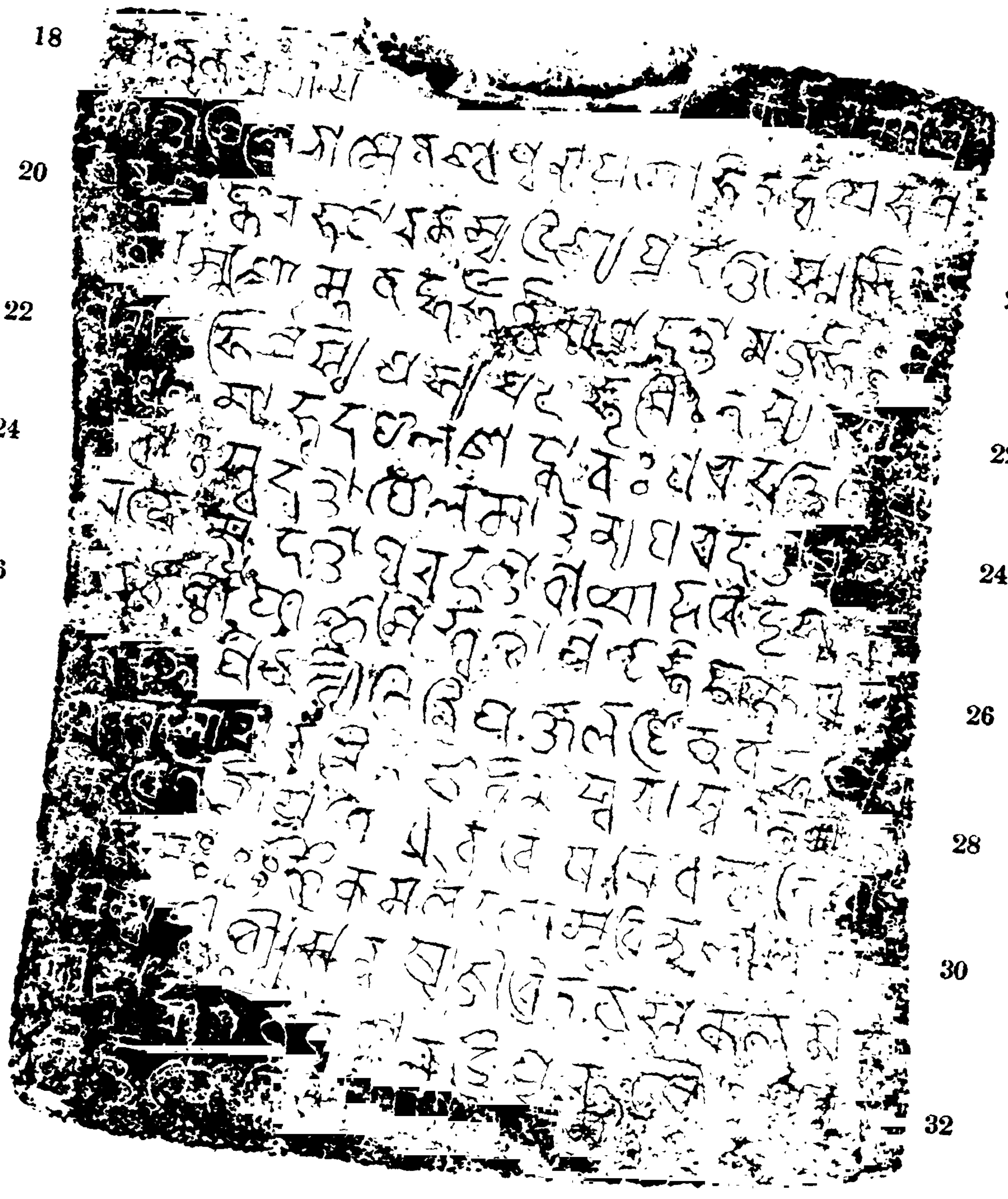
Obverse



SCALE : FOUR-FIFTHS

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Reverse



7 vala[1] khyātaḥ | śūraḥ śuchir=vvinītō jātaḥ śrī-[Kō]-
8 ṭṭabhañj-ākhyaḥ(khya)-putraḥ [|| 4*] Tad=ānurūpaḥ śrēshṭhaḥ śrīma-
9 n=a(d=a)maṁkya(saṁkhya)[2]-sāmantaḥ [| *] nṛipatti(ti)-śatt-ä(t-ā)rchchita-charaṇaḥ
10 Śrī-Raṇabhañjō jagat-prath[i]taḥ [|| 5*] Tasy=ātmaja[ḥ*]
11 smara-samō va(ba)lavān=varishṭhaḥ śūraḥ samunnata-[ya]-
12 śāḥ pra[v]ijitya śatrūna(trūn) [| *] rājā Yudhishṭhira iv=[ā]-
13 vani-pālanē cha nitya[ṁ*] rataḥ kuśala-kamma(rma)-vidhau prama(sa)tkaḥ(ktaḥ) [|| 6*]
14 Khichiṅgakōṭṭa[3]-vāsī Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshayita-pāpa[ḥ |]
15 Śrī-Mahanmadā[4]havabhañjadēvaḥ s-ānunaya[ṁ*] prāha [bhūpā]-
16 lānna(lān) [|| 7*] Phaṁsarā[5]-vishaya-prativa(ba)ddha-Mōk[u]ga-grāmaḥ [sa-ja]-
17 [la-sthala(laḥ)] chatuḥ-[si(sī)m]-āvachhi(chchi)na(nnaḥ) śāsani(nī)kṛitya

Reverse

18 [P]ālaka-putrāya[6] Kalasarmāyaḥ(ya)[7]
19 māttā(tā)-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha punya(ṇya)-yasō(śō)-bhivṛiddhayē bhaga-
20 vanta[ṁ*] Śaṅkara-bhaṭā(ṭṭā)rakam=udi(ddi)śya pradattō=smābhiḥ | u-
21 ktaṁ cha dharmma-śāstra(strē) [| *] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Śa(Sa)-
22 gar-āda(di)bhir=yasya[8] yasya yadā rbhūmiḥ tasya[9] tasya [ta]-
23 dā pa(pha)la[ṁ || 8*] Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti p[ā]-
24 [rthi]vāḥ [| *] sva-dattāt=phalam=āttanya[10] para-datt-ānu[pā]-
25 lanē [|| 9*] Sva-dattā[ṁ*] para-dattā[ṁ*] vā yō harēddasurā[11] [|*]
26 [sa] vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimi bhu(r=bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[ḥ saha] pach[y]a-
27 [tē] |[| 10*] api cha [| *] Kshitinri(r=ī)ya[ṁ*] kulaṭ=ēva va(ba)hu-priy[ā]
28 [hata-śa]rīram=i[daṁ] chā(cha) vī(vi)nasva(śva)ra[m*] | su[kri]tam=adya
29 [na] chēta(chēt) kriyatē dhruvaṁ vi(sa)padi dha[kshya]ti vō=[nu]-
30 śaya(y-ā)[na]laḥ [| 11*] [Iti][12] kamala-dal-āmū[13](mbu)-vinda(ndu)-lāla(lōlāṁ) śri-
31 yam=udvīkshya[14] manushya-jīvitaṁ cha [| *] sakalam=ida-
32 [m=u]dāhu(hṛi)taṁ cha vu(bu)[d*]dhvā a(na) hi purū(ru)shauḥ(shaiḥ) para-
33 kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ | [|* 12] Samvat [3] ....[15]

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[1] These two *aksharas*, probably incised in duplication of the preceding letters, are superfluous.

[2] To rectify the metre, we should better read *asaṁkhyāta*.

[3] Read *Khijjiṅga*° for the sake of metre. It seems that the name was the same as it is today but that it was Sanskritised as *Khijjiṅga*.

[4] *Dā* looks like *dā* ; but cf. the third *akshara* of line 22. The king's name does not suit the metre. The stanza is taken from Raṇabhañja's records with the replacement of *Śrīmad-Raṇabhañjadēvaḥ* by *Śrī-Mahanmadāhava-bhañjadēvaḥ*.

[5] The name may possibly also be read as *Pāṁsurā*.

[6] Some space was left out here for fixing the seal.

[7] The name is possibly Kālaśarman.

[8] Read °*bhiḥ | yasya*.

[9] Read *bhūmis=tasya*.

[10] Read °*ānantyam*.

[11] Read *harēta vasundharām*.

[12] The *akshara ti* has been incised on *tē* which had been previously engraved.

[13] The *akshara* read as *mū* looks more like *mdha*.

[14] The word expected here is *anuchintya*.

[15] The name of the month, etc., cannot be satisfactorily deciphered.

No. 38—HATUN ROCK INSCRIPTION OF PATOLADEVA

(*1 Plate*)

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI

Towards the end of May 1941, Sir Aurel Stein sent to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, the then Director General of Archaeology, a photograph of a rock inscription which was received by him from the British Political Agent at Gilgit. In a letter dated the 8th May 1941, Major G.C.L. Crichton, Political Agent, Gilgit, wrote to Sir Aurel Stein at Srinagar as follows : " Captain A. W. Redpath, Assistant Political Agent, Gilgit, when touring in this Agency noticed some writings engraved on a rock near a place called Silpi in Punial. Silpi is just south of the junction of the Ishkoman and Gilgit rivers. Thinking that the writings might be of Archaeological interest, Captain Redpath had them photographed and has suggested sending the prints to you....... As far as Captain Redpath knows, the writings have not previously been photographed or reported to the Archaeological Department. I trust they will be of interest to you ".

In his letter of the 17th May 1941, to Major Crichton, Sir Aurel wrote : " It is certainly in Sanskrit and in Brāhmī characters of the type known in Kashmir as Śāradā. As far as I can judge without being able at present to refer to any palaeographic tables, the writing is not likely to be later than the 8th-9th century A.D. and may be a good deal earlier. The photograph of the left portion of the inscription permits me on hasty examination to read a number of words which make it certain that it contains a record emanating from a local ruler of some importance, which invests it with interest.

" Being pressed by urgent tasks in different fields and not being an expert epigraphist, I cannot undertake the decipherment and publication of the inscription. For this, the available photographs, especially of the right hand portion, would not suffice. I am sending the photographs to the Director General of Archaeology, suggesting preliminary examination by a competent epigraphical scholar.

" For a full decipherment, a proper paper impression (estampage) will be needed. I believe, such could be conveniently secured with the help of my old surveying assistant, Khan Sahib Afrazgul Khan, who I believe has seen such estampages taken while with me, and whose skilful application to varied tasks has often been appreciated by me. "

As I was at that time at the headquarters of the Department as the Deputy Director General, Mr. Dikshit passed on the photographs to me for examination and report to Sir Aurel. The photograph, particularly that of the right half of the epigraph, was unsatisfactory and the decipherment was made more difficult by the small size of the prints and the several cracks, some of them quite large, appearing on the engraved portion of the rock. I could, however, make out a good part of the inscription and, in my preliminary report, pointed out to Sir Aurel that it contained the name of a Shāhi ruler of Gilgit whose name along with that of another ruler of the same dynasty was also known from the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts recovered from Gilgit.

In reply Sir Aurel wrote to me on July 12, 1941, from Srinagar : " I was specially pleased to come in your reading upon the title **Paṭōla-shāhi** and in your quotation from the Gilgit Mss. upon the full title *Shāhānushāhi* known from references to Kushāṇa rulers. Ever since I first read that title correctly in the SHAONANO SHAO of the Kushāṇa coins I have been interested in Indian renderings of the ancient Iranian title (see my paper on ' Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins ' in *Indian Antiquary*, 1888 ; also the notes on Shāhi chiefs in my translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*).

" The late survival of the full imperial title in a small Hindukush territory is very curious. This makes me particularly wish for any approximate dating you would propose for the inscription on palaeographic grounds. I was unable myself to refer in camp to any copy of Professor Bühler's *Indian Palaeography* on this point.

" I am much obliged to you for your reference to the notice on the Gilgit Mss. excavated in 1938 as contained in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. I confess to be unaware of this periodical and of the account of the excavations therein recorded. The couple of small *stūpas* close to the one opened in 1930 were seen by me in 1931. I am glad that they were preserved from ' irresponsible ' digging, but should have been glad to receive information about their subsequent excavation by the Archaeological Department of Kashmir "

Later I sent some impression material to the Political Agent at Gilgit ; but the attempt to take proper estampages was not very successful. He therefore sent me an estampage (rather a tracing) on cloth prepared by Khan Sahib Afrazgul Khan, with the help of which and also the unsatisfactory photographs previously received, the text now published has been prepared. The inscription is engraved on a rock[1] which is situated not near Silpi as previously reported by the Political Agent, but, as Sir Aurel informed me later in 1942 on the authority of Afrazgul Khan, five miles above it, about one mile south of the hamlet of **Hātūn** on the right bank of the Ishkuman river. It has seven lines of writing in a **script** which may be called proto-Śāradā. In Bühler's opinion, epigraphic Śāradā dates from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 9th century A.D., though as a literary script it may have been much older. The script used here is earlier than that of the inscriptions of Brahmor and Chatrahi[2] and may therefore have to be placed in the 7th century, perhaps even a little earlier. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit with a few mistakes here and there. One **orthographical peculiarity** is that a consonant is doubled before *y*, e.g., in *amāttya* (l. 3), *maddhyē* (l. 4), though it is not doubled in the association of *r*, e.g., *pravardhamāna* (l. 2).

The **date** of the inscription is given both in words and numerals as the **13th day of the bright half of the month of Pausha in the year 47.** For the numeral figures, decimal system has been used. They are not shown by symbols as is the case in the manuscripts from Gilgit. Obviously both the systems were known in this region at the period of our record, the manuscripts using the old system of notation by symbols and the inscriptions using the decimal system. The earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation as pointed out by Buhler[3] goes back to the 6th century, while its use in manuscripts would date from the beginning of the Christian era.

The inscription refers itself to the augmenting reign of the *P.M.P.* **Paṭōladēva Shāhi**, who was born in the **Bhagadatta-vaṁśa** and enjoyed the *biruda* **Nava-Surēndrādityanandidēva,** and records the construction of a town called the new **Makarapura** by Makarasiṁha who was the great lord of elephants (*mahāgajapati*), the chief minister (*mahāmātyavara*) and the great lord of the feudatories (*mahāsāmantādhipati*) of the king and who was always devoted to the feet of the illustrious Shāhi lord. Makarasiṁha is referred to as Kāñchuḍīya, i.e. belonging to a clan of the name of Kāñchuḍī, and the *Sarāṁgha* of Giligittā. The town is said to have been built in the forest, ... māla by name, after damming (*apakṛishya*) a streamlet (?) the name of which is not clear.[4] The town seems to have been near the village of **Hātūna** situated in the district (*vishaya*) of **Haṇēsarā** which has obviously to be identified with modern Hunza.[5] Hātūna is certainly the present village of Hātūn near which the inscribed rock is.

The inscription is of great historical importance and has several interesting features. First of all is the occurrence of the name **Giligittā** for Gilgit. The origin of this name is still uncertain ; obviously the name is not Sanskritic. But it is interesting to note that the name was known in the same phonetical form over twelve hundred years ago. This proves as untenable the opinion of some scholars that the name is of recent origin.

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[1] [The inscribed area measures 136 inches by 37 inches.—Ed.].

[2] Vogel, *Chamba Inscriptions* (Arch. Surv. Imperial Series), Plate X.

[3] Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, pp. 82-83.

[4] [For the meaning of *apakṛishya* and the name of the canal (*kulyā*), see below, p. 231, note 4.—Ed.].

[5] [For the reading of the names of the village and the district, see below, p. 230, note 8.—Ed.].

Next we come to the word *Sarāṁgha*. This is also of non-Sanskritic origin and is obviously connected with the Middle and New Persian *Sar-hang* meaning 'head of the army of gathering'. Its origin has to be sought in the Iranian *sar*, 'head' (Indo-Aryan *śiras*) and the old Persian *hanga* (Skt. *saṁgha*), 'company'. Even now the Indianised form of the word can be traced in the term *Sareng*, 'head of the crew of a steamer'.[1] The term *Kāñchudī*, as was pointed out to me by Sir Aurel, must be connected with the racial designation of Kanjūti applied to the people of Hunza and known as Kanjūt to its neighbours.

According to the inscription, king Paṭōladēva was born in the lineage of Bhagadatta who is no other than the homonymous son of Naraka mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It is interesting to note that the same lineage is claimed also by Bhāskaravarman, the ruler of Prāgjyōtisha (Assam) and the contemporary of Harsha of the Pushabhūti family, ruler of Kanauj and Thanesvar (7th century A.D.). How the rulers of two widely separated territories, one in the mountainous region of the north and the other in the extreme east, came to trace their descent from the same ancestor, it is difficult to explain. It may be that both had the same object in view, namely, to establish their origin to a reputed Kshatriya family stated to be descented from the god Vishṇu himself. Of course the name of Prāgjyōtisha was well known in Kāshmīr in ancient times. Kalhaṇa refers to it on three occasions, once in connection with a story in the *Mahābhārata*[2] and twice with the kings of Kāshmīr. In Book II (vv. 146 ff.) it is stated that Mēghavāhana, who became the king of Kāshmir on the restoration of the Gōnanda dynasty, won the hands of Amṛitaprabhā, daughter of the king of Prāgjyōtisha, in a *svayaṁvara* ceremony. There is also a reference to the Assian kings' descent from Vishṇu and the parasol of Varuṇa which was carried there by Naraka. Kalhaṇa also mentions this country in connection with the *digvijaya* of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya (8th century).[3] But what is strange is that immediately after the territories of the Bhuṭṭas and Ḍaradas, he mentions Prāgjyōtisha to be followed by only mythical regions in the north. In the first instance also, while Amṛitaparbhā is mentioned as a princess of Prāgjyōtisha, her father had a *guru* who was obviously a Tibetan.[4] Can these instances indicate that there existed a tradition in Kāshmīr of a second Prāgjyōtisha in the north of Kāshmīr in the neighbourhood of the Darada country? Or, was it that the kings of Prāgjyōtisha in Eastern India were in some way connected with the region in the north of Kāshmīr? If we can trace such a tradition that would offer an easy explanation for connecting the family of Paṭōladēva with Bhagadatta. The kingdom of the Assam rulers might have extended to a part of the hills but not certainly so far to the west.

Another point is that the Gilgit area is immediately across the Hindukush adjoined by Iranian territory and Stein has pointed out that in Wakhan the epic tradition of Iran was fully alive among the people. He also informed me that, even in the south, the Ishkuman valley is partly occupied by modern immigrants from Wakhan, speaking an Eastern Iranian tongue, and its present ruling family came from there. Thus it is not unlikely that, in an earlier period, to the Indianised descendants of the Iranian Kushāṇas a derivation of their traditional family claim from a legendary hero of the *Mahābhārata* might well have appealed. But in the absenceof historical records nothing can be established. The Chinese sources do not help us much as Chinese authority over these parts ended much earlier and after the Islamisation of the territory all such traditions seem to have been altogether lost.

Following the discovery in 1931 of the now wellknown Buddhist Mss. in a *stūpa* in the mountainous region 3 miles to the north of Gilgit,[5] Pandit Madhusudan Kaul of the Kāshmir

[1] See Yule, *Hobson Jobson*, s.v. *Serang*.

[2] M.A. Stein, *Chronicles of Kashmir*, Vol. II (Bk. VIII, v. 2811).

[3] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 137 (Bk. IV, v. 171).

[4] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 73 (Bk. III, v. 10).

[5] Hackin, *Journal Asiatique*, 1932, pp. 14-15.

Archaeological Department carried on further excavations in 1938 and found 3 or 4 more Mss. in the same *stūpa*. One of these is a fragment of the *Mahāmāyūrī*[1] which mentions the name of *Shāhānushāhi* Paṭōlashāhi śrī-Nava-Surēndrādityanandidēva. The Ms. was written for ensuring a long life for the king. This king is obviously identical with the ruler mentioned in the inscription under consideration. The Ms. further gives us the name of his queen as Anaṅgadēvī. Names of two other rulers of this dynasty are also found in the colophons of the Gilgit Mss. discovered earlier in 1931. Dutt notices one of them whose name with full titles appears in the colophon as Śrīdēva Shāhi Surēndra Vikramāditya Nanda[2] who is mentioned there as a devout lay worshipper. He along with Śamidēvī-Trailōkadēvī-bhaṭṭārikā, probably his wife, and one Vihali were the chief donors of the Ms. Dutt connects this colophon with Ms. B of the *Bhaishajyaguru* edited by him. I examined the colophon of this Ms. carefully and found that it was the gift of the devout lay worshipper Vasaṁta and his associates while the page, where the name of the ruler appears, formed the obverse of an unnumbered folio and might have belonged to a different Ms. I came across the name of another ruler of the same dynasty in another colophon also found on an unnumbered leaf, who is styled there as Paṭōladēva Shāhi Vajrādityanandi and is therefore different from the Paṭōladēva of our inscription. No further information is available from the colophon and it cannot be said definitely whether he was a predecessor or a successor of Surēndra Vikramāditya. One thing is, however,certain. Palaeographically both the Mss. are earlier than the *Mahāmāyūrī* Ms. and the Hātūn inscription and therefore the ruler of the last mentioned document must be styled Paṭōladēva II. Unfortunately nothing is known of these rulers from any other source. There is no indication as to whether the year 47 mentioned in the Hātūn inscription has to be referred to any particular era or represents only the regnal year. The main objection against its being the regnal year is that Paṭōladēva has to be allotted a rule of at least half a century and that he was of quite an advanced age when this inscription was engraved. This by itself is not impossible but seems unlikely when we consider that the Saptarshi or Laukika era was prevalent in these parts, in which the centuries were invariably omitted and the year 47 may therefore very well denote a date in the Laukika era. Unfortunately the details of the date given in the record do not admit of verification and we have to leave the point undecided, though the dating in the Laukika era would seem to be more reasonable.

Now, who were these Shāhi rulers ? Dutt seems to think that they belonged to the Shāhiya dynasty of Udabhāṇḍapura (Ohind). But it can not be so. Lalliya Shāhi, the founder of the Hindu Shāhiya dynásty was a contemporary of king Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir (883-902 A.D.) But the dynasty of the Ādityas of Gilgit—we may call them so as all the rulers bore the title of *Āditya*—was definitely earlier in date. Moreover, the region where this inscription and the Mss. have been found is outside the territory of the Shahis of Ohind and is in the Darada country. According to Stein, the kingdom of the Daradas extended from Chitral and Yasin, 'across the Indus region of Gilgit, Chilas and Bunji to the Kishanganga valley in the immediate north of Kashmir '. In the last two books (Taraṅgas vii and viii) of his work, Kalhaṇa gives the names of several Darada chiefs such as Achalamaṅgala, Jagaddala, Maṇidhara, Yaśōdhara and Viḍḍasīha. None of them, however, is given the title of Shāhi except Vidyādhara Shāhi, a contemporary of Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.D.). This single instance is enough to show that Kalhaṇa knew of their Shāhi origin. The Daradas are known from very ancient times. They are mentioned in the first book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and were known to Herodotus as occupying almost the same region as indicated above. They are mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and were known also to Ptolemy, Strabo and Pliny. Dutt's statement that 'about the 10th or 11th century, some Shāhi princes managed to create small

[1] Shastri, *Quarterly Journa lof the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (July 1939), pp. 11-12 and Pl. 1443. See also M. S. Kaul, *Gilgit Excavation Report*, 1938.

[2] Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 40, and Text of the *Bhaishajyagurusūtra*, p. 32.

independant states for themselves in the mountainous regions of Citral, Yasin, Gilgit, etc., generally known as the country of the Dards'[1] is not therefore borne out by facts. We have shown above that the Darada Shāhis were in occupation of those parts from a much earlier time. Stein recognised, on the authority of Cunningham, that the title *Shāh*, 'has been borne for centuries back by the Dard rulers of Citral and Yasin', but was not sure whether it was of Muhammadan origin or was connected with the royal title of the Shāhis of the Kabul valley.[2]

According to Tibetan sources, the Gilgit region was known as Bruśa whose rulers seem to have some connection with the rulers of Udyāna (Swat). According to the same source, the kings of Bruśa had the title of *dēvaputra*. We know that this title was borne by the Kushāṇa rulers; but neither the inscription under consideration nor the Mss. from Gilgit give this title to any of the rulers of the Āditya dynasty. It is known that the Bon religion was once popular in Bruśa and Bon priests from this country were invited to Tibet.[3] The Ms. of Bastan 'byuṅ gives the name of one of the kings of Bruśa as Sad-Zver.[4] This ruler cannot, however, be identified at present Probably he was one of the earlier rulers who flourished before Buddhism had been firmly established in the Gilgit region.

These rulers of Gilgit were probably of Iranian origin as the use of the title *Shāhi* indicates. The name Paṭōla is also un-Indian. Due to their close connection with the Iranians, we need also not be surprised at the use of the title *Sarāṁgha* of Iranian origin.

I cannot identify Makarapura. The ancient name may have now been replaced by one of Muslim origin. The stream referred to in the inscription may be a branch of the Ishkuman river if not the main river itself. The other places with the exception of the forest mentioned in line 6, have been identified above. I edit the inscription from the photograph and the tracing supplied by the then British Political Agent at Gilgit.

TEXT

1 Om[5] svasti ||[6] sa[ṁ]vatsarē [sa]ptachatvā[riṁ]śa[ti]tamē 47 Pōshya(Pausha)-śukla-trayō[da]śyāṁ 13 śrī-Bhagadatta-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-saṁbhūta-paramabhaṭṭā-

2 raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra- Paṭōladēva-Shāhi-śrī-Nava-Sur[ē]ndrāditya-nandi[dē]va-pravardhamāna rājyē

3 nirantara-śrī-Shāhidēva-pāda-bhakta-Kā[ñchu]dīya-mahāgajapa i-mahāmāttyavara-mahāsā-dha(ma)-

4 ntādhipati-Giligittā-Sarāṁgha-Makarasiṁghē[na][7] Haṇēsarā-vishayā(yē) Hātūna-[8] [grā]ma-maddhyē

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[1] Dutt, ibid., Introduction, p. 36.

[2] Stein, *Chronicles of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 337, note on verse 713; Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, IX, p. 281.

[3] Helmut Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion* (Akademie der Wissenchaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1950, Nr. 4), p. 212.

[4] I am indebted to Prof. Hoffmann for this information.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] Stop is indicated by a curve followed by a *daṇḍa* as found in the Gilgit and Bower manuscripts.

[7] Read °*siṁhēna*.

[8] [The reading is *Haṇēsara-vishayāt=Hatūna*°, though *t=Ha* is grammatically wrong.—D.C.S.]

HATUN ROCK INSCRIPTION OF PATOLADEVA



5 [pūrva]-prāntaṁ[1] yāva[t*] hasta-saha[srāṇi] dvātṛiṁ(triṁ)śa[2] 32000 [dvātriṁśa][3]-sahasra chat. shkaṁ ka(?)[4] makaravāhinī [nā][5]

6 ma kuly[āṁ][6] apakṛishya [Rēvānsō?][7]māla nāma aṭavyā[ṁ][7] abhinava-[Ma]karapur-ākhyaṁ paṭṭaṇaṁ kṛitaṁ ||

7 yāvaśch(ch-cha)ndr-[ārka]-pṛithvī [pitṛi-mātṛi-kalatra][8] sarva-sattv-ōpakāraṇaṁ[9] kṛitam=iti[||*]

TRANSLATION

Ōm. Hail ! In the **year 47,** on the **13th day of the bright half of Pausha** in the prosperous reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Paṭōladēva Shāhi,** the illustrious **Nava-Surēndrādityanandidēva,** born in the lineage of **Bhagadatta,** Makarasiṁha, the great lord of the elephants (*mahāgajapati*), the chief minister (*mahāmātya*), the great lord of the feudatories (*mahāsāmantādhipati*) and the chief of the army at Giligittā (*Giligittā-Sarāṁgha*), who belongs to the Kāñchudi clan and is constantly devoted to the feet of the great Shāhi lord, has founded, in the forest, Rēvānsōmāla(?) by name, the city called the new Makarapura, after putting a dam in the stream named Chat. shkaṁka(?) (*of the length of*) one thousand cubits (*hastas*) extending to the eastern limit of the village of Hātūna in the district (*vishaya*) of Haṇēsarā, (*the city extending over* ?) thirtytwo thousand *hastas*(?)[10]

(*Let this last*) so long as the moon, the sun and the earth (*last*). This is done for the welfare of the father, the mother, the wife[11] and all beings.

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[1] The reading of the first two letters in this line is not certain. The first letter looks like *mra* on the tracing but may be read as *sra* in the photograph. The letters *prāntaṁ* seem to be clear on the photograph. The intended reading may be *pūrva-prāntaṁ*.

[2] On the photograph there seems to be a letter before *śa* which looks like *ta*. But the tracing does not show any sign of such a letter. Obviously this is due to a defect in the rock.

[3] The reading of these three letters is not certain. Due to cracks these are illegible on the photograph. The tracing is not certain either. Elsewhere in this record enumeration in words preceeds that in figures.

[4] The reading of these letters is not certain. The first seems to be a *cha* from the photograph. The second syllable is certainly a *t* in conjunction with another letter which is uncertain. The third syllable seems to be certainly *shkaṁ*. The fourth letter looks like a *ka* on the photograph but on the tracing it looks quite different. This was obviously the name of the stream. Can this be the ancient name of the Ishkuman river or one of its tributaries ? [The reading seems to be *hasta-chatushk*[*ā**]*t*. The preceding four *aksharas*, read as *dvātriṁśa-sa*, are doubtful. *Chatuskha* means ' a tank ' from which the newly excavated canal called Makaravahinī (*Makaravāhinī-nāma-kulyā*) was taken out to the forest. The meaning of the word *apakrishya*, literally ' having drawn out ', has been misunderstood by the author.—D.C.S.]

[5] On the tracing, this letter looks like *ra*.

[6] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[7] The reading of these three letters is uncertain. The photograph clearly shows three letters of which the first looks like *rē*. The second letter may be *vā* or *dhā*. The third is a conjunct of which *sō* is certain but not the first component which I have tentatively read as *n*. [The reading seems to be [*Kha*]*nsō* Read °*māla-nām-āṭavyām*. —D.C.S.]

[8] Not clear in the photograph. [The reading seems to be °*varttamāna-k*[*ā*]*laś=cha*(*ñ=cha*).—D.C.S.].

[9] Read °*ōpakārārtham*.

[10] I am not at all certain of the meaning of this portion. Does 32,000 indicate the expenses ? But one would have expected, in that case, the mention of some kind of coins. Does it read, after 32,000, *Dināra* ? But in Kāshmīr a Dināra was a copper coin of a very small value. [For the meaning of the Kashmirian *Dinnāra*, see Stein, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 308 ff. For the reading and meaning of the passage, see note 4 above.—D.C.S.]

[11] For the reading of the passage, see note 8 above.—D.C.S.

No. 39—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTIONS OF BHIMADEVA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Bhīma or Bhīmadēva was an alternative form of the name of the Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III,[1] also called Aniyaṅkabhīma or Anaṅkabhīma and Anantavarman. The reign of this king is usually assigned to the period Śaka 1133-60 corresponding to 1211-38 A. D.,[2] although, as we have shown elsewhere,[3] some inscriptions suggest a little later date for his accession. About half a century ago, the late Mr. M. Chakravarti transcribed the date portion (lines 2-5) of an inscription 'on the north jamb of the porch' of the celebrated Liṅgarāja temple at **Bhubaneswar** (Puri District, Orissa), which refers to the said Gaṅga monarch under the name Bhīmadēva.[4] Chakravarti's reading of the epigraphic passage in question runs as follows: *Jayati sakala-varṇa-jan-ālaṅkṛita-rāja-śrī-Bhīmadēv-ābda .... tritīyāyē Guru-vārē.* About fifteen years ago, I secured an impression of this inscription and published my transcript of the epigraphic text prepared on its basis.[5] The impression, which showed that the record is damaged, was quite unsatisfactory owing to insufficient inking. Nevertheless it helped me in correcting some of the mistakes in Chakravarti's reading of its date portion quoted above.

Recently I had an opportunity of examining some excellent impressions of the same inscription, which were prepared about twentyfive years ago under the supervision of the late Dr. H. Sastri and are now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. The impressions bear a note to the effect that the inscription was found 'on the north wall (right) outside the third entrance' of the Liṅgarāja temple. On a careful examination of the record, I was very sorry to find that its transcript published by me on the basis of an unsatisfactory impression is by no means free from errors. Indeed, as is now found, some of the most important passages of the inscription could not be correctly read from that impression. It is now also found that, inspite of the bad state of its preservation, the inscription can fortunately be deciphered fully with the help of the impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. In the study of the inscription again I received considerable help from another fragmentary epigraph belonging to the reign of the same king and engraved on the same wall. The two records (Nos. 1 and 2) are incised respectively above and below a third inscription of the time of the same Gaṅga king, Anaṅgabhīma III, the date portion of which also was transcribed by Chakravarti in his article referred to above.[6] As these two epigraphs give a unique information regarding the religious life and policy of the Gaṅga monarch, they are edited in the following pages. As already pointed out above, an inaccurate transcript of Inscription No. 1 was formerly published by me; but Inscription No. 2 is being published here for the first time.

Inscription No. 1 is written in eleven lines while Inscription No. 2 has thirteen lines of writing. Owing to a break in the stone, all the letters of line 4 of the former record, together with the first few *aksharas* of the following line, are only partially preserved. Unfortunately the date of the inscription was quoted in this damaged part. The preservation of the latter epigraph is, however, even more unsatisfactory as a big portion of the stone is completely peeled off with the result that the beginning of lines 1-10 is totally lost. The number of letters thus lost is the highest in line 5 (about

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 18.

[2] *JASB*, 1903, p. 118.

[3] Above, pp. 200-01.

[4] *JASB*, loc. cit., Extract No. 3.

[5] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (July, 1939), p. 76.

[6] *JASB*, loc. cit., Extract No. 4.

nine *aksharas*) and the smallest in line 10 (about two *aksharas*). The two records cover spaces measuring respectively 16 inches by 19 inches and 18½ inches by 19 inches. We have said that a third inscription is engraved between these two, below Inscription No. 1 and above Inscription No. 2. The space covered by this epigraph measures 9 inches by 19½ inches. There are in this in all eight lines of writing ; but the letters of the left half of the last line are partially preserved owing to the peeling off of a portion of the stone.

The inscriptions are written in the Gauḍīya script as used in Orissa about the thirteenth century A.D. Their language is corrupt Sanskrit. Nothing needs special mention in regard to the palaeography, language and orthography of the records as in these respects they resemble closely other Orissan epigraphs of the same age.

Both the inscriptions are dated in the Aṅka reckoning of the reign of **Bhīmadēva** (Anaṅgabhīma III). Unfortunately the portion containing the date is damaged in both the cases. The preserved parts of the letters in lines 4-5 of Inscription No. 1, however, appear to suggest the reading : *trayō-viṁśati-saṁvatsarē Makara-kṛishṇa-tṛitīyāyāṁ Guru-vārē.*, i.e. Thursday, Makara(Māgha)-badi 3, in the 23rd Aṅka or 19th regnal year of Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III. The astronomical details would tally with the **9th January, 1230 A.D.**, which may be the date of the record. As regards the date of Inscription No. 2, owing to the miserable state of the preservation of the passage, we only know that it was Chaitra(Mīna)-sudi 15 of a particular Aṅka year of the same Bhīmadēva (Anaṅgabhīma III). Under the circumstances, it is impossible to determine whether the date of this record is earlier or later than that of Inscription No. 1. We have to admit that the introductory passages are the same in both the inscriptions and that they are not found in any other known record of the Gaṅga king in question. These facts may suggest that their drafts were prepared by the same person within a short period of time. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that the two records are not engraved one immediately below the other but have another inscription incised between them. This third epigraph bears a date in Śaka 1140 (1218 A.D.) and has the introductory part couched in an altogether different style. If both the inscriptions under study actually bore dates falling about the year 1230 A.D., we have to assume that they were engraved above and below an already existing record of 1218 A.D.

As regards the date of this third inscription, which has been indicated above, we owe a word of explanation to the world of scholars. As already stated, the date portion of the record was transcribed by Chakravarti. His reading of the passage in question runs as follows : *Śākābd-aikādaśa-śatē chutvāriśat-ādi(dhi)kē-paṁchamakai mbha(vī)ra-Anaṅgabhīmadēvasya pravaddhati-saṁvatsarē...* (year illegible)......*Dhanu-kṛishṇa-pratipadi Bhauma-vārē.* He took the year to be Śaka 1145 and suggested the date, on the basis of the astronomical details (*Amānta*), to be Tuesday, the 9th January, 1224 A.D. I had recently an occasion to examine some good impressions of the inscription, which are preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, and found that Chakravarti's transcript of the passage quoted above contains several errors.

The first three lines of the epigraph actually read :

1 Siddham[1] svasti śrī-Śākāvdh-ai(bd-ai)kābha(da)śa-sa(śa)tē chū(cha)tvāvē(riṁ)śat=ādi-(dhi)kē paramavai-

2 [sh]ṇav-Ānaṅkabhīmadēvasya pravahati samvasarē(saṁvatsarē) ḍaśaṅka-tāḍi[tē] (daś-āṅka-gaṇitē ?) sū(su)-

[1] Expressed by symbol.

3 varṇṇa-Dhanū(nuḥ)-kṛishṇa-pratipadi Bhaumavārē Sa(Śa)[mbhō*]ś=charaṇ-āravi-[1]

The date of the inscription is therefore not Śaka 1145, as suggested by Chakravarti, but really Śaka 1140. The astronomical details of the date (Dhanus-badi 1, Tuesday) tally regularly with the 4th December 1218 A.D., which is probably associated in the epigraph with the 10th Aṅka or 8th regnal year of the Gaṅga king Anaṅkabhīmadēva (Anaṅgabhīma III).

Inscription No. 1 begins with the symbol for *siddham* which is followed by the expressions *svasti iti*. Then follows the date (Aṅka 23 or regnal year 19, Makara or Māgha-badi 3, Thursday) in the regnal reckoning of *Rāutta* (i.e. a feudatory) Bhīmadēva (Anaṅgabhīma III). There are three epithets describing the king, of which the first one is of considerable interest. It says that the Gaṅga monarch, described as a subordinate ruler, was the son of Purushōttama (i.e. the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī). We have seen elsewhere[2] how the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated his kingdom in favour of the said deity and considered himself a *Rāuta* or *Rāutta* (i.e. feudatory) of the latter and how his successors, as they regarded themselves subordinates to the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, did not enjoy formal coronation at the time of their accession. In this context, the claim of Anaṅgabhīma III to have been the son of the god in the present record (as well as in the other one to be discussed below) assumes special importance. The claim to be the god's son was undoubtedly meant to be the same as that preferring to be the god's feudatory. The second epithet of the Gaṅga king in the inscription under review represents him as the lord of the whole earth as far as the four oceans. As we have elsewhere[3] shown, this is a conventional claim preferred by the imperial rulers of ancient and medieval India. The third epithet of the king seems to say that he was surrounded by a large number of learned men.

The inscription records the grant of a perpetual lamp in favour of the god Kīrttivāsa (Kṛittivāsa or Śiva worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple) and, for making provision for the same, a piece of land which was called Vāṅkilāṇḍā, measured 2¼ *Vāṭis* (about 45 acres according to modern calculation) and was situated in the southern part of the village called Uchisama-grāma. The grant was made by the *Sēnāpati* (i.e. general, apparently of the Gaṅga king) Ira (or possibly Īśvara) who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and was the son of Surāṇḍi and grandson of Chaṇḍēśvara. There is an endorsement at the end of the inscription in line 11, which seems to record the grant of another piece of land measuring 6 *Māṇas* (i.e. $\frac{3}{10}$ *Vāṭi*), situated in a locality called Balabhadrapura.

Inspite of the loss of the beginning of no less than ten lines of writing in Inscription No. 2, it s clear that its first three lines offer the same text as lines 1-3 of Inscription No. 1. Lines 4-5 of Inscription No. 2 quote the date of the record. As has been pointed out above, this date cannot be determined owing to the fragmentary state of the passages in question. The inscription records

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[1] The inscription has some interest to the student of the social history of medieval Bengal. The remaining lines of the epigraph read as follows :

4 nda-[bha]ktēna Śāṇḍilya-sagōtra-sama(mu)dbhūtēva(na) Vaidya-Daṇḍapāṇidattē-

5 na yāvad=dēvōpabhōga-paristha(sthā)panā yāvad=ātm-ōpabhōgīya-

6 dravyaṁ śrī-Kīrtti(Kṛitti)vāsadēvasya purattaḥ(taḥ) sa(śa)śvad=āhāvatē(d=āhṛitya) prakāśarā(nā)-

7 ya ghṛit-ākhaṇḍa-dīpa-dvayaṁ dattan=ā(m=ā)-chandr-ārka-pravarttanāya [| *] yē anyē a-

8 [dhikāriṇō .... vi]lumpakās=ta(s=tē) dēvasya ch=ā[jña] [yā*] vadhavaṅgata (bandhanaṁ=gatāḥ ||)

It is interesting to note that the donee was a Vaidya named Daṇḍapāṇi-datta who belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. Amongst the Vaidyas of Bengal, those having the cognomen *Datta* belong usually to four *gōtras*, viz. Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Śāṇḍilya and Maudgalya (cf. Bharatamallika's *Vaidya-kula-pañjikā* entitled *Chandraprabhā*, Calcutta, B.S. 1299, p. 7). The crystallisation of the professional community of the Vaidyas into a caste seems to have begun earlier than the date of the present record.

[2] See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff. ; also *JKHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff. ; *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, pp. 48 ff.

[3] *JRASB*, Vol. V, 1939, pp. 407 ff. ; *Sarūpa Bhāratī*, Hoshyarpur, 1954, pp. 315 ff.

the grant of three *Vāṭis* (60 acres in modern calculation) of land in a village situated in the Kōṇṭharāṅga *vishaya* in favour of the god Kīrttivāsa (Kṛittivāsa) apparently for making provision for *naiwēdya* or daily offerings to the deity. The name of the donee as well as that of the village in which the gift land was situated is totally lost. Another piece of land measuring one *Vāṭi* was granted by the same donor for the provision of what is called *Pānīyapatrī*, the intended reading probably being *pānīya-pātrī* (Sanskrit *pānīya-pātra*, also called *dhārā-pātra*). It is a water jar which is usually hung in many parts of India above a Śiva-liṅga and through a small hole at the bottom of which water trickles down continuously on the Liṅga so that the god enjoys nonstop ablution. The donor seems to have arranged for the proper supply of water for the purpose through the following persons :

(1) Pāṭhin Mahādēva, (2) Paṇḍita Purushōttama, (3) Gōvinda Karaṇa and (4) Śiunāta (Śivanātha) Karaṇa. One Mahādēva Pāṭhin is mentioned in some records of the time of Anaṅgabhīma III, found in the second entrance of the Pātālēśvara shrine within the Jagannātha temple at Purī. It is not possible to determine whether he was the same as the person mentioned in the inscription under discussion.

The following **geographical names** are mentioned in the two inscriptions: (1) Uchisama-grāma, (2) Vāṅkilāṇḍā in Uchisama-grāma, (3) Balabhadrapura, and (4) Kōṇṭharāṅga-vishaya. Of these the *vishaya* or district of Kōṇṭharāṅga appears to be no other than Kōṇṭarāvaṅga-vishaya mentioned in the Purī plates[1] of Bhānu II.

TEXT[2]

Inscription No. 1

1 Siddhaṁ[3] svast[i] iti [|*] Bhagavat-**Puru[shō]ttama[4]-putra-**

2 chatuḥ-sāgara-paryant-ādhipati-saka[la][5]-

3 vaddha[6]-jan-ālaṁkṛita-**Rāu[tta*][7]-śrī-Bhīmadēv**-āvdē(bdē)

4 [8]trayō[viśaṁti][9]-saṁvatsarē Makara-kṛishṇa-tṛi-

5 [tī]yāyāṁ[10] Guru-vārē Magha(ghā)-nakshatrē Kāśvya(śya)pa-[sa*]gōtrasya

6 [Cha]ṇḍēśvara-nāmnaḥ pautrasya Kāsya(śya)pa-sagōtrasya

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[1] *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 25.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The *akshara ru* has a cursive form and *shō* is imperfectly formed. But there is no doubt about the reading which is supported by Inscription No. 2.

[5] In place of *la*, *na* had been originally incised and was later made *la*. The reading *sakala* is supported by Inscription No. 2.

[6] Inscription No. 2 reads *vi* instead of *va* ; but unfortunately the following letters of the expression are lost in that record. We may suggest the emendation *vidvaj-jan-ā°*.

[7] This restoration is suggested by Inscription No. 2. Some traces below the line may suggest that *ta* or *tta*, originally omitted, was later actually inserted.

[8] Only the upper part of the letters of this line can be seen. The letter *yō* looks more like *gō* while the vowel-mark of *vi* and *ti* is not clear. Only the *anusvāra* of *śaṁ* is clear.

[9] Read *viṁśati*.

[10] The letter *tī* is completely lost and the following two *aksharas* are only partially preserved.

7 Surāṇḍi-nāmnaḥ putrasya Kāsya(śya)pa-sagōtrasya Sēnā-

8 pati-[1]Ira-nāmnaḥ Uchisama-grāmē[2] dakshiṇa-bhāgē Vā-

9 ṅkilāṇḍā-bhūmi-pād-ādhika-vāṭivā(kā)-dvaya[3] śrī-Kīrttivā[4]-

10 sadē[va]sy=āgrētē[5] akhaṇḍa-dīp-[ai]kaṁ(kam) ahaṁ dadāmi

11 ||o|| Va(Ba)labhadrapurīyē(ya)-bhūmi-māṇa-shaṭ pu[tkā(ṇy-ā)]rthē [||*]

Inscription No. 2

1 . . . . [6][ga]vat-**Purushōttama-putra-**

2 . . . . [7][rya]nt-ādhipati-sakala-vi-

3 . . . . [8]utta-śrī-**Bhīmadēv**-āvdē(bdē)

4 . . . . [9][rē Chai]tra-śukla-Pau-[10]

5 . . . . [11]Chitrā-nakshatrē sa-

6 . . . . [12]sya Kōṇṭharāṅga-visha-

7 . . . . [13][grā]mē bhūmi-vāṭikā-tra-

8 . . . . . . [14]vāsadēvāya naivēdyaṁ[15] pu-

9 . . . [16][vā]ṭik-aikaṁ pānīyapatrīṁ(trīm) ahaṁ da

10 . . [17][pā]nīyam=[pā]ṭhi-Mā(Ma)hādēva-paṇḍita-Puru-

11 shōttama-Gōvinda-karaṇa-Śiunāta-karaṇē-[18]

12 shv=adhikārē dātavyō[19] mayā kim=va(m=ba)hun=ē=

13 [ti ||o||]

[1] The rule of *Sandhi* has been ignored here. The intended reading of the name may have been Iśvara.

[2] The reading of the name may also be *Ḍachisama.*

[3] Better read *dvayēna.*

[4] Better read *Kṛitti°.*

[5] Read *°āgrataḥ.*

[6] The lacuna can be filled up with the letters *Siddham svasti iti Bha°* as found in Inscription No. 1.

[7] The lacuna has to be filled up with the letters *chatuḥ-sāgara-pa°* as found in the other epigraph.

[8] As indicated above, the intended reading of the lost part may be *°dvaj-jan-ālaṅkṛita-Rā°.*

[9] The last expression in the lacuna must have been *saṁvatsarē*; but the letters indicating the year cannot be determined.

[10] There is a *daṇḍa* here apparently to cover some empty space at the end of the line.

[11] The lacuna apparently contained the letters *°rṇṇamāsyāṁ .... vārē*; but the name of the week-day cannot be determined.

[12] The name of the donee in the sixth case-ending must have found a place here.

[13] The first letter of this line seems to have been *°yē*; but the name of the village cannot be determined.

[14] The lacuna may be filled up with the letters *°yaṁ śrī-Kīrtti(Kṛitti)°.*

[15] For *naivēdyaṁ, naivēdy-ārthaṁ* was apparently intended.

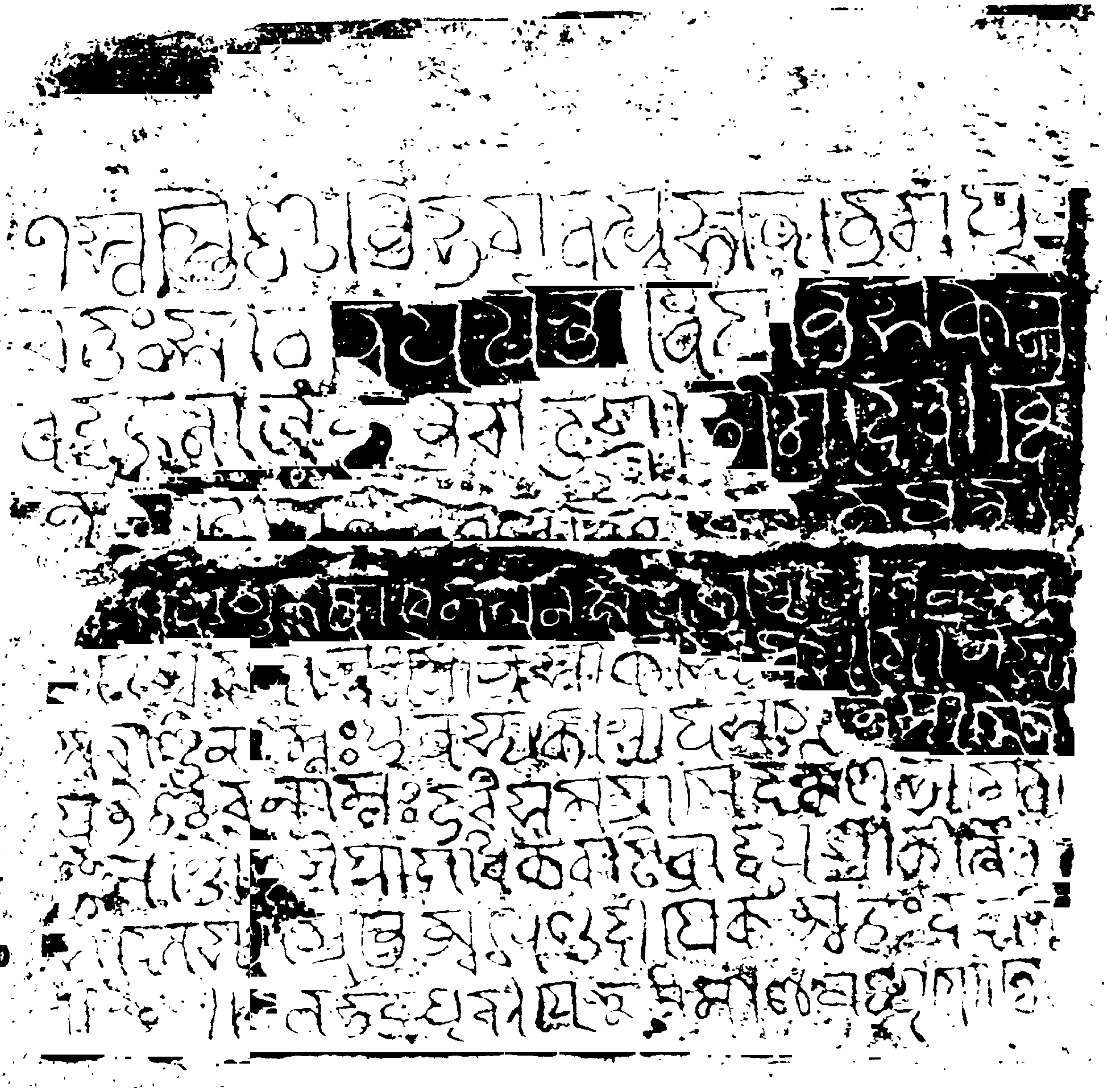
[16] We have to fill up the lacuna probably with *°nar=api.* For *pānīyapatrīṁ* apparently *pānīyapātr-ārtham* was intended.

[17] The lacuna has to be filled up with the letters *°dāmi* (cf. Inscription No. 1, line 10).

[18] Read *Śivanātha-karaṇānām=adhi°.*

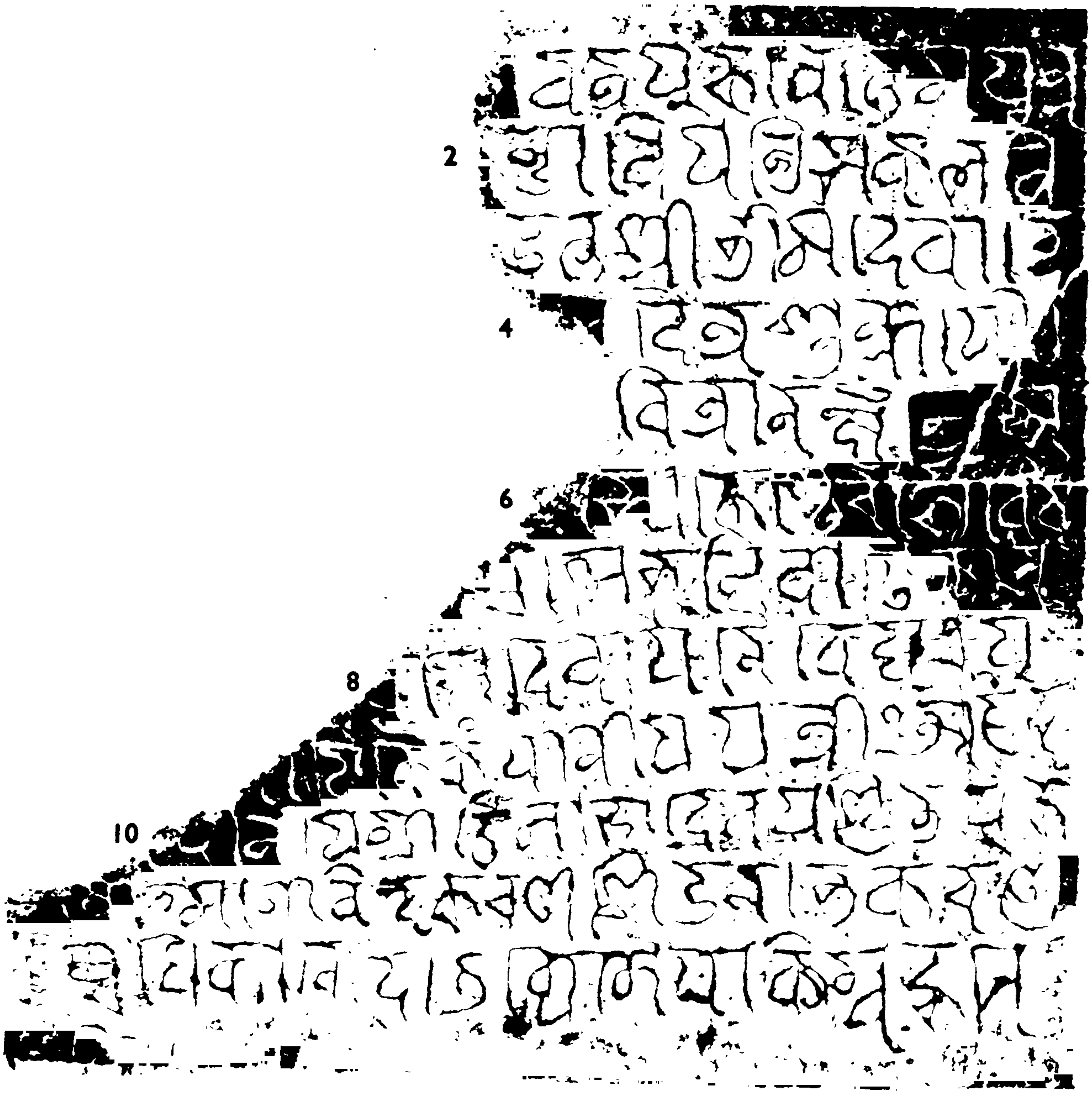
[19] Read *dātavyam.*

Inscription No. 1



SCALE: ONE-THIRD

Inscription No. 2



No. 40—TWO NAGA INSCRIPTIONS

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Recently I had an occasion to examine the impressions of two inscriptions relating to the worship of the **Nāgas** or serpents in ancient and medieval India. The first of these records is engraved on the pedestal of a Nāga image now preserved in the **Lucknow Museum.** The second epigraph is incised on a stone slab which was discovered at **Biharsharif** (Patna District, Bihar) or in its neighbourhood but is now exhibited in the Patna Museum.

The Nāgas enjoy a prominent place in ancient Indian legends and folklore. There are literary references to numerous Nāgas, the most famous among them being Śēsha or Ananta, Vāsuki, Takshaka, Dhṛitarāshṭra, Ēlāpatra or Airāvata, Karkōṭa or Karkōṭaka, Kauravya, Śaṅkha, Maṇi and others. The cult of the Nāgas, allied to that of another class of semi-divine beings called Yaksha, was widely prevalent in ancient India.[1] The worship of snake-deities is popular in different parts of India even to this day.[2] In ancient times, there were many great centres of the Nāga cult in Northern India. The chronicles of Kashmir speak of the worship of several Nāgas in that land, the most important among them being Nīla who had his abode in the waters of the Vitastā and was regarded as the guardian deity of Kashmir.[3] An illustrious royal house of ancient Kashmir, represented by the celebrated Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya (eighth century), claimed descent from the Nāga Karkōṭaka, who is also famous in the *Mahābhārata* episode of Nala, king of the Nishadhas probably living near the Pāriyātra (the Western Vindhyas and the Aravalli range).[4] The Nāga kings Ēlāpatra and Chakravāka are mentioned in certain old Barhut inscriptions[5] and were probably worshipped in pre-Christian times in the region in question. In Buddhist literature, Ēlāpatra is mentioned as the Nāga of Takshaśilā (in Gandhāra),[6] where the great serpent-sacrifice of the Kuru king Janamējaya is sometimes supposed to have taken place.[7] Numerous ancient Nāga images have been discovered at Mathurā and in its neighbourhood. An inscription[8] of the year 26 of the Kanishka era, corresponding to 104 A.D., records the installation of a *Śilāpaṭṭa* by some persons, described as ' the sons of the actors of Mathurā, who are being praised as the Chāndaka brothers ', at the *sthāna* of *Bhagavat* Dadhikarṇa, lord of the Nāgas. The existence of a temple of Dadhikarṇa-nāga at Mathurā during the age of the Kushāṇas is also indicated by another inscription[9] on a pillar base originally belonging to the Huvishka monastery of that place. It states that the object was the gift of Dēvila who was ' a servant of the shrine of Dadhikarṇa '. Another Mathurā inscription[10] on a Nāga image, dated in the year 8 of Kanishka's reign (78-101 A.D.),

[1] See James Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1873 ; J.Ph. Vogel, *The Indian Serpent Lore*, 1926 ; N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 212 ff. ; K. K. Gutpa in *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1939, pp. 223-29 (The Nāgas and the Nāga Cult in Ancient Indian History) ; etc. An inscription at Gurzala and another at Macherla, both in the Andhra State, invoke the presence of the eight Nāgas, viz., Śēsha, Vāsuki, Takshaka, Karkōṭa, Abja, Mahāmbuja, Śaṅkhadhara and Kulika, to decide the auspicious or inauspicious nature of the grants recorded in the epigraphs. See *ARSIE*, 1910, p. 107.

[2] Cf. Vogel, op. cit., pp. 247 ff. ; Bhattasali, loc. cit. ; Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India*, 1916 ; V.N. Mandlik, *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, pp. 188-89 (Serpent Worship in Western India) ; etc.

[3] See Vogel, op. cit., pp. 220 ff. ; Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 28, 182, etc.

[4] Vogel, op. cit., pp. 214-15 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 311.

[5] Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 71-72.

[6] Vogel, op. cit., pp. 106 f., 208 ff., 216.

[7] Ibid., p. 205.

[8] *ARASI*, 1908-9, p. 159.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 102 f., No. 13.

[10] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 11.

records the consecration of a tank and a garden dedicated to *Bhagavat* Bhūmi-nāga. A Nāga image, discovered at Chhaṛgāon (five miles to the south of Mathurā), bears an inscription stating that the Nāga was installed by two persons in their own tank. The epigraph ends with the *maṅgala* : "May the *Bhagavat* Nāga be pleased!" But no name is applied to the Nāga in this case. This reminds us of the custom of erecting a *Nāga-kāshṭha* (i.e. a pole with its top fashioned in the shape of a serpent), at the centre of a tank at the time of its consecration, which is prevalent in some parts of India even to this day.[1]

The popularity of the Nāga cult in the Mathurā region is also indicated by the *Harivaṁśa* episode of the famous Kāliya-nāga who lived in the waters of the Yamunā[2] as well as by the wellknown conception of Balarāma as the incarnation of Ananta-nāga. The episode of Akrūra in the world of serpents, as given in the *Harivaṁśa* and referred to in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, is also interesting to note in this connection. Akrūra is stated to have reached the abode of the snakes in the Nether World by diving down in the waters of the Yamunā. There he found the Nāga Ananta or Śēsha worshipped by the other Nāgas.[3] The description of the Nāga deity here is strikingly reminiscent of the iconography of Balarāma as indicated by Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[4] and also known from sculptures.[5]

A great centre of Nāga cult in the eastern part of Northern India was Rājagṛiha (modern Rājgīr in the Gayā District, Bihar), the ancient capital of Magadha, and its neighbourhood. A tradition recorded by Hiuen-tsang[6] seems to suggest that a Nāga named Nālanda was the guardian deity of the city of Nālandā (modern Baṛgāon in the Patna District), not far away from Rājgīr. According to the *Mahābhārata*,[7] there were temples of the Nāga gods, Svastika-nāga and Maṇi-nāga, at Rājagṛiha which was also the abode of the Nāgas, Arbuda and Śakravāpin. Ancient Nāga images have been discovered at Rājgīr and the area around it and the Maṇiyār Maṭh at Rājgīr has been supposed to represent an old Maṇināga-maṭha.[8] A sculpture, discovered in the ruins of Maṇiyār Maṭh, is known to bear the representation of two male Nāga figures with a diminutive female figure between them and these three figures have tentatively been identified respectively with Maṇināga,

[1] Bhattasali, op. cit., p. 216.

[2] Cf. Vogel, op. cit., pp. 87 ff.

[3] Ibid., p. 92: "Now Akrūra dived down in the pool of the Yamunā and in the Nether Region (*Rasātala*) he beheld the world of snakes. In the middle thereof, he saw the thousand-headed lord of the serpents who carried a plough in one hand and whose frame was supported by a mace. His lofty banner was a golden fan palm. He was of white complexion and was wrapped in a dark-coloured garment. He wore a single ear-ring and, being intoxicated, he slept. He was seated at his ease on the shining seat formed by the mass of his coils. Long-armed was he; his breast was covered by a wreath of golden lotus flowers and his limbs were anointed with red-sandal. He was worshipped by the chiefs among the Nāgas headed by Vāsuki. The two Nāgas, Kambala and Aśvatara, holding chowries, were fanning the deity who was seated on the seat of justice. The other snakes, Karkōtaka foremost, attended him and laved their monarch by means of golden jars. Seated in his lap was Vishṇu, dark like a thunder cloud, and wearing a yellow garment, his breast adorned with the Śrīvatsa". In Buddhist tradition, Kambala and Aśvatara are sometimes called the Nāgas of the Gaṅgā. See Vogel, op. cit., p. 118.

[4] Cf. LVIII, 36: "Baladēva must be made having a plough in his right hand, with eyes lively from drink, and wearing a single ear-ring. His complexion is fair like a conch-shell, the moon or lotus-fibre".

[5] Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II), p. 452.

[6] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 165.

[7] Cf. Vaṅgavāsī edition, II, 21, 9: *Arbudaḥ Śakravāpī cha pannagau śatru-tāpanau, Svastikasy=ālayaś=ch=ātra Maṇināgasya ch=ōttamaḥ.* The place of Maṇināga is also located near Rājagṛiha elsewhere in the same work (III. 84, 104-108).

[8] Cf. *ARASI*, 1905-6, pp. 103 ff.; Vogel, op. cit., pp. 218-9; Ghosh, *A Guide to Rajgir*, p. 16; etc. The existence of a Maṇināga-maṭha in Orissa is known from the Kanas plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 328 ff). Elsewhere (*JBRS*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 41 ff.) we have suggested that Maṇināga was sometimes identified with the popular Yaksha deity Maṇibhadra or Māṇibhadra who was regarded as the guardian of caravans. For the name Māṇibhadra and the god's association with the safety of a merchant's journey in Jain tradition, see also Dhanapāla's *Bhavisattakaha* (tenth century) in *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. II, pp. 352, 354.

Svastika-nāga and Sumāgadhā, supposed, on the basis of a damaged inscription (of doubtful import) on the sculpture itself, to have been the sister of the Nāga brothers, Maṇi and Svastika.[1] In connection with the suggestion regarding the female snake-deity Sumāgadhā, it is interesting to note that the worship of the Nāginīs does not appear to have been popular in other parts of India in ancient times. Although Nāginīs figure in some of the epic and Puranic episodes, the Nāgas are always more prominent in ancient Indian literature. We have many lists in early works enumerating the names of numerous Nāgas[2]; but there is hardly any list of the names of Nāginīs. Curiously enough, a Nāginī cult is known to have developed in Eastern India. Elsewhere[3] we have seen how the snake-goddess worshipped in various parts of Bengal and Bihar in the medieval period under such names as *Bhaṭṭinī* Maṭṭuvā contributed to the growth of the cult of Manasā whose worship is now popular in Eastern India. The continuity of Naga worship at Rājgīr down to quite recent times is indicated by an inscription[4] of V.S. 1837 (1781 A.D.), recording the setting up of the footprints of Śālibhadra-nāga.

A. *Takshaka Image Inscription in Lucknow Museum*

The Nāga image inscription in the Lucknow Museum, referred to above, shows that the representation in question is of none other than the great **Takshaka-nāga.**

One of the most famous of the Nāgas in ancient Indian literature is Takshaka.[5] He seems to be mentioned in the *Atharva Vēda*[6] and *Sāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*[7] as Takshaka Vaiśālēya. The *Kauśika Sūtra*[8] and the *Vishṇu Smṛiti*[9] prescribe food offering for the protection of the house to various deities including Takshaka and Upatakshaka. Takshaka is the chief Nāga hero in the *Mahābhārata* stories about the Kuru kings, Parikshit and his son Janamējaya. He killed Parikshit and escaped death with great difficulty in the wellknown serpent sacrifice of Janamējaya.[10] Takshaka also figures prominently in the episode of the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest (lying near Kurukshētra, i.e. in the modern Eastern Punjab), which was his abode.[11] This story of the *Mahābhārata* states how the Fire-god consumed the forest with the help of the Kuru hero Arjuna and his friend, Yādava Kṛishṇa, during Takshaka's absence in Kurukshētra and how Takshaka's son Aśvasēna escaped from the burning forest with the greatest difficulty. There are several references in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[12] to Rāvaṇa's victory over the Nāga king Vāsuki and his conquest of the Nāga capital Bhōgavatī, in connection with which the king of Laṅkā is stated to have carried away Takshaka-nāga's wife.

Considering the importance of Takshaka in the Indian serpent lore, his worship seems to have been widespread in ancient India. The prevalence of the **Takshaka cult** in Kashmir is referred to in the *Mahābhārata*[13] as well as in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[14] and Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*.[15] Unfortunately very little is known as regards the worship of Takshaka in other

[1] *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 181.
[2] Cf. *Mahābhārata*, I, 35, 65 and 229; V, 102; *Harivaṁśa*, Harivaṁśaparvan, 3, 31 and 196; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 6; *Padma Purāṇa*, Srishtikhaṇḍa, 6, etc.; Vogel, op. cit., pp. 190 ff.
[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 138-39.
[4] Vogel, op. cit., p. 219.
[5] Ibid., pp. 203 ff.
[6] VIII, 10.
[7] IV, 18, 1
[8] LXXIV, 8.
[9] LXVII, 5.
[10] Vogel, op. cit. pp., 66 ff., 69 ff.
[11] Ibid., pp. 62, 77 ff.
[12] III, xxxii, 13-14; VI, vii, 3 and 7; VII, xxiii 4-5.
[13] III, lxxx, 970.
[14] I, 222.
[15] XVIII, 170.

parts of Northern India. As to the survival of the Takshaka cult in modern times, we may only refer to his shrine near Navali or Naoli in the old Indore State (now in Madhya Bharat). Here the snake deity is worshipped under the name Takshakēśvara or Tākhājī whose image represents the Nāga as standing with a sevenfold food, the coils being visible on both sides. He has two arms possibly holding a cup and a fruit in his hands. The deity is accompanied by a male and a female attendant, the former holding a serpent in his right hand.[1] Unfortunately, in the absence of any inscription on the sculpture, it is impossible to determine whether the image was identified with Takshaka-nāga even in earlier times.

Under the circumstances, **the only early image of Takshaka** so far discovered in India and definitely known as such, seems to be that now housed in the Lucknow Museum with the Exhibit No. G-72.[2] The sculpture is stated to have been purchased for the Museum in 1925 from the late Professor B. C. Bhattacharya of Durgakund, Banaras. But its exact findspot is unknown.

The pedestal of this Nāga image bears an inscription in one line only, which was apparently meant to serve the purpose of a label. The **characters** belong to the Northern Alphabet and may be assigned to the eighth century A.D. on grounds of palaeography. The **orthography** of the record exhibits the influence of local pronunciation.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol and ends with a double *daṇḍa*. The first of the two *daṇḍas* has a triangular sign attached to the left of its central part. This characteristic of the *daṇḍa* is also noticed elsewhere. In between the *siddham* symbol and the double *daṇḍa* there are only six *aksharas* which read : *śrī-Takhaka-nāga*, the intended reading no doubt being *śrī-Takshaka-nāgaḥ*, ' the illustrious Nāga Takshaka '. Nothing is said in the inscription regarding the person by whom and the purpose for which the image was set up. But there is little doubt that it was installed in a temple for worship.

B. *Patna Museum Inscription of V.S. 1452 and Śaka 1317*

The inscribed stone slab in the **Patna Museum**, referred to above, bears the exhibit No. 10601 and, as Mr. S. A. Shere, Curator of the Museum, kindly informs me, looks like the broken piece of a door jamb. The slab measure 4′ 9″ by 1′ by 5″, and contains four lines of inscription on one side only. It was presented to the Patna Museum in January 1943 by the Sub-Divisional Officer of **Biharsharif** in whose quarters it had been lying for some time uncared for. Nothing is known as regards its discovery and original findspot. But it appears that it was found at Biharsharif itself or in its neighbourhood.

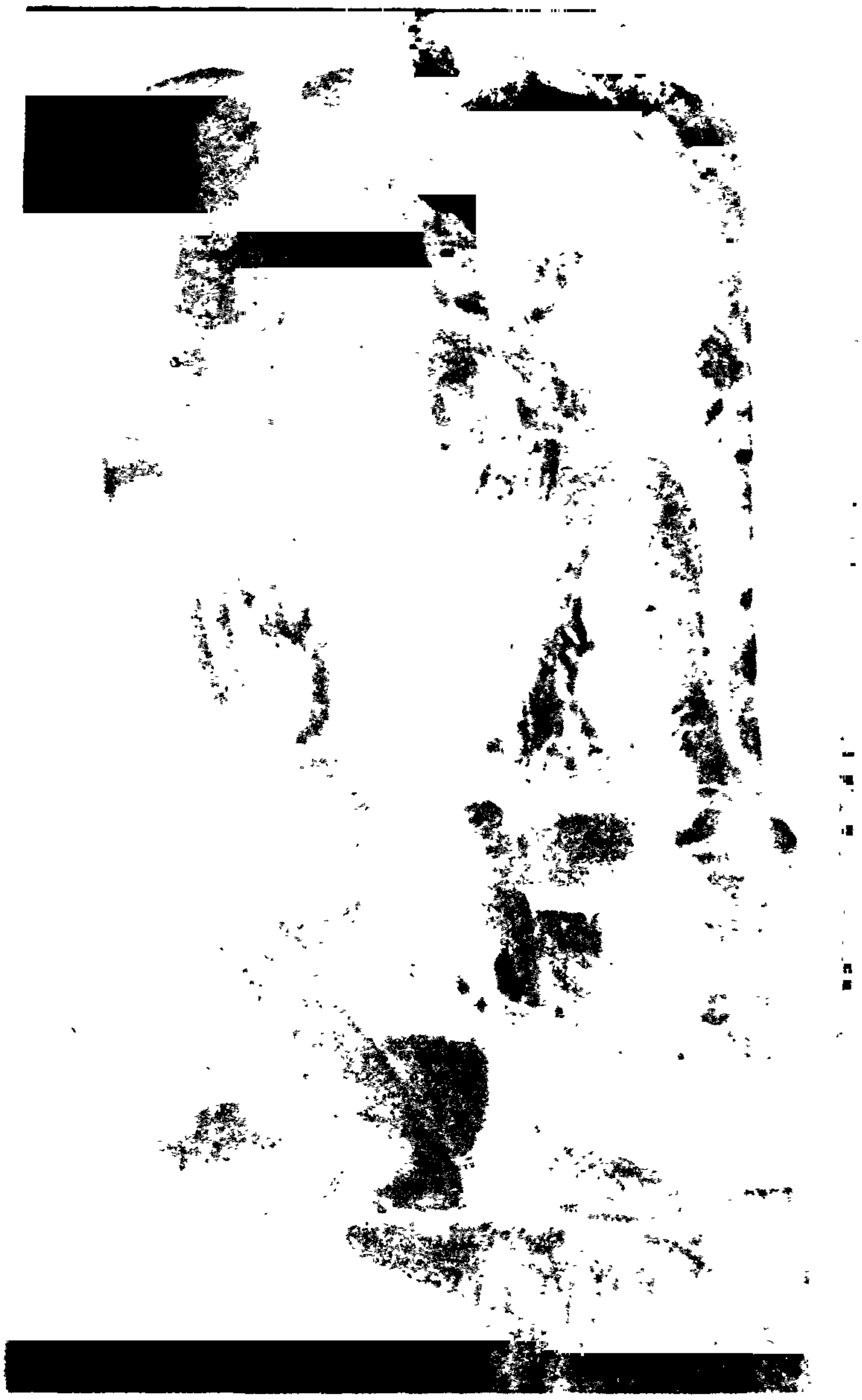
The inscription was noticed by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri in a very short note entitled " Evolution of Māgadhī Script ", published in *JBORS*, Vol. XXVIII, 1942, pp. 440-41. Unfortunately he read and interpreted only the last line of the record and that also not quite correctly. He also failed to understand the real nature of the document. Thus he says, " The inscription is of the usual votive donation type. The last line runs—*Likhitaṁ sūtrakārēṇa Kāmadēvēna karmmiṇā Śākē 1322 Nṛipa-vikramārkē Saṁ 1458*... Śaka 1322=1322+78=1400 A.D.: Saṁ 1458—58 =1400 A.D. Thus the inscription is written in the Māghadhī script, dated 1400 A.D. " There are several mistakes in Dr. Banerji-Sastri's reading and interpretation of the last line of the inscription, quoted above. What he has read as *sūtrakārēṇa*, *Śākē 1322* and *Saṁ 1458* are actually *svarṇṇakārēṇa*, *Śākē 1317* and *Saṁ 1452* respectively. The date of the inscription is therefore not 1400 A.D. but 1395 A.D. Moreover it does not speak of any donation but records the **construction of a temple for a Nāga deity**. The script of the incription is again not Māgadhī but early

[1] See Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 718; *Prog. Rep. A.S.*, W.C., 1919-20, p. 88, Plate XIII; Vogel, op. cit. pp. 206 f.

[2] An inscription (No. 48) of about the 8th century in the Nāgēśvara temple at Narnūru (Kurnool District, Andhra) in our collection of 1953-54 refers to a deity called Takshakēśvara-bhaṭāra. But the name seems to have been applied to the Śiva-liṅga worshipped in the temple in question.

Two Naga Inscriptions

A. Takshaka Image Inscription in Lucknow Museum



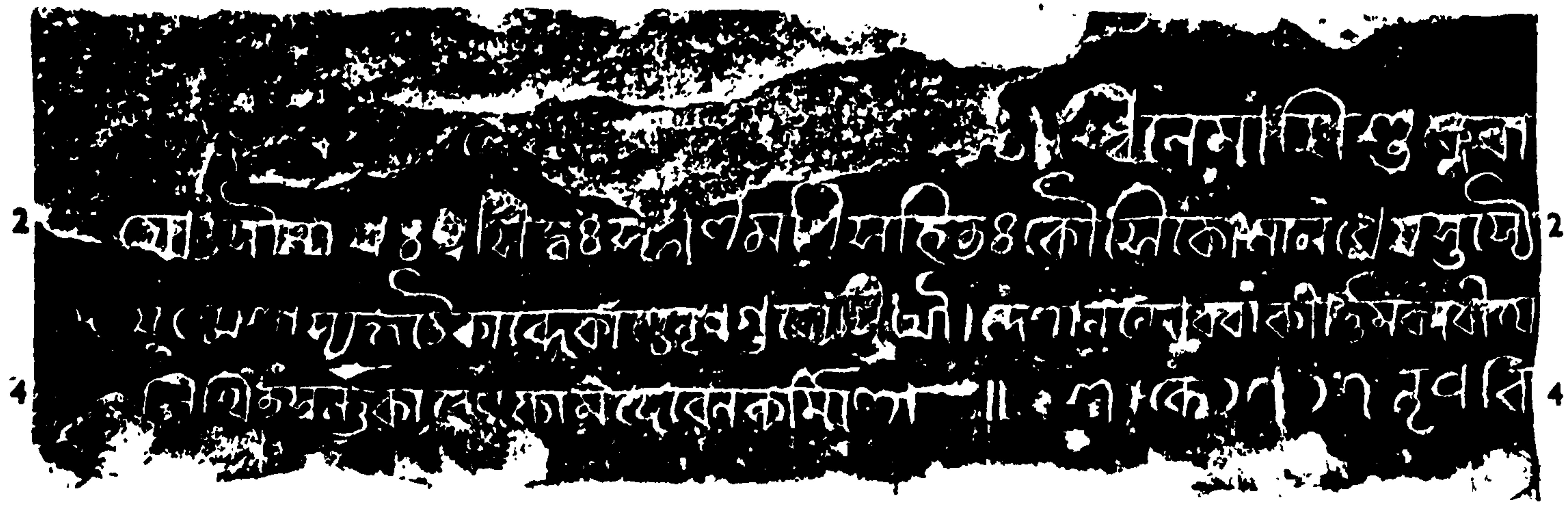
From a Photograph



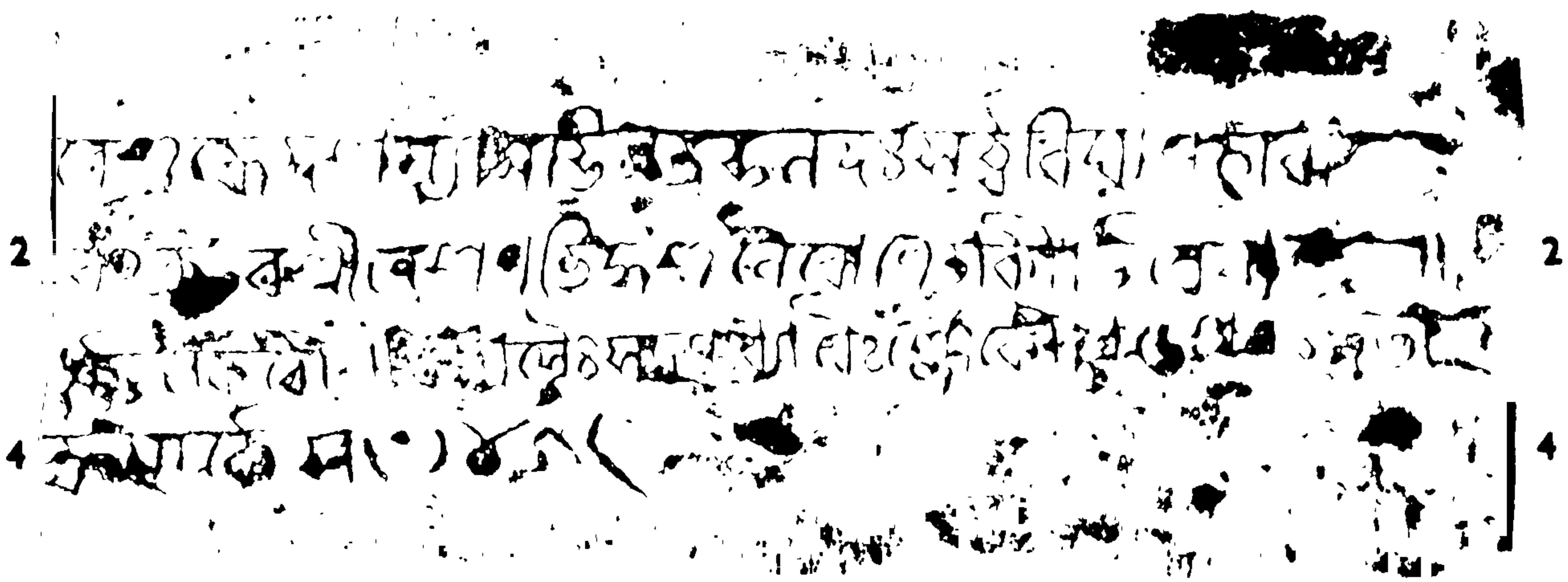
SCALE: ONE-HALF

B. PATNA MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1452 AND SAKA 1317

Left Half



Right Half



SCALE: ONE-HALF

Bengali resembling the modern Bengali alphabet very closely. This script may also be called Gauḍī,[1] although this name may more properly be applied to an earlier stage of the characters on the way of their development.

The four lines of writing in the inscription cover a space about 27·5 inches by 3·5 inches. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The usual symbol expected at the beginning of the record and twelve *aksharas* that followed it in line 1 are almost completely lost owing to the peeling off of a layer of the stone. The same defect has also obscured some letters here and there in other parts of the inscription. But fortunately the purport of all the lines of the inscription is quite clear.

The **characters** closely resemble those employed in other records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, written in the Gauḍīya script prevalent in Bengal and the neighbouring regions including parts of Bihar, such as the stone inscription[2] (from the Patna District) of V.S. 1553 (1496 A.D.) edited by myself. They exhibit characteristics slightly earlier than the letters of the Barakar (Burdwan District, West Bengal) inscriptions[3] of Śaka 1382 (1460 A.D.) or 1383 (1461 A.D.) and Śaka 1468 (1546 A.D.). In my paper on the inscription of 1496 A.D., I have tried to explain the use of the early Bengali script in the Patna area during the medieval period. Nothing requires special mention in regard to the **palaeography** of the record, although it may be noticed that the *anusvāra* is written in both the Dēvanāgarī (cf. *varāṁ* in line 3) and the Bengali (cf. *saṁ* in line 4) fashions and that the figure 2 in line 4 resembles its form occasionally found in the Mehar plate of Śaka 1156 (1234 A.D.).[4] The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit; but it cannot be regarded as quite elegant and chaste. Its **orthography** does not invite any special notice. The inscription bears the date in **Śaka 1317 and V.S. 1452,** in figures, at the end. At the beginning of line 3, the Vikrama year is quoted in words as *yugm-ēśāsya-kṛit-aik-āvdē(bdē)*. The words *yugma*, *īśāsya*, *kṛita* and *ēka* mean respectively 2, 5, 4 and 1 and, according to the wellknown principle *aṅkānāṁ vāmatō gatiḥ*, give the year 1452. The lost letters at the beginning of line 1 appear to have similarly indicated the Śaka year 1317 in words. The said lost letters are followed by the passage *ch= Āśvinē māsi śuklē vārē Śukrē daśamyām* indicating the date : Āśvina-śudi 10, Friday. The same day is further referred to in the passage *nṛipa-gurōs=tithau* occurring in line 3 along with the year of the Vikrama era given in words. The expression *nṛipa-guru* has apparently been used to signify ' the foremost of kings ' as in the *Raghuvaṁśa*.[5] The date Āśvina-śudi 10 is here called ' the royal *tithi* ' because it is the celebrated *Vijayā daśamī* day which was the time prescribed for Indian monarchs to set out on *digvijaya*.[6] Thus the date mentioned in the inscription under study is the *Vijayā daśamī tithi* on Friday, V.S. 1458=Śaka 1317. It regularly corresponds to **Friday, September 24, 1395 A.D.**

With the exception of the concluding passage giving the years of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, the whole inscription is written in verse. There are altogether three stanzas, the first in the *Sragdharā* metre and the remaining two in *Anushṭubh*. The first verse says that [in the Śaka year 1317, given in words] on Āśvina-śudi 10, Friday, several persons named Akrūra, Śrīlēśa, Pati and Kuśala erected (*rōpitā*) the *kīrti* of the celebrated Nāga, called Kauśika and endowed with the hood-jewel, who grants whatever is prayed for and removes all obstacles [in the way of his devotees]. As in many other cases,[7] the word *kīrtti* here seems to indicate a shrine meant for the Nāga deity Kauśika who may have been already in worship in the locality where Akrūra and others lived.

[1] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 130-31.

[2] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114-16 and Plate.

[3] Ibid., Vol. II pp. 21ff. and Plates.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182 ff. (cf. e.g., 2 in ' 20 ' in line 32).

[5] See II, 68.

[6] Cf. *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *Durgā*.

[7] Cf. *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV. p. 115.

Verse 2 says that in the pleasant Vikrama year 1458 (given in words), on 'the royal *tithi*,' (i.e. the *Vijayā daśamī*), a person named Dēśānanda (apparently an architect or a mason) constructed (*akāri*) the beautiful *kīrti* (i.e. the temple of the Nāga deity Kauśika). The last word of this stanza goes with the following verse (verse 3) which says that a *Kāyastha* named Prētēśvara(?) who was a good teacher (*sad-upādhyāya*), composed the verses (contained in the inscription), which are endowed with good meaning, and that the inscription was *likhita* (literally, 'written', but apparently meaning 'engraved') by an active goldsmith named Kāmadēva. The word *Kāyastha* apparently refers to the caste of the author of the verses, who was probably the teacher of a village school. Considering the fact that it was only the Brāhmaṇas who usually learnt Sanskrit in medieval India, this Kāyastha's knowledge of the sacred language (although not very deep) is quite interesting. Another interesting fact is that a goldsmith was engaged to engrave the record on stone.

The **worship of Kauśika-nāga** at Biharsharif or in its vicinity is of great interest in view of the fact that the *Mahābhārata* associates the same Nāga with **Rājagṛiha**, i.e. modern **Rājgīr** which is not far away. We have referred above to a verse occurring in chapter 21 of the Sabhāparvan, which mentions Rājagṛiha as the abode of the Nāgas, Arbuda and Śakravāpī, and the place where the temples of the Nāgas, Svastika and Maṇi, stood. The verse that immediately follows the above reads :

aparihāryā mēghānāṁ Māgadhā Manunā kṛitāḥ |
Kauśikō Maṇimāṁś=ch=aiva chakrātē ch=āpy=anugraham ||

"The Magadha country has been so made by Manu that the clouds cannot keep away from it. Kauśika and Maṇimat also have shown it their favour". This seems to suggest that the Nāgas, Kauśika and Maṇimat, were worshipped at Rājagṛiha as givers of rains, although that particular characteristic of Kauśika is not mentioned in our inscription. Ancient Indian literature speaks of various powers of the Nāgas including that of causing rains.[1] It is interesting to note that Buddhist tradition also associates the scarcity of water at Rājagṛiha on account of drought, on one occasion during the reign of Bimbisāra, with the absence on exile of two Nāgarājas named Girika and Vidyujjvāla (probably elsewhere called Nanda and Upananda).[2]

TEXT[3]

[Metres : verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; verses 2-3 *Anushṭubh*.]

1 [4]— – — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ch=Āśvinē māsi śuklē vārē Śukrē daśamyām=abhimata-phaladaḥ sarvva-vighn-āpahārī [|*]

2 yō=sau Nāgaḥ prasiddhaḥ spha(pha)ṇi-maṇi-sahitaḥ Kausikō[5] nāmadhēyas=tasy=aiv=[Ā]-kr[ū]ra-Śrī[1]ēśa[6]-Pati-Kuśalai rōpitā kīrttir=ēshā || [1*]

3 Yugm-ēśāsya-kṛit-aik-āvdē(bdē) kā[n]tē nṛipa-gurōs=tithau | Dēśānandō varāṁ kīrttim=akār=īty=a'rth-[ālaṁ]karau[7] || [2*] [Kāya]s[th]aiḥ sad-upādhyāyaiḥ ślōkau [Prētē]śvar[ai]ḥ[8] kṛitau[9] [|]

4 likhitaṁ[10] svarṇṇakārēṇa Kāmadēvēna karmmiṇā || [3*] Śākē 1[3]17 nṛipa-Vikramārkē saṁ 1452 [||*]

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[1] See Vogel, op. cit., pp. 4, 19, 184f., 207, 220, 233, 244, 282 f.

[2] Ibid., p. 118.

[3] From impressions and the facsimile published in *JBORS*, Vol. XXVIII.

[4] The usual *siddham* symbol may have been engraved here.

[5] The intended reading is *Kauśika-nāmadhēyaḥ* which, however, does not suit the metre.

[6] An extra short syllable is required here by the metre. Whether the author failed to accommodate the personal names in the passage agreeably with the metre or the first *akshara* of a name like *Supati* was left out owing to inadvertence cannot be determined.

[7] The *avagraha* has been used unnecessarily. Better read *°arth-ālaṅkṛitau*.

[8] The plural number in the name Prētēśvara (?) and its epithets is meant for *gaurava*.

[9] As there are altogether three verses, better read *ślokāḥ* and *kṛitāḥ*. Apparently the author had only the first two stanzas in view ; but the third verse must have also been composed by him.

[10] Better read *likhitāḥ*. The author probably had *idaṁ ślōka-dvayam or sarvam* in view.

No. 41—TINGALUR INSCRIPTION OF KO-NATTAN VIKRAMACHOLA, SAKA 967

(*1 plate*)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MYSORE, AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

Tiṅgaḷūr is a small village about 7½ miles north-west of the Perunduṟai Railway Station in the Erode Taluk of the Coimbatore District, Madras State, and forms along with Vijayamaṅgalam, another village about 4 miles to its south, one of the few Jaina centres in the Tamil country. Besides the Jaina temple of Pushpanātha, it contains two other temples, one for Śiva (Chandramauḷīśvara) and the other for Vishṇu (Aḻagiyarāja-Perumāḷ).[1] In inscriptions, the Jaina temple is known as Chandravasati,[2] while the Śiva temple is referred to as that of Chandrapura-uḍaiyār[3] or Chandrapurēśvaram-uḍaiyār.[4] These appear to have been so called after the name of the village Tiṅgaḷūr, the Tamil word *tiṅgaḷ* meaning the moon (*chandra*).

This village which lies in the heart of the Koṅgu country is mentioned in the Śendalai pillar inscriptions as one of the several places where the Muttaraiyaṉ chief, Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ *alias* Śuvaraṉ Māṟaṉ, fought and gained victories.[5] At Tiṅgaḷūr he is said to have captured the elephants of the Pāṇḍya.[6] It will thus be seen that the antiquity of the village dates from the 8th or 9th century of the Christian era.

The subjoined inscription,[7] which is found engraved on the door post of the kitchen in the Jaina temple at Tiṅgaḷūr, is now edited here from an inked impression, kindly placed at our disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

This short record consists of 21 lines of writing neatly ruled out between each line ; the first line containing the words *svasti śrī* is written in the Grantha script. The remaining twenty lines are in the Tamil language and script.

The way in which the numerical figures for the Śaka year 967 are written in the record deserves notice. The figure for 9 is followed by the symbol for 100 as usual in all the other inscriptions from the Tamil country. After that the figures for 6 and 7 are written consecutively without the symbol for 10 intervening, as if these figures have been written according to the system of decimal notation. It is true that numerals are found expressed in decimal notation in the North Indian inscriptions from about 600 A.D.; but it has not been found in the South, particularly in the Tamil inscriptions. It may, therefore, be taken that the symbol for 10 has been left out inadvertently.

The orthographical peculiarities found in the inscription are few. The use of the pronoun *nāṉ* in the first person singular as found in this inscription, though not unknown to the records

[1] *ARSIE* for the year 1905 contains 17 inscriptions (Nos. 602-618) secured from this place ; excepting one record (No. 602) of Hoysala Vīra-Rāmanātha and another (No. 617) of Jatāvarmaṉ Sundarapāṇḍya, all the others belong to various kings of the Koṅgu line of rulers.

[2] Cf. the inscription edited here.

[3] *ARSIE*, 1905, No. 603.

[4] Ibid., No. 605.

[5] Above, Vol. XIII, p. 137, where the editor has identified the place with the village of the same name situated about 8¼ miles north-east of Tañjāvūr and well-known as the native village of Appūdi-Nāyaṉār, one of the sixty-three Śaiva devotees. But the inscription describes the place as " Tiṅgaḷūr where descending clouds [rest]" and this description will be appropriate only to the village in the Coimbatore District to the west of Śendalai and not to the village of the same name in the Tanjavur District to the east of Śendalai.

[6] Ibid., p. 147, Inscription F on the third pillar.

[7] *ARSIE*, 1905, No. 614.

of the period,[1] is very rare. And this word also makes the syntax of the single sentence, in which the record is drawn up, rather ambiguous. The name of Kaṇita Māṇikka Śeṭṭi immediatey following the pronoun *nāṇ* may be taken either as the name of the donor or as qualifying the *vasati*, thereby meaning Chandravasati constructed by Kaṇita Māṇikka Śeṭṭi.

The inscription is dated **Śaka 967, corresponding to 1045-46 A.D.** and the **fortieth year** of the reign of king Vikramachōḷa who bore the epithet Kō-nāṭṭāṇ. This would place his accession in Śaka 928 or 1006-07 A.D., which would correspond to the 22nd year in the reign of the Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja I of Tañjāvūr. The **object** of the record is to register the construction of a new *mukhamaṇḍapa* in Chandravasati which was evidently a Jaina temple.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that this is the **first record citing both the Śaka and regnal years of a ruler who belonged to the line of kings with the title of Chōḷa, ruling over Koṅgu** in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. Incidentally, it also throws light on the circumstances under which this dynasty came into existence.

It is to be noted at the outset that, even though Koṅgu was a part of the Chōḷa empire for well over two centuries, no inscriptions of the Imperial Chōḷas of Tañjāvūr, with the exception of a few of Kulōttuṅga III, are found there. But it is significant that the names of the royal officers figuring as signatories in the Koṅgu inscriptions are found to be on many occasions similar to those of the regular Chōḷa records. The Koṅgu kings also bore the titles Rājakēsari and Parakēsari alternately like the Chōḷa kings of the main line of Tañjāvūr. The Koṅgu chiefs were probably ruling the area independently following the same tradition and regulations as the main line of the Chōḷas, having full autonomy within their territory, but acknowledging the suzerainty of the Imperial Chōḷas.

Whatever might have been the circumstances which necessitated the creation of this kingship, one thing seems certain. The person selected by the Chōḷa ruler to occupy this important position must have been a member, if not of the same stock, at least of a family of high rank and status, enjoying the confidence of the emperor.

Vikramachōḷa who appears to be the first member of this line of kings, though bearing the cognomen of Chōḷa, does not appear to have been a member of the Chōḷa family as evidenced by the epithet *Kō-nāṭṭāṇ* (he of Kō-nāḍu) applied to him.[2] Kō-nāḍu was a small tract in the basin of the river (southern) Veḷḷāṟu with Koḍumbāḷūr in the old Pudukkōṭṭai State (now merged with the Tiruchirapalli District, Madras State) as its capital.[3] The Vēḷir family which ruled over this region played a prominent part in the history of that part of the country in the early days of Chōḷa rule. The Irukkuvēḷs, as they were known to history, had very close family ties with the Chōḷas, and we find several members of the Vēḷir family serving as officers under the Chōḷas holding important positions both in the army and in the administration of the country. Some of the Koṅgu kings appear to have borne the surname *Kalimūrkka* and we have inscriptions of Kalimūrkka Vikramachōḷa[4] and Vīraśōḷa Kalimūrkkapperumāḷ.[5] The title has also been assumed by the Chēra king Tribhuvanachakravartin Ravi Kōdai[6] who was probably a subordinate

[1] *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 225, 226; also *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 26.

[2] It is not possible to take this Vikramachōḷa as a member of the imperial family by explaining his title *Kō-nāṭṭāṇ* as one secured by him probably in virtue of his long association with or governorship of Kō-nāḍu, as in the case of Udayagiri attached to the name of Virūpāksha of Vijayanagar, inasmuch as Kō-nāḍu lies too close to the Chōḷa capitlal for the creation of a provincial viceroyalty superseding the Koḍumbāḷūr family, the members of which were ruling there for generations rendering yeoman service for the stabilisation of the Chōḷa power.

[3] S. Radhakrishna Aiyar, *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 56.

[4] *ARSIE*, 1920, Nos. 131, 183, 185, 190 and 215.

[5] Ibid., Nos. 189 and 204.

[6] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 413.

of the Koṅgu ruler. We find this title borne by a Koḍumbāḷūr chief also. An inscription from Kuṉṉāṇḍārkōyil of the former Pudukkōṭṭai State dated in the 5th regnal year of the Pallava king Dantivarman registers the construction of a tank by Vāli Vaḍugaṉ *alias* Kalimūrkka Iḷavaraiyaṉ, a subordinate of Māṟpiḍugu *alias* Pēradi Araiyar.[1] In consideration of the above we may not be quite wrong in assuming Kō-nāṭṭāṉ Vikramachōḷa as a member of the Irukkuvēḷ family of Koḍumbāḷūr.

An inscription from Kīḻappaḷuvūr[2] in the Tiruchirāpalli District, dated in the 3rd regnal year of Rājakēsarivarman, who is identifiable with Rājarāja I, mentions *Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar magaḷār Vikkiramaśōḻa Iḷaṅgōvēḷār dēviyār nambirāṭṭigaḷār*, the queen of Vikramachōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, who was the daughter of Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar. The surname Iḷaṅgōvēḷār applied to Vikramachōḷa would imply that he belonged to the Irukkuvēḷ family of Koḍumbāḷūr while the first part of his name, viz. Vikramachōḷa, would denote that he rose to prominence during the days of Madhurāntaka Uttamachōḷa who appears to have had the surname of Vikramachōḷa.[3] The Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar family, from which he took his wife, had marriage alliances with the Chōḷas of Tañjāvūr. The Anbil plates of Sundarachōḷa state that Parāntaka I married the daughter 'of the Kēraḷa king who was also called Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar.'[4] This family also like that of the Irukkuvēḷs played a prominent part in the early days of consolidation of the Chōḷa power. It is very likely that Kō-nāṭṭāṉ Vikramachōḷa who was raised to the position of a ruler of the Koṅgu country in the 22nd year of Rājarāja's reign was the same as Vikkiramaśōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷār figuring in the inscription of the 3rd year of his reign.

For a better understanding of the circumstances under which a Koḍumbāḷūr Vēḷir chief was installed as a ruler of Koṅgu, it is necessary to know how and when the Koṅgu country came under the rule of the Chōḷas of Tañjāvūr.

Rājarāja's conquests included Gaṅgavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi and Taḍigaipāḍi, all of them in the Mysore country, as well as Malai-nāḍu or Kuḍa-malai-nāḍu (the Western hill country) which may be identified with Coorg.[5] The campaign against the Gaṅgas and the Noḷambas appears to have taken place very early in his reign, within five or six years of his accession, as we find inscriptions of Chōḷa-Nārāyaṇa, obviously a name of Rājarāja I, dated in Śaka 913 (991-92 A.D.) in the Mysore country.[6] He also claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍyas and the southern portion of the west coast. But no mention is made in his inscriptions of his having waged war with or captured Koṅgu which lies between Chōḷa-nāḍu and the countries beyond it conquered by him and seems to have served as the spring-board for the Chōḷas in their conquests.

In fact no Chōḷa king even prior to the time of Rājarāja claims to have conquered Koṅgu; but Chōḷa inscriptions are found there from the days of Parāntaka I. We find an officer of this king supervising temple affairs in Koṅgu as early as the 10th year of his reign, mentioned in an inscription[7] from Tiruviḍaimaurdūr in the Tañjāvūr District. There is also a stone record[8] of the 15th regnal year of Madiraikoṇḍa-Parakēsari (i.e. Parāntaka I) at Erode in the Coimbatore District.

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[1] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 17.

[2] *SII*, Vol. V, No. 671.

[3] *ARSIE*, 1929, Part II, para. 29.

[4] Above, Vol. XV, p. 68.

[5] See the commentary of Aḍiyārkkunallār on the *Śilappadikāram*, Canto XI, l.53. Kielhorn takes it to mean Malabar (above, Vol. VII, List, No. 704). See also *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Tn. 122.

[6] *An. Rep. Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1917, p. 42.

[7] *ARSIE*, 1907, No. 258. The *Report* gives the year as 30, but it is in fact 10.

[8] Ibid., 1910, No. 167; also *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 247. The characters of the record are very late. Probably this is a copy of an older record. There is no reason to doubt its genuineness.

The *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḷ*[1] affirms that Āditya I after being crowned at Tañjāvūr-ppaṭṭaṇam came to Koṅgudēśa, conquered the country and governed it in addition to his own (i.e. the Chōḷa country). It is also stated therein that he took the town of Taḻaikkāḍu, implying that he gained a victory over the Western Gaṅgas and captured their capital. This is not improbable as we find the Noḷaṁba chief Mahēndra I in occupation of Dharampurī (ancient Tagaḍūr) in the Salem District in 898 A.D.[2] which was then probably included in Noḷaṁbavāḍi, and as we know that the Noḷaṁbas had long ceased to be an independent power and become subordinate to the Western Gaṅgas who in turn were the subordinates of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Anbil plates[3] of Sundara-chōḷa, great-grandson of Āditya, say that the latter built temples along the entire course of the river Kāvērī from the Sahyādri to the sea. This statement seems to lend support to what is found in the *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḷ*.

Naṁbi Āṇḍār Naṁbi, the author of the *Tiruttoṇḍar-tiruvantādi*, in his verse[4] on Iḍaṅgaḻi, a Vēḷir chief of Koḍuṁbāḷūr and one of the sixty-three Śaiva saints, incidentally refers to the chief as an ancestor of the family to which also belonged Āditya who covered the roof of the Chidambaram temple with gold [obtained] from Koṅgu. This statement is repeated by Sēkkiḻār in his *Periya-purāṇam*[5] and by Umāpati Śivāchārya in his *Tiruttoṇḍar-purāṇa-sāram*.[6] But the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates[7] and the Leyden grant[8] ascribe this pious deed to Parāntaka I. The *Tiruviśaippā*[9] of Gaṇḍarāditya on Kōyil also confirms the statement of the copper-plate records and says that the *sabhā* of Tillai was covered with gold by the Chōḷa king who conquered with the valour of his arm the Pāṇḍya country and Īḻam. Perhaps both Āditya and his son Parāntaka were responsible for the pious deed or it might be that Āditya commenced the work which was finished by Parāntaka.[10] However, as the covering was stated to have been made with the gold obtained from Koṅgu, we may safely conclude that the conquest of Koṅgu was effected by Āditya I probably towards the end of his reign.

From that time onwards it appears that Koṅgu was under the rule of the Chōḷas. The expedition and conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam towards the end of Parāntaka's reign by the Rāsh-ṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III does not seem to have affected the Chōḷa occupation of the Koṅgu country. So far no inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler is known to have been found from that area. On the other hand, Chōḷa overlordship is acknowledged ih two of the records falling within this period and found in the region. A copper-plate grant from Tiruchcheṅgōḍu,[11] dated in the 5th year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman, mentions the gift of lands to god Paramēśvara of the sacred Mūlasthāna at Tūśiyūr by the chief Kolli-Maḻavaṉ Oṟṟiyūraṉ Piridi-gaṇḍavarmaṉ. That this Rājakēsarivarman is to be identified with Sundarachōḷa Parāntaka II

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[1] *Madras Govt. Oriental Series edition*, p. 10.

[2] Above, Vol. X, p. 57.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 68, verse 18.

[4] Verse 65.

[5] *Periyapurāṇam, Iḍaṅgaḻi nāyaṉār-purāṇam*, verse 3. Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar (*Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 131) takes this as referring to a certain Āditya (of the Koḍuṁbāḷūr family) who gilded the dancing hall of a Naṭarāja temple in Kongu, which may be at Pērūr, or Koḍumuḍi or any other place in Koṅgu. This interpretation does not follow the tradition recorded. Further Śiṟṟaṁbalam can only mean Chidambaram and no other place.

[6] Verse 59.

[7] *SII*, Vol. III, No. 205, p. 386.

[8] Above, Vol. XXII, p 256, verse 17.

[9] *Tiruviśaippā (9th Tirumuṟai), Kōyil-padigam*, verse 8.

[10] It is also worth noticing that another achievement, viz. the conquest of Ceylon, claimed by Parāntaka I in the inscriptions, is attributed to his father Āditya by Naṁbi Āṇḍār Naṁbi in the *Tiruttoṇḍar-tiruvantādi*, verse 50. [In the verses referred to in footnotes 4 and 6 above, occur the phrases *Ādittaṉ kulamudalōṉ* and *Kōkana-danāthaṉ, kulamudalōṉ*, which are too vague to be taken as exclusively indicating Āditya I.—Ed.]

[11] *SII*, Vol. III, No. 213.

will be evident from the other copper-plate grant secured from the same place. This record,[1] also belonging to Rājakēsarivarman and dated in the 10th year of his reign, contains two grants. One is an order of Maḷavaraiyaṉ Sundarachōḷaṉ to the effect that the *iṟai* (tax) collected by him from the *nagarattār* of Tūśiyūr at the rate of ¼ and ⅛ (*kāśu* ?) on full house-site and half house-site respectively (*muḻu maṉai kālum arai maṉai araikkālum*) shall be in the form of permanent tax (*niṉṟa iṟai*) and that, in the case of dues under fines and penalties (*daṇḍam kuṟṟam*), the practice of Nandipuram[2] shall be followed. The other consists of an endowment (*śiṟupāḍu*) made by Kolli-maḷavaṉ Piridi-gaṇḍaṉ and dedicated to his father who had died in Ceylon (*eṅgaḷāchchar īlattu-ppaḍa avar śrīmadāhattukku-chchiṟupāḍu*). The Ceylon expedition in which the father of Kolli-maḷavaṉ Piridi-gaṇḍan fell must have been the same as took place in the 9th year of Sundarachōḷa Parāntaka II.[3] That the donors were not mere officers of the Chōḷa king, but were also members of the ruling families of Koṅgu will be seen from their title *Kollimaḷavaṉ* (Maḷavaṉ of the Kolli Hills).[4] It will thus be seen that the Chōḷas never lost their hold on the Koṅgu country from the time of Āditya I when it was conquered and that, during their suzerainty, the local chiefs were allowed to continue their rule over their ancient regions, as was being done by the Chōḷas in other territories conquered by them.

By the time Rājarāja I ascended the Chōḷa throne in 985 A.D. the Rāshṭrakūṭas who had occupied the country to the north had ceased to exist and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa who succeeded them were trying to regain all the territories which had formed part of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominion. The loss of Gaṅgavāḍi to the Chōḷas in 991-92 A.D. had probably stirred them to action, and Tailapa II claims in an inscription,[5] dated 992 A.D., to have gained a victory over the Chōḷas. But the loss does not appear to have been completely retrieved as we find the Chōḷas holding portions of Daḷigavāḍi in Śaka 92[3].[6] Just about this time (997 A.D.) Tailapa II died and was succeeded by his son Satyāśraya who also continued vigorously the efforts of his father to retrieve the lost territories. It was also at this time that Rājarāja had to intervene in the affairs of Vēṅgī, recover the country from Bhīma of the Telugu-Chōḍa family, thus bringing to a close the interregnum of twenty-seven years, and instal on the throne his relative Śaktivarman in about 999 A.D. Bhīma appears to have sought asylum in Kaliṅga, recuperated his strength and come back in 1001-02 A.D. to regain Vēṅgī with the help of the Kaliṅgas and probably the Western Chālukyas.[7] We find Rājarāja embarking on the simultaneous attack on Kaliṅga and Raṭṭapāḍi and claiming victories over them the next year. The inscriptions[8] of Rājarāja from about the 18th regnal year, i.e. about 1003 A.D., claim the capture of Raṭṭapāḍi ' seven-and-a-half lakh country '. On the other hand, the Hoṭṭūr record[9] of Satyāśraya, dated Śaka 9[2]9 or 1007 A.D., states that

[1] Ibid., No. 212.

[2] That the practice of permitting the *nagarattār* of other places to adopt for their villages the scale of taxes prevailing at Nandipuram from olden times was prevalent in the days of Sundarachōḷa will be evident from the inscriptions from Mēlappaḻuvūr (*SII*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 208, 215 and 344) and other places.

[3] In the record from Tiruveṇkāḍu in the Tanjavur District, dated in the 27th regnal year of Rājarāja I (*SII*, Vol. V, No. 980), which mentions this expedition led by the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Śiṟiyavēḷāṉ, the date of the expedition is given in the printed text as the [3]rd year of the reign of *Uḍaiyār Poṉmāḷigaiyiṟ=ṟuñjiṉa-dēvar* (the king who died at Poṉmāḷigai), i.e. Sundarachōḷa II. But it appears to be clearly 9 in the impression. See ibid., Vol. III, p. 476.

[4] Maḷanāḍu was one of the divisions of Koṅgu. Mala-Koṅgam mentioned in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant (above, Vol. XVII, p. 297) as having been subjugated by Māṟaṉ or Rājasiṁha represents the same area. See also K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Historical Sketches*, pp. 129-31.

[5] *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 47, No. 77.

[6] *ARSIE*, 1911, No. 169; *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, p. 491, n.

[7] N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 210.

[8] *ARSIE*, 1927, No. 333. See also Part II, para. 11.

[9] Above, Vol. XVI, p. 74.

even though the Chōḷa came with a very large army of nine-hundred thousand troops and plundered the whole country causing considerable havoc, Satyāśraya, 'the slayer of the Tamil' (*Tiguḷamāri*) was able to force the Chōḷa to turn back, capturing his paraphernalia (*vastu-vāhana*) and conquer the southern quarter. Not satisfied with the expulsion of the Chōḷas from Raṭṭapāḍi, he also seems to have taken the offensive to stem the expansion of the Chōḷa power, at the same time consolidating his own position. With this end in view, he seems to have first tried to break up the newly acquired ascendency of the Chōḷas over Vēṅgī by invading that country. Bayala Nambi, one of his generals, is said to have reduced the forts of Dharaṇikōṭa and Yanamaṇḍala to ashes and established himself at Chēbrōlu in the present Guntur District where an inscription[1] of his, dated in Śaka 928 (1006 A.D.), is found. Rājarāja had again to send his army to Vēṅgī and restore the country to Śaktivarman. For this onerous task he selected Pañchavaṉ Mārāyaṉ, the general who distinguished himself in the campaigns of Rājarāja in the west and was perhaps no other than the crown-prince Rājēndra,[2] and invested him with the office of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of Vēṅgī-maṇḍala in addition to that of Gaṅga-maṇḍala which he was then holding.

A record[3] from Balmuri in the Mysore District, dated in Śaka 934 (1012 A.D.) and the 28th year of Rājarāja, registers the gift of a lamp by the general Pañchavan Mārāya, the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of Bēṅgī and Gaṅga-maṇḍala. Rājēndra, also called *Mummuḍichōḷana gandhavāraṇa* (the proud tusker of Mummuḍichōḷa) in the inscription, had to leave the newly acquired provinces in the West and go to Vēṅgī to expel the invaders and restore order there. But the Western provinces had not quite settled. Across the border, the Hoysaḷas were slowly emerging as the subordinates of the Western Chālukyas. The earliest record[4] of Vinayāditya, an early ruler of this family, gives the date *Vikra[ma]gālam* 1060, Paridhāvi. The Vikrama and the cyclic years do not agree. If the cyclic year quoted is taken as correct, it would correspond to the Vikrama year 1070 (1012 A.D.); but, if the Vikrama year quoted is taken as correct, the corresponding cyclic year would be Śubhakṛit (1002 A.D.).[5] It was therefore necessary for the Chōḷas to have some trustworthy representative in the Western region to preserve the newly conquered dominion and check the growing power of the Hoysaḷas.

An epigraph on a stone[6] built into the roof of the Gōpālakṛishṇa temple at Kaleyūr in the Tirumukūḍlu-Narasipur Taluk of the Mysore District, dated Śaka 929 (current), Parābhava, corresponding to 1006 A.D., contains the panegyric of the Chōḷa general Apramēya. Therein he is said to have defeated the Poysaḷa minister Nāgaṇṇa and slain the Hoysaḷa leaders Mañjaga, Kālega (or Kali Gaṅga), Nāgavarman and others, winning by his valour in the plain of Kalavūr a name to last as long as the sun and the moon. The inscription further describes Apramēya as 'having under his orders the burden of the whole kingdom' and as *Tēyakulatilaka Malepakula-kāla*[7] *Koṭṭamaṇḍala-nātha, śrīmatu Rājarājadēva-pāda-paṅkaja-bhramara*. This record testifies to the fact that the victory gained by Apramēya over the Hoysaḷas in the battle of Kalavūr was great and deserved the erection of a pillar of victory. In addition to this record mentioned as a *jaya-stambha*, we have also a temple erected in Aprameya's name. The temple of Aprамē-yēśvara is found at Maravapāḷaiyam in the Dhārāpuram Taluk of the Coimbatore District, which in those days was known as Kottaṉūr or Kōṟṟaṉūr.[8] Koṭṭamaṇḍala, of which Apramēya

[1] *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 102.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Sr. 125.

[3] Ibid., No. 140; see also ibid., Vol. I, Cg. 46 and Intro. pp. 12-13.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 38.

[5] *An. Rep. Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1917, para. 83. [As verified from impressions, the Vikrama year is clearly 1160.– Ed.]

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Tn. 44.

[7] The Hoysaḷas had the distinctive title *Maleparoḷ-gaṇḍa*, 'champion warrior among the Malepas or hill chiefs'.

[8] *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 181.

was the chief, probably represented a portion of the Koṅgu country with Kottaṉūr as the principal seat. The expression 'bee at the lotus feet of Rājarājadēva' applied to Apramēya in this record is found attributed to Pañchavaṉ Mārāya (Rājēndra) in the Balmuri record referred to above.[1] But Apramēya of the present inscription is described as *Tēyakulatilaka*. The Chōḷas are not known to have been described anywhere as belonging to *Tēyakula* and this name is not met with elsewhere. Tēja is mentioned as the name of the father of the Uchchaṅgi Pāṇḍya chief Irukkapāla.[2] Another member of the same family, Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya had the title 'Irukkuvēḷ'. Like the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs who had the distinctive title 'Irukkuvēḷ', the Uchchaṅgi Pāṇḍyas also claimed to belong to Yādava-vaṁśa. It has been therefore suggested that these two families had some sort of connection.[3] Hence it is possible to surmise that Tēyakula stands for the family of the Koḍumbāḷur chiefs, and that Apramēya was a title of Vikramachōḷa. Apramēya who had taken a leading part in the Chōḷa campaign in the west under Rājēndra was probably thought of as the proper person to hold the viceroyalty of this area.

Another inscription, from Piramiyam[4] in the Dhārāpuram Taluk, of this Kō-nāṭṭāṉ Vikramachōḷa, dated in the 20th year of his reign, registers the gift of gold for a lamp in the temple for the merit of his deceased daughter Vikramaśōḻaṉ Śōḻamādēviyār, no other details about whom are known. We may surmise from her name that she was a Chōḷa queen (of the main line), married to a Vikramachōḷa possibly identifiable with Rājēndra I, who is known to have had the surname Vikramachōḷa.[5]

The name Śiṅgaḷāntaka may perhaps be connected with a title of the king Kō-nāṭṭāṉ Vikramachōḷa. Śiṅgaḷāntaka was one of the distinctive titles borne by the Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja I and was probably bestowed on Vikramachōḷa by him. It might also be that Vikramachōḷa was engaged in the Ceylon expedition of Rājarāja.

TEXT[6]

1 Śvasti Śrī [||*]
2 Kō-nāṭṭāṉ Vi-
3 kkirama-sōḻa-
4 dēvaṟku śe-
5 llāniṉṟa
6 yāṇḍu nā-
7 ṟpad=āvadu
8 Aṟattuḷā-
9 ṉ-d[ē]vaṉ
10 pēraṉ=[ā]ṉa nā-
11 ṉ Kaṉita Mā-
12 ṇikka-chchet-
13 ṭi chandira-vaśa-
14 tiyil muka-
15 maṇḍagam
16 eḍuppittē-
17 ṉ [||*] śakara-yā
18 ṇḍu 9 100 [6] [10*] 7[||*]
19 Śiṅgaḷā[ntaka][7]ṉ-
20 eṉ pudu muka-
21 maṇḍagam [||*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the fortieth year current in the reign of Kō-nāṭṭāṉ Vikkiramachōḻadēva I, Kaṉita Māṇikka-chchetti, grandson of Aṟattuḷāṉ-dēvaṉ, erected the *mukha-maṇḍapa* in the Chandiravasati. The Śaka year is 967. (*This is the*) new *mukha-maṇḍapa* (*constructed by me*) Śiṅgaḷāntakaṉ.

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Sr. 140.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XI, Intro. p. 16.
[3] *ARSIE*, 1927, Part II, para. 73, p. 108.
[4] *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 187.
[5] Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, *SII*, Vol. III, No. 205, verse 113. Also *ARSIE*, 1907, No. 52, ibid., 1908, Part II, para. 55.
[6] From impression.
[7] Written below the line and visible faintly.

No. 42—JANGALPADU PLATES OF SATRUBHANJADEVA

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

In 1946 Mr. Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru published a copper-plate inscription of king **Śatrubhañja** belonging to a branch of the celebrated **Bhañja** royal family of ancient Orissa.[1] Ten years earlier the inscription was published by the same scholar in the *Utkala Sāhitya*[2], an Oriya periodical of Cuttack. As regards the findspot and discovery of the plates, Mr. Rājaguru observes thus in his paper published in 1946: "About ten years back, a cultivator, while digging the earth, found these plates buried in a field near **Jaṅgalpāḍu**, a village situated at a distance of ten miles to the north-east of Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District. I went to the village soon after I got information of this discovery, and carefully examined the charter.......... But, as the owner of the plates did not like to part with the charter, I had no other choice except taking their impressions at the spot...... A few months after this, I was told that the charter was handed over to a wanderer *sannyāsī* whose whereabouts are not known up till now, and consequently the plates are now missing."[3]

Mr. Rājaguru thinks that the most important thing in the record is its date which has been read by him as *Samvat 1012 Kārttika-śudi 10 1* (i.e. 11). He refers the year 1012 to the Śaka era and suggests that the charter belongs to 1090 A.D. Apparently, however, Mr. Rājaguru did not notice that a paper on the same inscription by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji had been published as early as 1932.[4] The charter is described by Banerji as 'the Tekkali Plates'. He further observes, "I came to learn of the existence of this important inscription from Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B. Sc., Senior Archaeological Scholar of the Mayurbhanj State in May or June, 1929. Subsequently, at my request, Mr. Acharya supplied me with the pencil rubbings from which the inscription is edited below. I have not been able to elicit the name of the owner of these plates and their present locality from Mr. Acharya."[5] The plates were thus discovered at least seven years earlier than the time suggested by Mr. Rājaguru, although their association with Tekkali, also in the Ganjam District, instead of Jaṅgalpāḍu near Parlakimedi, as indicated by Banerji, may be wrong. Like Mr. Rājaguru, Banerji also spoke of the importance of the date of the inscription, which, however, he read as *Samvat 8 100 Kārttika-śudi 8*. He took the year of the date to be 800 which he referred to the Vikrama era. Thus, according to Banerji, the inscription under discussion belongs to 732 A.D. Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[6] who had occasion to consult Banerji's paper, thinks that the reading of the date is doubtful but says that 'on palæographic considerations also this plate may be referred to the eighth century A.D.'

I had recently an occasion to examine the inscription from its facsimile published along with the papers of Banerji and Rājaguru and found that, apart from the many misprints in the published transcripts of the record, numerous passages of the inscription, including the one containing its date, have been wrongly read. The reading of the last line of the record is quite clearly *Samvat 10 4 Kārttika-śudi 10 1* (i.e. *Saṁvat 14 Karttika-śudi 11*). The symbol for 10 which is practically the same as quoted by Ojha from a Vākāṭaka record in his *Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), Plate LXXIIIa, was wrongly read by Banerji as 8, although Rājaguru read it correctly. The second symbol in the year, which also occurs in other early Orissan records and

[1] *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 2, September, 1946, pp. 181 ff. and Plates.

[2] Vol. XXXII, Part VII, 1936.

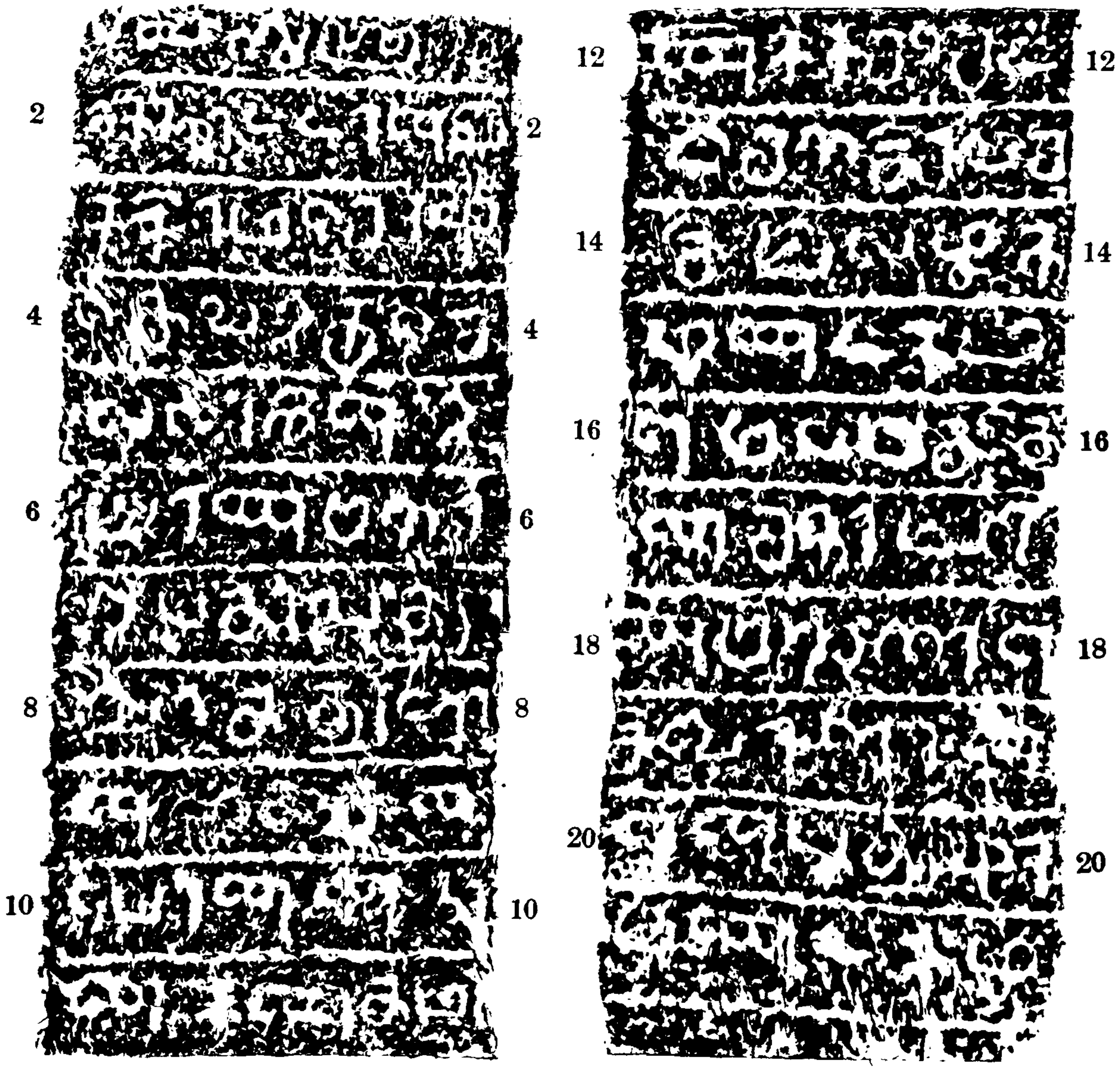
[3] *JKHRS*, loc. cit., p. 181.

[4] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVIII, Part III, 1932, pp. 387 ff. and Plates.

[5] *JBORS*, loc. cit., p. 387.

[6] 'Outline of the History of the Bhañja Kings of Orissa', reprinted from the *Dacca University Studies*, p. 3.

TINGALUR INSCRIPTION OF KO-NATTAN VIKRAMA CHOLA; SAKA 967



SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

D. C. SIRCAR
REG. NO 3977 E'36-479'56.
PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P. L. O.) CALCUTTA

has been read by scholars as 4[1], is, strangely enough, 100 according to Banerji and 12 according to Mr. Rājaguru. **There is, however, little doubt that the date of the charter under discussion is the 11th of the bright half of Kārttika of the 14th regnal year of king Śatrubhañja** and that there is no question of any reference to the Śaka or Vikrama era. As will be shown below, there is some evidence in favour of assigning the charter roughly to a date near about 1000 A.D. Among other mistakes of a serious nature in the published transcripts of the inscription we may refer to the names of Śatrubhañja's grandfather Mallagambhīradē[va*] and great-grandfather Yathāsukhadēva. The first name is read by Banerji as Pallagambhīradēva and the second by Rājaguru as Pathāsukhadēva. The name of the *vishaya* in which the gift village was situated was Sulvāḍḍa, although Banerji read it as Salvadda and Rājaguru as Salvādra. The name of Kōntamullō, the gift village, was read by Mr. Rājaguru as Kōntamallō.

Rājaguru describes the record in the following words: "The charter consists of three copper-plates hinged on a circular ring which is about 5¼" in diameter and which is secured by a circular seal at its joint, bearing the family emblem of a lion standing at its top. Each plate measures 5⅞" in length and 3" in breadth." He also describes the writing as 'very distinct and legible'. The palæography, language and orthography of the inscription do not call for any special mention as they closely resemble those of other records of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala,[2] to whose family the issuer of the present charter apparently belonged. The charter begins with two verses in praise of the god Śiva, which are known to form the introduction of the grants[3] issued by several rulers belonging to the earlier Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjali-maṇḍala.

After the introductory word *svasti*, followed by two verses in honour of the god Hara (Śiva), the record introduces the reigning monarch **Maṅgalarāja** in the third verse. *Maṅgalarāja* was apparently another name of king **Śatrubhañjadēva** who is next mentioned as an ornament of the Bhañja family and as the son of Śilābhañjadēva, grandson of Mallagambhīradē[va*] and great-grandson of Yathāsukhadēva (lines 8-11). Śatrubhañja is also described as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of his parents. The king's order in regard to the grant was addressed to the *rājan*, *rājanaka*, *rājaputra*, *vishayapati*, *mahāsāmanta*, *śrī-sāmanta-mahāsāmanta* and other administrators together with their *adhikaraṇas* (administrative offices or departments), who might be associated in different periods in the administration of Sulvāḍḍa-vishaya (district) and also to the villagers including the Karaṇas and Brāhmaṇas. In the list of officials and feudatories, the expression *śrī-sāmanta-mahāsāmanta* is difficult to explain in view of the separate mention of the *mahāsāmanta*, unless it is believed that *mahāsāmanta* was twice engraved through inadvertence. The village of Kōntamullō, which was situated in the said *vishaya* and had a fixed area and definite boundaries, was granted by the king in favour of two Brāhmaṇas named Vishṇusvāmin and Nārāyaṇasvāmin who belonged to the Vāsishṭha *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *charaṇa* of the Yajurvēda. The village was made a rent-free holding and people were asked not to stand in the way of its enjoyment by the two donees. In lines 22-31 some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted with the introduction *uktañ=cha dharma-śāstrē*. Lines 31-32 say that the *dūtaka* or executor of the grant was the *Mahāsāmanta* Kṛitavarman who had probably also the official designation *Pañcha-karaṇ-ādhikṛita*[4] which seems to suggest that he was attached to no less than five administrative departments. It is said that

[1] See the Cuttack Museum plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II of the Śailōdbhava dynasty, edited by N. G. Majumdar, above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 ff. and Plates, line 46 (*Śrāvaṇa-dina 20 4*, i.e. *24*). Mr. Rājaguru has recently edited the inscription in *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. II, Nos. 3-4, pp. 17 ff., without noticing that it was previously published. His transcript does not contain any reading of the symbols after *dina*; but elsewhere (p. 24) he reads the second symbol as *3*.

[2] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1490 ff., 2055.

[3] See, e.g., above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293, 295, 296, etc.

[4] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 333.

the *Sāndhivigrahika* (minister for peace and war) named Buddhadatta wrote the document probably under the instruction of the said Kritavarman. The plates are said to have been engraved by *śrī-sāmanta* Dhavalāka. The engraving of plates is known to have been usually entrusted to inferior officials. It is therefore difficult to determine whether *śrī-sāmanta* here indicates an official of inferior rank or whether the plates were engraved under the supervision of the *Sāmanta* (feudatory ruler) Dhavalāka. The document was endowed with a seal (*lāñchhita*) by Śivāditya. In some records[1] of the family, we have the passage *lāñchhitaṁ mahārājakīya-mudray=ēti.* The last line of the charter contains the date as already discussed above.

The Bhañja ruler Śatrubhañja who issued the charter under discussion has been identified[2] with the king of the same name, who was the father of Raṇabhañja and issued the Kumurukela[3] and Sonpur plates[4] from Dhṛitipura. As in our record Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja is described as the son of Śilābhañja, grandson of Mallagambhīra and great-grandson of Yathāsukha while the records of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, who had their capital at Dhṛitipura, represent Śatrubhañja as the son of Śilābhañja *alias* Āṅgaḍḍi, there is nothing absurd in the identification on the face of it.

If, the above identification is to be accepted, it is fairly easy to determine the approximate date of the charter under discussion. As has been suggested elsewhere,[5] Raṇabhañja was probably the son-in-law of the Kadamba chief Niyārṇama or Niyārṇava who was the grandfather of Dharmakhēḍi, issuer of the Mandasa plates[6] of Śaka 917[7] (995 A.D.) and the Santa-Bommali plates[8] of the Gaṅga year 520 (1016-18 A.D.). Consequently Niyārṇava as well as his son-in-law Raṇabhañja and the latter's father Śatrubhañja can be roughly assigned to the middle of the tenth century. Thus the present charter issued by Śatrubhañja may be tentatively ascribed to the above period. It should, however, be pointed out that the identification of Śatrubhañja, issuer of the charter under discussion, with the homonymous ruler of Khiñjali-mandala who had his capital at Dhṛitipura is far from satisfactory.

The inscriptions[9] of Raṇabhañja, also issued from the city of Dhṛitipura, have been found in the old Sonpur (like those of his father) and Baud States. These two kings are usually described in their records as the lords of Khiñjali-maṇḍala and sometimes of Ubhaya-Khiñjali-maṇḍala (i.e. the two *maṇḍalas* both styled Khiñjali). The charters[10] of Raṇabhañja's son Nēṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa and of his descendants were, however, issued from the city of Vañjulvaka and have been usually found in the Ganjam District. It would thus appear that these Bhañjas were driven from the north to the Ganjam region shortly after Raṇabhañja's rule.[11] It is therefore doubtful whether this record found in the Ganjam District could have been issued by Raṇabhañja's father. It should be noticed that our inscription refers neither to Khiñjali-maṇḍala nor to Dhṛitipura or Vañjulvaka.

In the second place, the verses at the beginning of our charter are found only in the introduction of the grants issued by the successors of Raṇabhañja of Dhṛitipura and Khiñjali-maṇḍala and not in the records of Raṇabhañja himself and his father Śatrubhañja. This fact also suggests

[1] Cf. *JBORS*, Vol. VI, p. 273.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 387 ; R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 3 ff.
[3] *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 432 ff.
[4] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 99 ff.
[5] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 46.
[6] Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1951.
[7] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 458 n.
[8] Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 2053.
[9] Cf. ibid., Nos. 1492 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. X, pp. 473 ff.
[10] Cf. Ibid., Nos. 1497 ff.
[11] See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 276 ; Vol. XXIX, pp. 190-91.

that Śatrubhañja of the present record was a later member of the same family, who utilised the said verses first introduced in the records of these Bhañjas by a court poet of Nēṭṭabhañja-Kalyāṇakalaśa, son of Raṇabhañja.[1] The use of numerical symbols instead of decimal figures in the date of our inscription, however, seems to suggest that Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja flourished before the middle of the eleventh century.[2]

Thirdly, in the two known records of Śatrubhañja of Dhṛitipura and Khiñjali-maṇḍala, that king is represented as a devout worshipper of Vishṇu, while Śatrubhañja-Maṅgalarāja of our inscription is described as a devotee of the god Mahēśvara or Śiva. It should be noticed that among the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala only Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja in his earlier years were Vaishṇavas.[3] Raṇabhañja later became a Śaiva. Nēṭṭabhañja-Kalyāṇakalaśa, son of Raṇabhañja, and Vidyādharabhañja-Amōghakalaśa, who was the son of Śilābhañja (II), grandson of Digbhañja and great-grandson of Raṇabhañja, were Śaivas. Śatrubhañja-Maṅgalarāja of our record may thus have flourished after Raṇabhañja who introduced Śaivism in the family. None of the above arguments may be conclusive ; but, taken together, they appear to make a strong case against the identification of the issuer of our inscription with his namesake who was the father of Raṇabhañja. It is probable that the secondary name Maṅgalarāja was assumed by the later ruler to distinguish himself from his earlier namesake.

The Sulvāḍḍa *vishaya* and the village of Kōntamullō are the only **geographical** names mentioned in the record. I have not been able to identify them, although they appear to have been situated in the present Ganjam District.

TEXT[4]

[Metres : verse 1 *Mālinī* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 3 *Āryā* ; verses 4-6, 8 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 7 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 Svasti [||*] Jayati Kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-dakshaṁ sva-kiraṇa-pari-

2 vēśy-ō(ś-au)rjitya-jīrṇṇ-ēndu-lēkhaṁ(kham |) tṛi(tri)-bhuvana-bhu(bha)van-āntar-dyōta-bhāsva[t*]-pra-

3 dīpaṁ kanaka-nikasha-tāmvra(mra)ṁ vibhru-nētraṁ Harasya || [1*] Śēsh-āhēr=iva yaḥ(yē)

4 phaṇā[ḥ*] pravilasat=yu(nty=u)dbhāsur-ēndu-tvishaḥ prālēy-āchala-śṛiṅga-kō-

5 ṭaya iva tvaṁganti yē=tyunnatā[ḥ | *] nṛitt-āṭōpa-vighaṭṭitā iva

6 bhujā rājanti yē shāṁ(śāṁ)bhavāṁ(vā)ś=tē [sa*]rvv-āgha-vighātinaḥ sura-tsva(sa)rit-tō-

7 y-ōrmmayaḥ pāntu vaḥ [||] [2*] Asti jaya-śrī-nilaya-prakaṭa-guṇa-grasta-sarvva-

8 ripu-garvva[ḥ |*] śrīmān=**Maṅgalarājō** rājā nirddhūta-Kali-kalusha[ḥ || 3*] Bhañj-āmala-kula-

9 tilakaḥ śrī-Yathāsukhadēvasya pranaptā śrī-Mallagambhīradē[va*]sya pauttraḥ

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[1] See above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293, 295, 296 ; Vol. XXVIII, p. 273 ; Vasu, *Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 146, 149, etc.

[2] Cf. Ojha, op. cit., p. 115 ; above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 184, 190.

[3] Nēṭṭabhañja-Kalyāṇakalaśa II, who was the son of Vidyādharabhañja, grandson of Śilābhañja (II), great-grandson of Digbhañja and great-great-grandson of Raṇabhañja, was a Vaishṇava (Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1502).

[4] From the Plates in *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, and *JKHRS*, Vol. I. The pencil rubbing published in *JBORS* is more reliable than the inked impression published in *JKHRS*. The latter is, however, clearer than the former.

Second Plate, First Side

10 śrī-Śilābhañjadēvasya sūna(nuḥ) parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-
11 pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-**Śatrubhañjadēvaḥ** kuśalī **Sulvāḍḍa**-vi-
12 shayē rāja-rājanaka-rājaputra-vishayapati-mahāsāmanta[1]-
13 śrīsāmanta-maha(hā)sāmanta-yathākāl-ādhyāśi(si)-vyā(vya)vahāriṇaḥ sa-
14 karaṇān=anyāṁś=cha Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-pura(rō)g-ādi[2]-janapada-nivā-
15 si-ja(jā)napadāṅs=cha(dāṁś=cha) yathārhaṁ pūjayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ājñāpaya-
16 ti cha viditam=astu bhavatām=ētad-vishaya-saṁva(samba)ddha-**Kōntamullō**-
17 grāmō-yaṁ chatuḥ-sīmn-ā(m-ā)ghāṭa-parimāṇa Taittrī[3]-Vāsishṭha-gō-
18 trābhyām[4] bhaṭṭa-Vish[ṇu]svāmi-bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇasvāmi[5] mātā-

Second Plate, Second Side

19 pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābh[i]vṛiddhayē śa(sa)lila-dhārā-purasē(ssa)-
20 rēṇ=ā-karatvēna pratipāditō=smābhiḥ [| *] yatō=nayōr=ā-chandr-ā-
21 rka-samupabhu[ṁ*]jānō(na)yōr=na kaiśchi[t*] paripa[nthinā(bhiḥ)] bhavitavyam=i-
22 ti [||*] uktañ=cha dharma-śāstrē [| *] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādi-
23 bhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam ||) [4*]
24 Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ētti(ti) pārthivāḥ [| *] sva-dānā[t*] phala-
25 m=ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nē) ||[5*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō
26 harēta vasundharāṁ(rām |) sa vishṭhāyāṁ [kṛimir*]=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha
27 pachyatē || [6*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anu-

Third Plate

28 chintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha [|*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛita[ṁ] hi va(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi
29 purushaiḥ pari(ra)-kīrttayō vilōpyā[ḥ [||*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi sva-
30 rgē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā śch=ā(ch=ā)numantā cha tāv=ēva narakaṁ vra-
31 jēt [|| 8*] pañcha-karaṇ-āddhi(dhi)kṛita-maha(hā)sāmanta[ḥ*] du(dū)takō=tra śrī-[Kṛi]-tavarmma-
32 ṇaḥ dēśā[6] likhi[ta*]ñ=cha sāndhivigrahika-Vu(Bu)ddhadattēna ||[7] utkīrnaṁ(rṇaṁ)
33 śrī-sāmanta-Dhavalākēna ||[7] lachchhitaṁ[8] Śivāditty[ē]n=[ē]ti [||*]
34 **Samva[Saṁva]t 10 4 Kārttika-śudi 10 1** [||*]

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[1] We have possibly to omit this expression and read *vishayapati-śrīsāmanta.*

[2] The expression *Brāhmaṇa-purōga* suggests that we have to take the following expression as *ādi-janapada-nivāsi°*.

[3] Read *parimāṇas=Taittirīya.*

[4] A half *t* was originally engraved instead of half *m*.

[5] Read *svāmibhyāṁ.*

[6] Read *°varmmā[tasy=ādēśāt.*

[7] The punctuation mark here looks like a *visarga* sign.

[8] Read *lāñchhitaṁ.*

No. 43—TWO GRANTS OF VARMANS OF VANGA

(*1 Plate*)

THE LATE DR. N. K. BHATTASALI, DACCA

A. *Sāmantasār Plate of Harivarman*

Nagendra Nath Vasu published a rather defective transcript of the reverse of the present plate with a small and blurred half-tone reproduction and translation in Bengali and stated that Harivarman was a king of Vaṅga and had his capital at Vikramapura.[1] The plate was originally in the possession of the late Pandit Kāśīchandra Vidyāvāgīśa of the village of **Sāmantasār**, District Faridpur, where it was seriously damaged by fire. Sāmantasār is a stronghold of the Brāhmaṇas of the Vaidika class. The Vaidikas believe that their progenitors came to Bengal during the reign of Sāmalavarman, king of Vaṅga. Vidyāvāgīśa fondly believed that the copper plate he possessed was a grant of Sāmalavarman. But, as he could not decipher it himself, he gave it for decipherment to Pandit Gurucharaṇa Vidyābhūshaṇa of the village, who took it to Calcutta and handed it over to the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī. Śāstrī in his turn made over this fire-licked plate to N. N. Vasu who published it as narrated above.

The publication of the Belāva plate[2] of Bhōjavarman of the same line of kings has now made the correction of some obvious mistakes in Vasu's reading possible. The most serious of his errors is that he took the inscription to be dated in the 42nd regnal year of king Harivarman although in fact it does not bear any date. But, for a long time, nothing could be done to check Vasu's reading as Vidyābhūshaṇa, to whom Vasu had handed back the plate after decipherment, had passed away and all trace of the plate was lost. In 1920 I went to Sāmantasār and learnt that the plate had not come back. However, in 1937 I succeeded in recovering it at Bālī near Calcutta from the son of Vidyābhūsaṇa, who had given up his residence at Sāmantasār and made Bālī his home. The plate has now been presented to the Dacca Museum.

The actual findplace of the plate is unknown. While at Sāmantasār in 1920, I learnt that three copper-plate records had been found inside an earthen pot somewhere near Sāmantasār, on the bank of the Meghnā, within the Zamindari of the Tagores of Calcutta in the Idilpur Pargana. The Idilpur plate of Kēśavasēna, first published by Prinsep in *JASB*, 1838, was one of these records. A plate of Śrīchandra noticed in my article on the Kēdārpur plate[3] was another. The third is the present plate of Harivarmadēva. The Vaidikas of Sāmantasār secured it from the finder and passed it on to Vidyāvāgīśa. Unfortunately, the thatched house in which the plate was preserved, accidentally caught fire and damaged the plate seriously. The seal of the plate got detached from it and was lost, and the obverse became practically unreadable.

The plate is a **single sheet** of copper measuring $9\frac{3}{16}$ inches by $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The obverse contains 28 lines of writing while the reverse has 23 lines and a half. It has been licked by fire to such an extent that not one out of the 28 lines of writing on the obverse can be made out with precision. The metrical part ends in line 27, from the end of which the prose portion begins. From this place onwards we are on surer grounds, but the name of Harivarman's father still remains doubtful. It is almost obliterated and can be read as Jāta on close examination. The 23 lines of writing on the reverse, however, can be made out fairly accurately with the help of the Belāva plate of Bhōjavarman.

[1] *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Vol. II, introduction, p. 111 ; cf. pp. 215-18.

[2] The inscription was first published by myself with the help of my teacher, the late Prof. B. B. Gōsvāmī, in the *Dacca Review*, Vol. II, 1912. See also R. G. Basāk, *Sāhitya*, 1319 B.S., pp. 282-99, and above Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff. ; R. D. Banerji, *JASB*, 1914, pp. 121-29 ; N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 14 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90.

The characters are Proto-Bengali of the 11th century A.D. The most notable letter from the point of view of palæography is *r* which still retains its hooked form and is not yet a complete triangle. In the plate of Sāmalavarman, edited below, as well as in the Belāva plate of Bhōjavarman, *r* is a complete and well-formed triangle. The language is Sanskrit.

The history of the Varman kings of Vaṅga was for the first time placed on a sure footing by the discovery and publication of the Belāva plate of Bhōjavarman, although Harivarmadēva was known to scholars from the Bhubaneswar inscription[1] of his minister, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva. The family traced its descent from the Moon and belonged to the Yādava clan, which had made Siṁhapura its home. This city has been variously located; but none of the suggestions can be regarded as conclusive in the absence of any definite pointer. Nevertheless its identification with Siṁhapura in Kaliṅga may be accepted for all practical purposes.[2]

When the armies of Rājēndra Chōḷa led an expedition against Bengal about 1023-24 A.D.,[3] they found on the throne of East Bengal (Vaṅgāla) a king called Gōvindachandra apparently belonging to the Chandra dynasty of Vikramapura. This is corroborated by a statement in the life of Dīpaṅkara-Śrījñāna-Atiśa, compiled by the late Mr. Sarat Chandra Dās from Tibetan sources.[4] According to this work, Dīpaṅkara was a contemporary of the king Bhū-indra-chandra of Baṅgāla. The adult life of Dīpaṅkara, as gathered from this source, seems to have fallen between 1000 and 1022 A.D.; and it may be assumed that Bhū-indra-chandra was the ruler of Baṅgāla during this period. The Tibetans seem to have rendered the name Gōvindachandra as Gō-indra-chandra, and substituting *bhū* for its equivalent *gō*, we get the modified Tibetan appellation *Bhū-indra-chandra*.

Hence the reign of Gōvindachandra in Vaṅgāla is to be referred to the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. But, in the next quarter, we find the Varmans established in the same kingdom and issuing copper-plate grants from the same capital, as is evidenced by the Belāva plate and by the two copper-plates edited below. Thus the Chandras appear to have been supplanted in Vaṅga by the Varmans not long after the Chōḷa raids in 1023-24 A.D.

As indicated above, we learn from the Belāva plate that the Yādavas of the lunar race settled at Siṁhapura and that the Varman family of Yādava lineage rose to prominence during the time of Jātavarman who is credited with many achievements. He is said to have frustrated the might of Gōvardhana who appears to be the same as Gōvardhana of Kauśāmbī, mentioned in the *Rāma-charita* as an ally of Rāmapāla. Kauśāmbī, was the tract east of the Bhāgīrathī and south of modern Calcutta.[5] The Varman kingdom thus spread up to the Bhāgīrathī on the west, while on its east was the Meghnā. Jātavarman became a paramount sovereign. Jāta's son was Sāmala, born of Vīraśrī. Sāmala married Trailōkyasundarī *alias* Mālavyadēvī who was the daughter of Jagaddēva, son of Paramāra Udayāditya, king of Mālwā and rival of Kalachuri Karṇa. Sāmala's son was Bhōja, in whose 5th regnal year the Belāva grant was issued. From verse 14 of this grant it would appear that the king was probably a minor at the time, and that an invasion from an enemy was apprehended. It may be noted here that Harivarman does not find mention in this record, though he is clearly hinted at in the statement that Vīraśrī and Hari many times manifested themselves in person in this dynasty (verse 3).

Harivarman is known to have enjoyed a fairly long reign. Two dated manuscripts of the reign of this king are known. One[6] of them, at present preserved in the V. R. Museum of

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[1] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 198 ff.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 4.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 24.

[4] *Journ. B. T. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 7 n.

[5] *JRAS*, 1935, pp. 82-83. [The identification is not beyond doubt.—Ed.]

[6] R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, No. 3), Plate XXXVI

Rājshāhī, is clearly dated in the 19th year of his reign. The other manuscript belongs to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī published an illustration of the dated page of this manuscript in the journal of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat of Calcutta.[1] Śāstrī read the date as the 39th year; but a close examination of the illustration under a lens tends to show that the date is 32. Thus Harivarman is to be credited with a reign of at least 32 years.[2]

The name of the donee of the grant is unfortunately damaged by a crack in the plate which runs right across the name. He is stated to have served as the *Śāntivārika* (sprayer of propitiatory sacred water) to the king. His *gōtra* was Vatsa with the usual fiv *pravaras*, and he belonged to the Āśvalāyana branch of the Ṛigvēda. His father was Padmanābha and grandfather Vēdagarbha. His great-grandfather's name is rather obscure and reads like Jayarakshita. As the Vatsa *gōtra* is to be met with among all the three prominent sections of Bengal Brāhmaṇas, viz., Rāḍhīya, Vārēndra and Vaidika, it is difficult to say to which section the donee belonged.

The land granted measured 86 *drōṇas*[3] of the cultivable type. It lay in the village of Vara-parvvata in the Mayūraviḍja[4] *vishaya* in Pañchavāsa[4]-maṇḍala within the Pauṇḍra *bhukti*. The *bhukti* of Pauṇḍravardhana is well-known. I am unable to locate the village granted. The inscription is undated and does not bear the usual endorsements at the end.

TEXT

Obverse

1 to 26 (damaged)

27 ....स खलु श्रीविक्रम-

28 पुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् महाराजाधिराजश्रीजातवर्म्मपादानुध्यातपरमवैष्णव-

Reverse

1 परमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीहरिवर्म्मदेवः कुशली ॥

2 श्रीपौण्ड्रभुक्त्यन्तःपाति[पञ्च][4]वासमण्डले [मयूरविड्ज][4]विषयसं[5] । वरपर्व्वतग्रामे । अशीति[षष्ट्य]-[6]

3 धिकषड्द्रोणोपेतहलभूमौ ॥ समुपगताशेषराजपुरुष[रा]ज्ञीराणकराजपु[त्र]राजामात्यमहा-

4 व्यूहपतिमण्डलपतिमहासान्धिविग्रहिकमहासेनापति[महाक्ष]पटलिकमहामुद्राधिकृत्य(त)-

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[1] *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XXVII, illustration No. 3.

[2] [There is some evidence to suggest that Harivarman ruled for 46 years. See *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 201, note 1. Verse 16 of Bhavadēva's *praśasti* seems to refer to a son of Harivarman as his successor; cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 414 and note.—Ed.]

[3] [The text gives: 1 *hala*, 6 *drōṇas* and 80 of a smaller unit, the name of which is doubtful.—Ed.]

[4] [The reading of the letters is doubtful—Ed.]

[5] [*Saṁ* stands for *sambaddha*.—Ed.]

[6] [The above reading of the two *aksharas* seems to be wrong. The word used here certainly indicated a subdivision of the *drōṇa*.—Ed.]

5 महाप्रतीहारकोट्टपालदौःसाधसाधनिक[चोरोद्धरणिकनौव(ब)लहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजा]-

6 विकादिव्यापृतकगौल्मिकदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायक[विषयपत्यादीनन्यांश्च] सकलराजपादो-

7 पजीविनोध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्तितानन्यांश्च अाचट्ट[भट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्र]-
करांश्च व्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-

8 णोत्तरान् [यथार्हं] मानयति [वो(बो)धयति समा]दिशती(ति) [च मतमस्तु भवतां
यथोपरिलिखिता] भूमिरि-

9 यं स्वसीमावच्छिन्ना तृण[पूतिगोचरपर्य्यन्ता] सत[ला] सज[लस्थला सगर्त्तोषरा]
सदशा[पराधा] स-

10 चौरोद्धर[णा परिहृ]तसर्व्व[पीडा अचाटभटप्रवेशा अ]किञ्चि[त्प्र]ग्राह्या समस्त-
राजभोगकरहिर-

11 ण्यप्रत्याय[सहिता ।। वत्ससगोत्राय भार्गव]च्यवन[आ(ना)प्नुवत्(द्)और्व्व-
जमदग्निपञ्च]र्षि[प्रव]राय

12 ऋग्वेदआ(दा)श्ला(श्वला)यनशाखाध्यायिने [भट्टपुत्रजयरा(र)क्षितशर्म्मणः प्रपौत्राय ।]
भट्टपुत्रवेदग-

13 र्भशर्म्मणः पौत्राय । भ[ट्टपुत्रपद्मनाभ]शर्म्मणः पुत्राय [भट्टपुत्रशान्ति]वारिकश्री....

14 शर्म्मणे श्रीमता हरि[वर्म्मदेवेन पुण्ये]हनि विधिव[दुद]क[पूर्व्व]कं कृत्वा
भगवन्तं वासुदेवभट्टा]-

15 रकमु[द्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृ]द्धये आचन्द्रार्क[क्षितिसमकालं
याव]त् भूमि-

16 च्छिद्र[न्यायेन श्रीमद्विष्णुचक्रमुद्रया ताम्रशा]सनीकृत्य प्रद[त्तास्मा]भिः [।। तद्भ]वद्भिः
सर्व्वैरनुम-

17 न्तव्यं [भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिः पालने] दानफलगौर[वात् ह]रणे [महानरक-
पातभयात् दानमिदम]-

18 [नुमोद्यानुपालनीयमिति निवासिभिः क्षे]त्रकरैश्च [आज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय यथोचित-
प्रत्यायोपनय का]-

19 र्य्यं इति भव[न्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ]

A. SAMANTASAR PLATE OF HARIVARMAN

Reverse

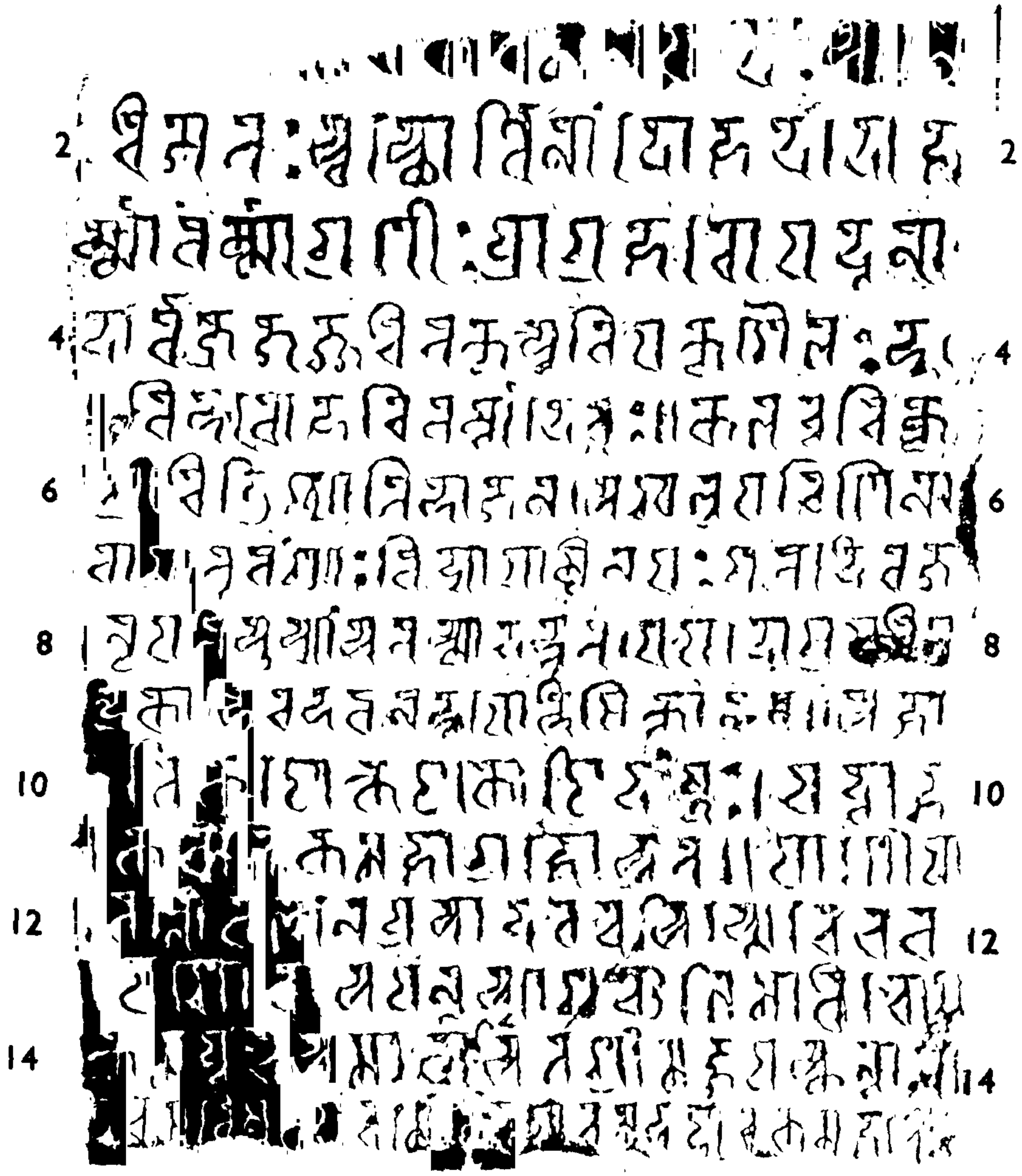


(From a Photograph)

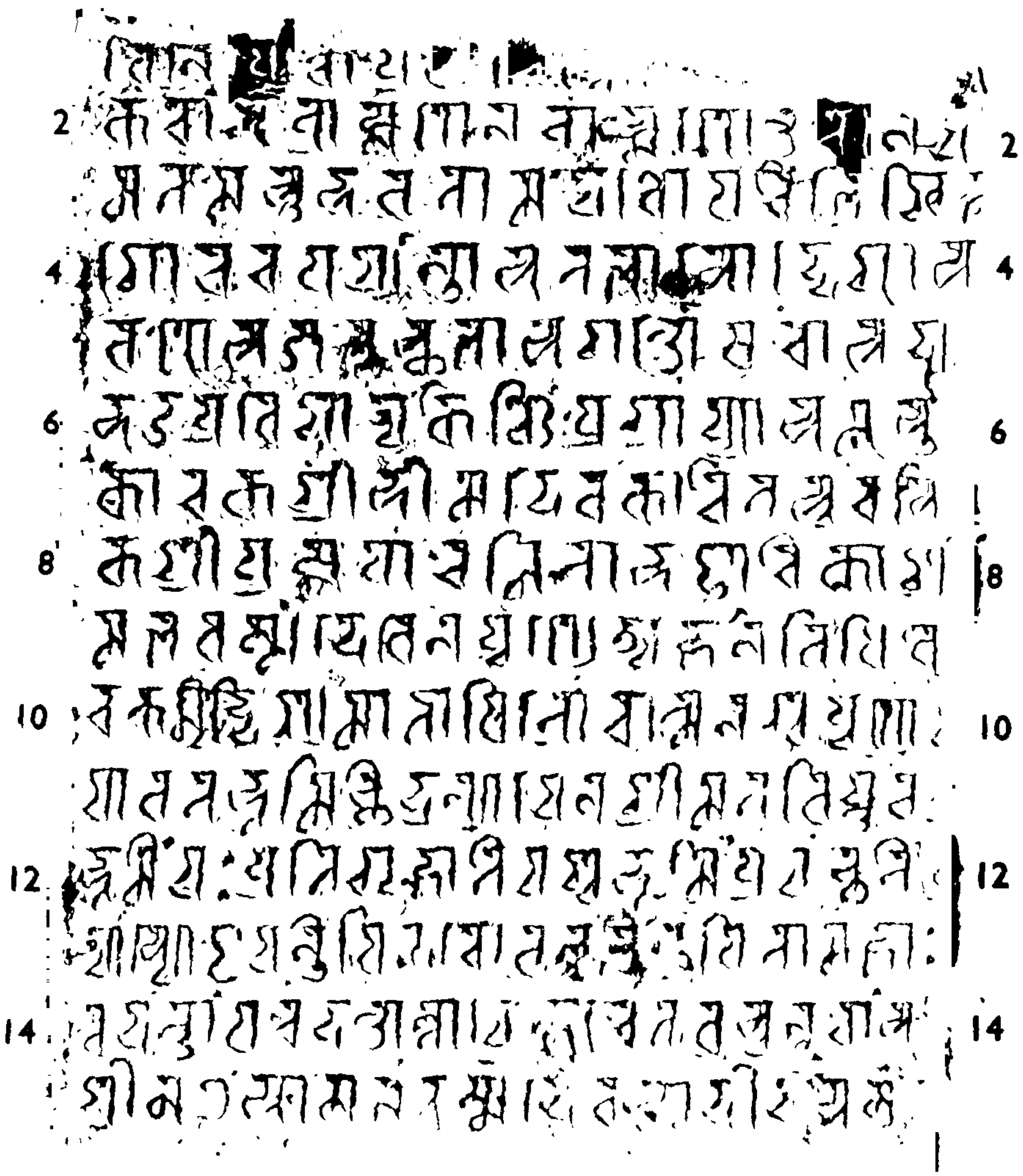
SCALE: TWO THIRDS

B. VAJRAYOGINI PLATE OF SAMALAVARMAN

Obverse



Reverse



SCALE ACTUAL SIZE

20 तौ पुण्य[कर्म्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आक्षेप्ता चा]-

21 नुमन्ता [च तान्येव नरके वसेत् । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभि]-

22 स्सह [पच्यते । बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।]

23 इति कमलदलाम्वु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां [श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमिद-मुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)ध्द्वा न]

24 हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥०

B. *Vajrayōginī Plate of Sāmalavarman*

This is only a **quarter** of a whole plate. It was discovered in the village of **Vajrayōginī**, P. S. Munsiganj, District Dacca. Vajrayōginī, in old days, must have been a part of the city of Vikramapura. It is unusually big in area, being a conglomeration of 28 hamlets, each with a separate name. Vajrayōginī contains a number of old temple sites, full of mouldering bricks. By the side of three large tanks in the village, there is a raised homestead site, still known as *Nāstika-paṇḍiter bhiṭā*, i.e. the atheist Pandit's homestead, which is fondly believed to have been the site of the homestead of the famous Buddhist scholar Dīpaṅkara. A large number of Buddhist and Brahmanical images including the famous silver image of Vishṇu, now in the Indian Museum[1], were discovered in different parts of the village. An image of Tārā of the late Gupta or early Pāla period[2] and another inscribed image of the same deity of a later date[3] discovered in this village are now in the Dacca Museum.

Sōmpāṛā is a hamlet of Vajrayōginī. There is an old tank in the hamlet from which several Buddhist images were recovered. The inscribed image of Tārā referred to above was one of them. On the southern side of the tank, there are mouldering ruins of an old temple, fragments of the basement walls of which are still standing. East of the ruins is a small tank by the side of the District Board road. This tank was reclaimed some years ago and the earth raised was thrown round the tank. The fragment of copper-plate under study was discovered by some boys on the north bank of this tank, about six inches below the surface of the soil. Priyanāth Banerji, a teacher of the local High School, obtained the fragment from the boys and presented it to the Dacca Museum.

The fragment is thick and fairly heavy. It measures $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Therefore, the copper-plate, when entire, must have measured approximately $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 9 inches. Both the obverse and the reverse of the fragment contain each 15 lines of writing.

The **characters** are Proto-Bengali of the 11th-12th century and closely resemble those of the Belāva plate of Bhōjavarman. As noted above, *r* shows distinct development from its form found in the plate of Śrīchandra and that of Harivarman edited above. The letters, which are

[1] See my *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 84, Pl. XXIX.

[2] See ibid., Intro. p. xxiv, and p. 56, Plate XX.

[3] Ibid., p. 57, Plate XXI.

deeply incised and well preserved, can be read without difficulty. The **language** is **Sanskrit**, the composition being in both verse and prose.

This inscription gives some interesting information, even though mutilated. It was issued from the same capital, **Vikramapura**, from which Harivarman's plate was issued. The stanza in lines 2-3 appears to speak of Jātavarman who is described as the leader (*prāgrahara*) among the Yādavas. The next stanza in lines 4-5 speaks of Harivarman who is said to have devastated his enemies. The following verse in lines 5 ff. seems to speak of the Kalachuri family as the *mātṛi-vaṁśa*, or mother's lineage, of Harivarman. This is followed by a verse describing a prince whose name is unfortunately lost, while the stanza beginning with the *aksharas saṅgrā* in line 9 seems to describe a fierce battle waged by a Varman king. The last stanza ending in line 14 might have contained a panegyric of **Sāmalavarman.**

In this connection, we have to take note of the Rewa stone inscription[1] of Karṇa, dated in the Kalachuri year 800 corresponding to 1048-49 A.D. Verse 23 of this record recounts one of the earliest exploits of Karṇa after his accession in 1041 A.D. It says that the ship of the king of the Eastern Country, being driven against the peaks of the mountains of his (Karṇa's) elephants, by the force of the tempest of arrogance, cracked and sank into the sea of his (Karṇa's) troops. Prof. Mirashi has rightly inferred[2] that this records the end of the Chandra line of kings of Vaṅga, where either Gōvindachandra or his successor came into violent conflict with the forces of Karṇa and lost his life. He conjectures that Vajravarman was put on the throne of Vikramapura and Karṇa's daughter Vīraśrī was given in marriage to his son Jātavarman to cement the alliance. I am inclined to think that it was Jātavarman, who seems to have rendered useful service to Karṇa, that was put on the throne.[3] His marriage probably led to his elevation and not *vice versa*. As this is the first victory recorded for the reign of Karṇa, it would not be unreasonable to put it soon after Karṇa's accession in 1041 A.D. The date of the fall of the Chandra dynasty and the installation of the Varman family in Vikramapura may thus be put about 1042 A.D. We have also to remember in this connection that Karṇa had at one time occupied part of Bengal south of the Ganges.[4]

It would appear from the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin (ch. II, verse 38) that, while Rāmapāla, having crossed the Ganges, invaded the Kaivarta kingdom from the west, Hari, his friend, invested it from the east. When Bhīma, the Kaivarta king, was defeated, Hari succeeded in capturing all his forces by his well-planned strategy. Rāmapāla gratefully appreciated the services of Hari and raised him to a position of great influence (cf. III, verse 32). This episode, has, in my opinion, been misunderstood by the editors of the V. R. S. edition of the *Rāmacharita*.[5] Hari has been taken to be a friend of Bhīma and the capture of Bhīma's forces by Hari as a second contest with Rāmapāla. It has to be noted here that we have epigraphic evidence of the investment of Varēndrī by the Vaṅgāla army about this period[6] and Hari is very probably Harivarman of Vaṅga.

It is rather strange that there is no reference to the ousting of the Varmans from Vaṅga in the inscriptions of the Sēna kings. This is an inexplicable gap in our knowledge of the history of East India of the period. Vijayasēna, in his Deopāṛā inscription, boasts of having conquered or

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff.

[2] Ibid., pp. 105-106.

[3] [Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 413 ff.—Ed.]

[4] *ARASI*. 1921-22, p. 80.

[5] See *Rāmacharita*, ed. R. C. Majumdar and others, Varendra Research Society, Rajshāhī, pp. xxx ff., 67. The author ignores the fact that Rāmapāla is represented in the *Śabdapradīpa* as the lord of Vaṅga. For the possession of that country by Harivarman, see *Ind. Cult.*, op. cit., pp. 412, 414.—Ed.]

[6] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 97 ff.

captured quite a number of kings and the issue of his Barrackpur grant in his 62nd year[1] from Vikramapura, the whilom capital of the Chandra and Varman kings, implies that Vaṅga also was included in his conquests.

In verse 21 of the Deopārā inscription[2] the following kings are said to have been imprisoned by Vijayasēna : 1. Nānya, king of Mithilā ; 2. Vīra, king of Kōṭāṭavī[3] ; 3. Vardhana, king of Kauśāmbī (the present 24 Parganas)[3]; and 4. Rāghava, identified with the king of Kaliṅga who ruled from 1156 to 1170 A.D. N. N. Vasu doubts this identification of Rāghava.[4]

As we hold that Vaṅga was snatched off from the Varmans and annexed by Vijayasēna,[5] can we seek a clue to the identification of this Rāghava in that quarter ? Here the mysterious and hitherto unexplained verse 14 of the Belāva plate[6] comes to our help. The difficulty in its proper interpretation lies in the last two expressions of the verse which have been read variously.[7] I am now inclined to read it as *śaṅkāsv=a-laṅk-ādhipaḥ* and translate the half verse as follows : " Oh, fie ! How painful ! The world is bereft of heroes today. Has this trouble of the Rākshasas appeared again ? May Alaṅkādhipa (i.e. opposite of Laṅkādhipa, Rāma or Rāghava) fare well during this apprehended danger ! "

We have to remember that Rāmapāla was living at this time, as he died so late as 1120 A.D. He was the Rāma who faced the first trouble with the Rākshasas (i.e. the Kaivarta usurpation of North Bengal) and his killing of Rāvaṇa in the form of the Kaivarta usurper and recovery of Sītā, that is Varēndrī, was a favourite theme with the poets of the period, an outstanding instance of which is the *Rāmacharita.* Though the Pālas during this period had lost complete control over Bengal, south of the Ganges, they still commanded respect as the past emperors of East India. Vijayasēna, newly risen to power in Rāḍha by his marriage with Vilāsadēvī, a daughter, if not the heiress, of the old Śūra line of Rāḍha, was eager to strike north and east and make himself the undisputed master of Bengal. He had already gathered together formidable forces and everybody in Bengal expected that sooner or later the blow would fall. But whether it would fall on the Varman kingdom east of the Bhāgīrathī or on the Pāla kingdom north of the Ganges, no one could guess. The Belāva plate granted land on the east bank of the Bhāgīrathī[8] and it appears to have been granted at this period of *śaṅkā* or apprehended danger. The poet Purushōttama in this half *ślōka* probably wanted to please both Rāmapāla and one Rāghava by *double entendre.* The favour and alliance of Rāmapāla of the old imperial line was sought against the formidable upstart Vijayasēna, while Rāghava, probably a scion of the Varman line, appears to have been the leader of the Varman kingdom of the period. He was the commander of the forces and the guardian of Bhōjavarman, the reigning Varman king. The meaning of the *ślōka* becomes quite clear, if we assume that the poet wanted to please Alaṅkādhipa, i.e. Rāma of the Pāla line as well

[1] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 278 ff. and Plate, where the date is read as 32. The figures may possibly represent 61. Vide *JASB*, 1921, p. 16, n. [For different readings of the date of this record see *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 210, n. 3 ; cf. above, p. 80.—Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff.

[3] [The identifications suggested are not beyond doubt.—Ed.]

[4] *Vanger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Rājanya-kāṇḍa, p. 308.

[5] [Cf. above, p. 80.—Ed.]

[6] Above, Vol. XII, p. 40, lines 22-23.

[7] Originally I read *śankāsv=a-labdhā dhiyaḥ* (*Dacca Review*, July 1912, p. 144). Then R. D. Banerji read *śankāsu labdhā*(?) *dhiyaḥ* (*JASB*, 1914, p. 127). R. G. Basak first read *śankāsv=alaṅk-ādhipah*, but subsequently changed the reading to *śankāsu lankādhipaḥ* (above, Vol. XII, p. 40). Basak's translation conveys no meaning and he recognises this fact. Sten Konow in an editorial note suggests that it is an exhortation to king Bhōja to engage on some expedition. N. G. Majumdar follows Basak's second reading (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 22), but is unable to arrive at any satisfactory meaning. However, it is undeniable that the passage hints at contemporary political happenings (cf. *adya*).

[8] *JRAS*, 1935, p. 83.

as Rāghava of the Varman side. We may here recall the statement in the third *ślōka* of the Belāva plate that Hari manifested himself in person many times in the Varman line. The first Hari was Kṛishṇa himself. The second Hari is Harivarman. The third Hari might be this Varman chief Rāghava who wielded all power during this period and whom it was necessary to eulogise in addition to the reigning king.

Vijayasēna began his invasion of the Varman kingdom by his attack on Kauśāmbī, modern 24 Parganas District,[1] and its king Gōvardhana, who might have been a *sāmanta* of the Varmans. This involved the Varman kingdom in a disastrous war. Rāmapāla, though eulogised by Purushōttama, the author of the Belāva epigraph, probably dared not interfere, exhausted as he was by his recent struggle with the Kaivartas. The Varmans went down finally and Rāghava, the leader of the Varmans, became a prisoner in the hands of Vijayasēna. Thus fell the Varman kingdom before the onslaught of Vijayasēna, and the apparent silence of the Deopāṛā inscription regarding this great political change in Bengal is thus explained.

The grant was issued by **Sāmalavarman,** son of Jātavarman of the **Varman** dynasty of Vaṅga. The donee was Bhīmadēva. The gift appears to have been made to the temple of Prajñāpāramitā and other deities, founded by him. The ruined temple site referred to above, from the vicinity of which this fragment was recovered, appears to be the temple mentioned in the record. It is interesting to note that Sāmalavarman makes this donation to a Buddhist shrine to please his patron deity Vishṇu.

I edit the inscription from the original fragment. The lost part of the propose portion in it could be easily supplied from the Belāva plate of Bhōjavarman.

TEXT

Obverse

1 ....[कवमनपायः(य)स्या]नु-

2 ....रिजातः स्वस्थोर्थिनां दोहददोह-

3 ....म्र्मा वर्म्माग्रणीः प्राग्रहरो यदूना-

4 ....दोर्वज्रजर्ज्जरितकृत्स्नविपक्षशैलः भू-

5 ....विभवो हरिवर्म्मदेवः ॥ कलचुरिकु-

6 ....श्रीरितिख्यातिभाजन(म्)। स खलु परिणिना-

7 ....वा मातृवंश्या [।*] विद्यायाम्त्रि(यां वि)नयः श्रुतादिव ज-

8 ....नृपतिस्तत्तस्यां स तस्मादभूत(त्)। यत्पादाग्र[परिग्र]-

9 ....[न्द्रि]काभिरभवन(न्) भूयोभिषिक्ता इव ॥ सङ्गा-

10 ....विकटोत्कटकोटिदंष्ट्रः । यद्वाङ्ग-

11 ....कवलैकमहाग्रहोभूत(त्)॥ पाणौ या

[1] R. D. Banerji and N. G. Majumdar hold that this Kauśāmbī is identical with Kusumbā in the Rājshāhī District. ignoring the impossibility of the Varmans holding land north of the Ganges, inside the Pāla kingdom (cf *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 19). [See above, p. 256, note 5.—Ed.]

12 ....वल्लीवलने प्रसादवचसि स्मेरे च ब-

13 ....यशो वासयन्नस्याश्चञ्चति मा बिरो-

14 ....[स खलु श्रीवि]क्रमपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्क[न्धावा]-

15 [रात् महाराजाधिराजश्रीजातवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यात]परमवैष्णवपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक-
महा[रा]-

Reverse

1 विनोध्यक्षप्रचारोक्ता[न् इहाकीर्त्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्र]-

2 करांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान(न्) ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान(न्) य[थार्हम्मानयति वो(बो)धयति
समादिशति च]

3 मतमस्तु भवताम(तां) यथोपरिलिखि[ता भूमिरियं स्वसीमावच्छिन्नतृणपूति]-

4 गोचरपर्य्यन्ता सतला सोद्देशा स[ाम्रपनसा सगुवाकनालिकेरा सल]-

5 वणा सजलस्थला सगर्त्तोषरा सद्य[दशापराधा परिहृतसर्व्वपीडा अचाट]-

6 भड(ट)प्रवेशा अकिञ्चित्प्रग्राय्या(ह्या) समस्त[राजभोगकरहिरण्यप्रत्यायसहिता]

7 कारकश्रीभीमदेवकारितसुरसि................

8 कश्रीप्रज्ञापारमिताभट्टारिका श्री...............[श्रीसा]-

9 मलवर्म्मदेवेन पुण्ये अहनि विधि[वदुदकपूर्व्वकं कृत्वा भगवन्तं वासुदेवभट्टा]-

10 रकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य[यशोभिवृद्धये आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं]

11 यावत(त्) भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन श्रीमत(द्)विष्णुच[क्रमुद्रया ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्ता-
स्माभिः ॥]

12 भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [।*] उ[भौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ
नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥]

13 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो व[ल्गयन्ति] पितामहाः [।*] [भूमिदाता कुले जातः स
नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥]

14 स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) [।*] स [विष्ठायां
क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥]

15 श्रीमत् सामलवर्म्मदेवपादीयसम्व(संव)[त्]............

No. 44—TWO GRANTS OF SAILODBHAVAS

(*2 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

My article entitled " Two Sailodbhava Grants from Banpur " has appeared in this journal.[1] I edited in it a copper-plate inscription of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja (*circa* 665-95 A.D.) and another of his son Mānabhīta Dharmarāja (*circa* 695-730 A.D.). In the following pages I am editing two other copper-plate grants of the family, one issued by Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa (*circa* 610-650 A.D.) and the other by his grandson Mānabhīta Dharmarāja. Both these records were published previously by Pandit Satyanarayana Rajaguru, the first recently in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. II, Nos. 3-4 (September 1953—January 1954), pp. 6 ff., and the second a few years ago in the now defunct *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, No. 1 (June 1947), pp. 65 ff. As Pandit Rajaguru's treatment of the records did not appear to me quite satisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plates which are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. At my request, the Superintendent of Research and Museums, Government of Orissa, kindly sent me on loan both the sets of copper plates for examination about the middle of 1954. My sincere thanks are due to him for his kindness.

A.—*Purushōttampur Plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, Regnal Year 13*

It is reported that the inscribed plates were dug out from the compound of the temple of Jagannātha at **Purushōttampur** in the Pūrvakhaṇḍa sub-division of the Ganjam District, Orissa. The inscription was acquired for the Orissa State Museum in 1952.

This is a set of three thin rectangular plates held together by a ring (2½ inches in diameter), the joint of which is soldered to the lower part of the circular seal. The plates measure 6 inches by 3¼ inches each. The hole for the ring to pass through, about the centre of the left border of the plates, is ½ inch in diameter. It was made in the plates apparently after the work of engraving had been completed although some space may have been left out for that purpose. The second plate is engraved on both the sides while the first and third bear writing on the inner side only. There are altogether 46 lines of writing on the four sides (12+12+13+9). The preservation of the plates is quite unsatisfactory. The writing on all the three plates is damaged here and there. A portion is broken away from a corner of the first plate resulting in the loss of the concluding letters of the last two lines of writing on it. The counter-sunk surface of the seal attached to the plates has the figure of a humped bull facing left. Below the bull is the legend *śrī-Sainyabhītasya* which has suffered considerably from corrosion. There is a floral design below the legend. The weight of the three plates is 21¼ *tolas* and that of the seal 12 *tolas*.

The **characters** in which the inscription is written resemble very closely those employed in the Puri plates[2] of the Śailōdbhava king who issued the present charter. A slightly more developed form of the same script is, however, noticed in the Buguda plates[3] of the said ruler. But this is satisfactorily explained by the fact that, in the case of the Buguda plates, the original inscription was beaten in and re-engraved on the same plates at a later date.[4] More important is the fact that the Ganjam[5] (Gupta year 300=619 A.D.) and Khurda[6] plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II

[1] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 32-43.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 122 ff. and Plates.
[3] Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 41 ff.; Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff. and Plates.
[4] Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 149 and note 4.
[5] Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.
[6] *JASB*, Vol. LXXIII, pp. 284 ff.

are written in the regular East Indian alphabet of the seventh century, which offers a slightly different and earlier look. This fact was sometimes coupled with another that, while in the prose introduction in the Ganjam and Khurda plates Mādhavarāja II (Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II) is described as the son of Ayaśōbhīta I and grandson of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja (Mādhavavarman I), the versified introduction in the Puri and Buguda plates and other later records of the family represents Ayaśōbhīta I (father of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa) as born in the family of Sainyabhīta I (Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman I). On the basis of these differences it was suggested by some writers[1] that a period of time must have intervened between the reigns of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II, issuer of the Ganjam and Khurda plates, and Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa. But the identity of the former with the latter was very clearly suggested by the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates[2] of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, which are written in the same style as the Buguda and Puri plates and other later records of the family, but are engraved in characters similar to those of the Ganjam and Khurda plates. The evidence of the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates, however, does not appear to have satisfied all writers on the subject[3] even though it received welcome support from the palaeography of the Nivina grant and Banpur plates of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja.[4]

The **language** and **orthography** of the inscription under review do not call for any special remark as the style is the same as in other documents of the king, which have the introductory part in verses. Indeed the stanzas contained in the present record are mostly also found in the Buguda, Cuttack (Orissa) Museum and Puri plates. The officials responsible for the preparation of the charter are the same as those of the Buguda and Puri plates although, as has been noticed above, the original writing of the Buguda inscription was beaten in and re-engraved on the same plates some years after its issue. Both the present record and the Puri plates were issued by the king in his 13th regnal year. The date of the Buguda plates also may have been the same year; but it seems to have been left out at the time of the re-engraving of the inscription at a later date.

The introductory part of the Ganjam plates, issued in the Gupta year 300=619 A.D. when the Śailōdbhava king Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II was a feudatory of the Gauḍa monarch Śaśāṅka, as well as of the Khurda plates (without date), issued after his assumption of independence, is couched in prose. But the other charters of the king including the present record, all issued at a later period, contain a versified introduction composed for the first time by one of the king's court poets. Most of the stanzas are not only common in the Buguda, Cuttack (Orissa) Museum and Puri plates and the inscription under study but many of them are also quoted in the charters of the successors of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa. Verses 1-11 of our record are the same as verses 1-2, 4-12 of the grant of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja while no less than nine of them are also quoted in the charter of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja, both of which have been edited by us above.[5] As we have shown in that connection, one of these stanzas (verse 11 of the present record) credits Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa with the performance of several sacrifices including the Aśvamēdha which must have been celebrated sometime after 619 A.D., when the Śailōdbhava ruler was still a feudatory, but before his thirteenth regnal year, the earliest date so far found in the records containing the said stanza and issued during his independent rule. There is no doubt that the Śailōdbhava king succeeded in throwing off the

[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 126-27; *JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 1-15. See also above, Vol. VII, p. 102, etc.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 ff.

[3] See *The Classical Age* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III), pp. 144 ff. For an explanation of Ayaśōbhīta I being represented as a son (probably an adopted son) of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman I in some records in prose and as a descendant in others in verse, see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 35 and note 2. See also the case of Kāmāṇḍi, above, Vol. XXIX, p. 45.

[4] See below, p. 269.

[5] See above, Vol. XXIX pp. 32 ff.

Gauḍa yoke before the thirteenth year of his reign, which must have fallen in the period 619-32 A.D., or, roughly speaking, about the close of the first quarter of the seventh century.

Verse 12 of our record, mentioning Kōṅgōda as the place whence the charter was issued, is also found in the Puri (verse 11) and Buguda (verse 12) plates, although the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates, issued from a locality called Mādhavapura, have it (verse 14) in a modified form.

Lines 32-34 speak of the king's subordinates and officials in Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala, who were addressed in respect of the grant of the village of Amva(mba)grāma, attached to Dēvagrāma-vishaya, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṭṭa* Nārāyaṇa (lines 34 ff.). In lines 40-44 some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted with the introduction *uktañ=cha Mānavē Dharma-śāstrē.* The last three lines (lines 44-46) contain two stanzas (actually one and a half, as the first half of the second verse is omitted through oversight), which are also found in the Buguda and Puri plates. This is followed by the date with which the charter ends. According to the concluding stanzas, the charter was written by Upēndrasiṁha, son of *Bhōgin* Kuṇḍa, endowed with a seal (*lāñchhita*) by Jayasiṁha, and engraved by *Bhōgin* Chhēḍḍi, while its executor (*dūtaka*) was Gaṅgabhadra employed in the post of *Pratihārin* or officer in charge of the palace gate (cf. *prātihāryē vyavasthitaḥ*). The same Upēndrasiṁha was also the writer of the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates which were heated (*tāpita*) by Jayasiṁha for the affixing of the seal. The Parikud plates[1] of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja (*circa* 665-95 A.D.), dated in the king's 26th regnal year, appear to have been *lāñchhita* by Jayasiṁha, there called *Pēṭāpāla* (keeper of the record-boxes), although the learned editor of the epigraph could not read the particular section of the inscription. The Nivina grant[2] of Dharmarāja (*circa* 695-730 A.D.), possibly dated in the king's ninth regnal year, was also *lāñchhita* by Jayasiṁha. As the intervening period between the 13th regnal year of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa and the 9th year of the reign of his grandson would cover about three quarters of a century, too long for the active period of a man's life, it is possible that Jayasiṁhà of the Parikud plates and Nivina grant was a different person, probably a grandson of his namesake mentioned in the Buguda, Puri and Purushōttampur plates.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of those found in the introductory part of the charter has already been discussed by us in connection with the Banpur plates. I am not quite sure about the identification of the village called Ambagrāma and the *vishaya* or district named Dēvagrāma stated to have been situated in the *maṇḍala* of Kōṅgōda.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : verses 1, 4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 11 *Sragdharā* ; verses 3, 6, 7, 9, 10 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 5, 13-17 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 8 *Indravajrā* ; verse 12 *Āryā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[4] Svasti [||*] Indōr=ddha(r=ddhau)ta-mṛiṇāla-tan[tu]bhir=ivā(va) ślī(śli)shṭāḥ karai-[ḥ*] kōma[lair]=va(r=ba)ddh-ā-

2 hēr=aruṇē(ṇaiḥ) sphurat-phaṇi-maṇi(ṇē)r=di[gdha]-p[r]abhāsō=[ṅśu(sō=ṁśu)bhi][ḥ |*] Pār-vvatyā[ḥ*] sa-kacha-gra-

3 ha-vyatikara-vyāvṛitta-va(ba)ndha-sla(śla)thā [Gaṁ]g-āmbhā(mbhaḥ)-pluti-[bhinna]-bhasma-kaṇikā[ḥ*] Śa[mbhō]-

[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 281-87.

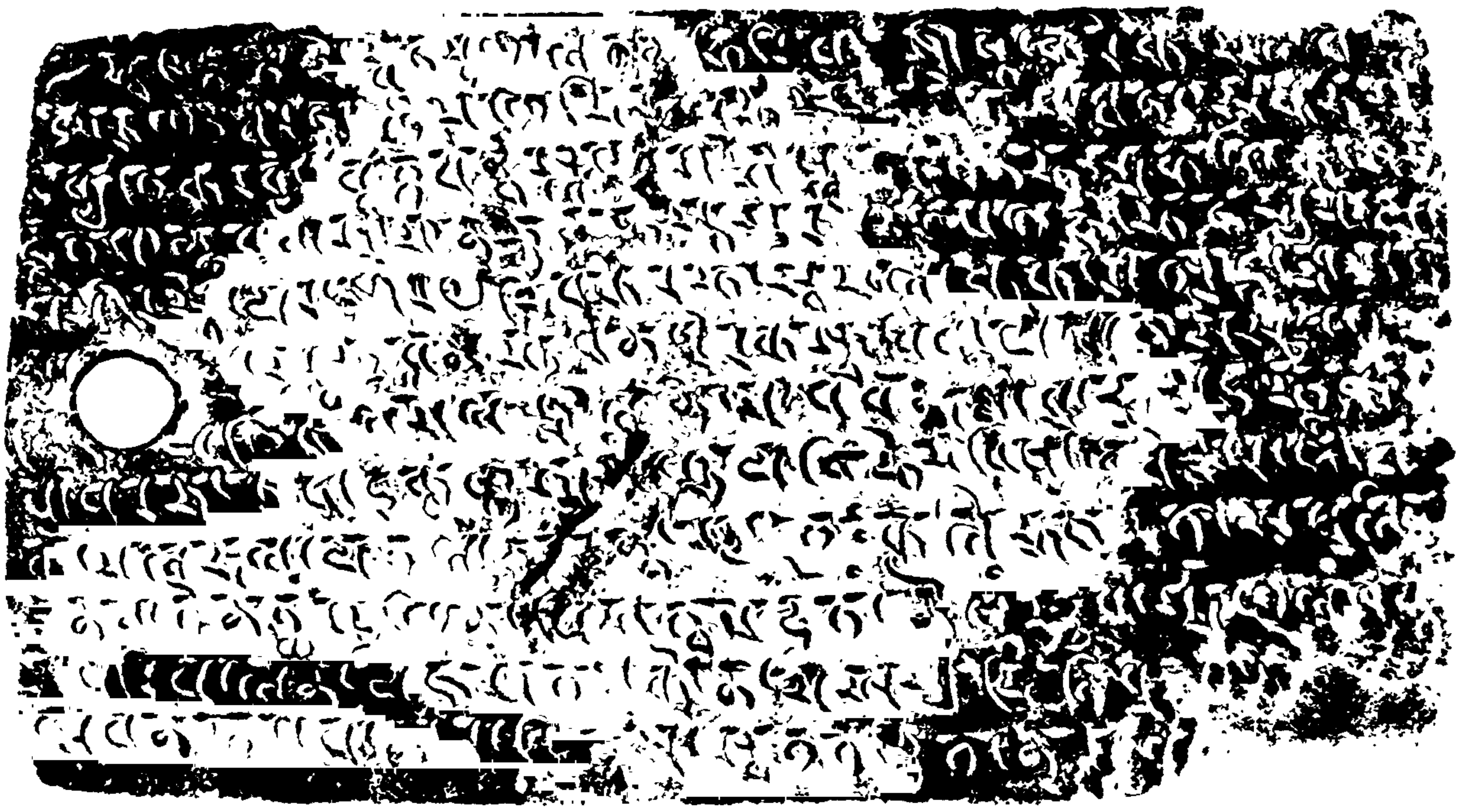
[2] Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 38 ff.

[3] From the original plates and impressions.

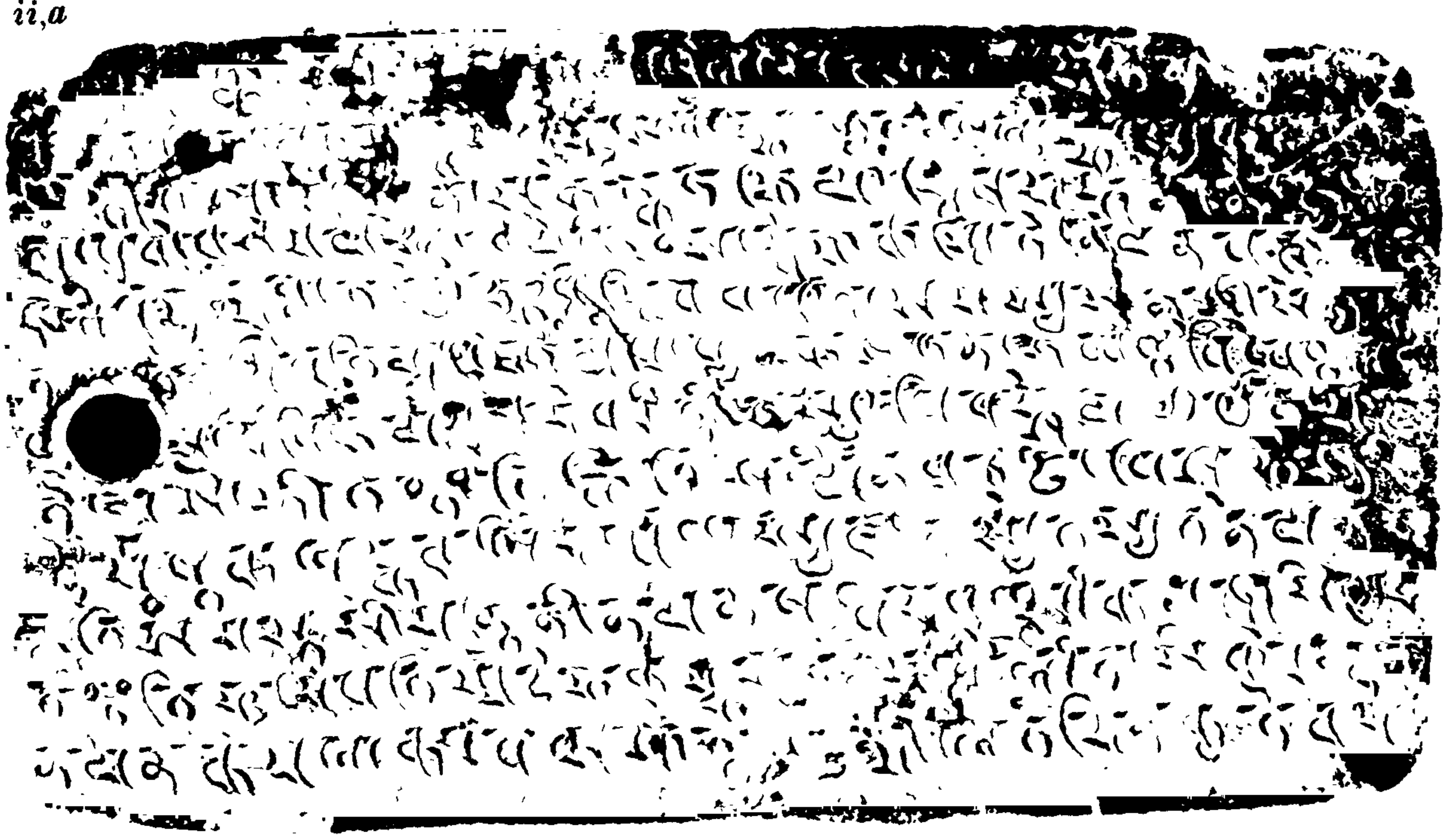
[4] Expressed by symbol.

Two Grants of Sailodbhavas—Plate I

A.—Purushottampur Plates of Sainyabhita Madhavavarman II Srinivasa, Regnal Year 13

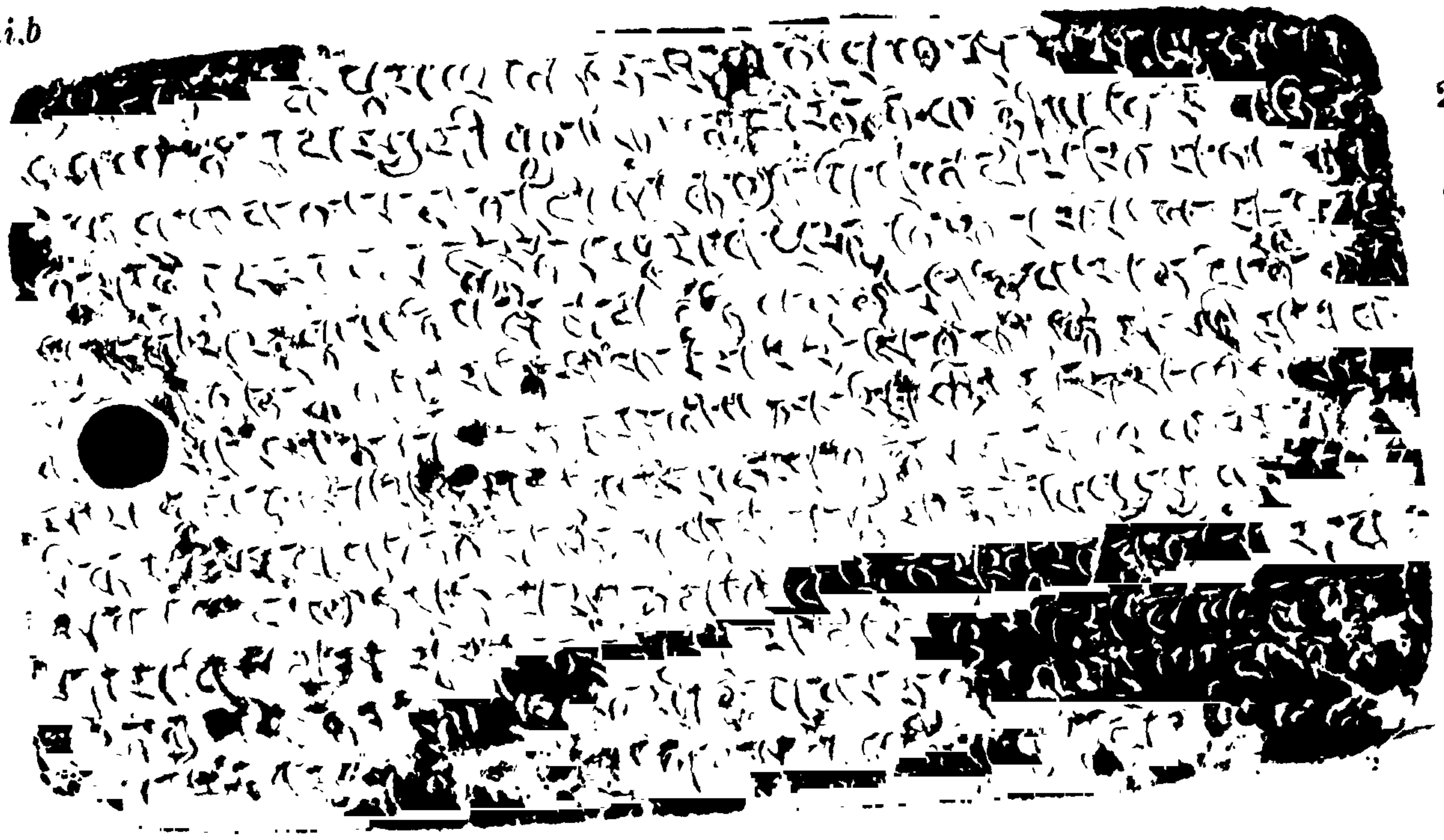


ii,a

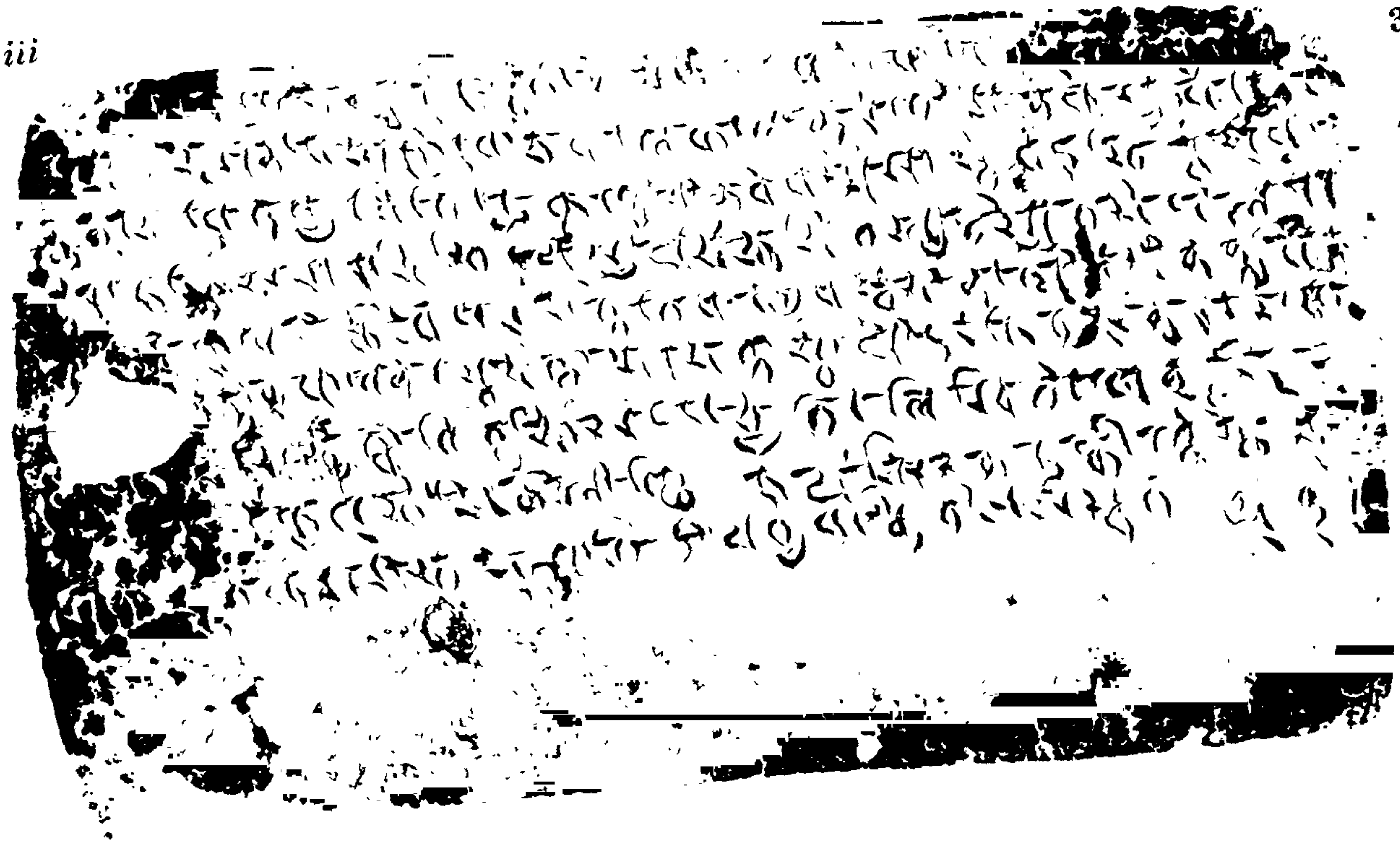


SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

ii.b



iii



4 r=jjaṭō(ṭāḥ) pāntu va[ḥ] || [1*] Śrīmān=[uchchai][r*]=nabhasta(stō) gurur=a[mara]-patē[ḥ*] kshōbhijadyamāyā[1]

5 gambhīras=tōya-rāśēr=atha diva[sa*]kara(rād) bhāsvada(d-ā)lōka-kārī [|*] āhlādī[2] [savva-(rvva)]-

6 sya [ch=ē]ndōs=tṛi(s=tri)bhuvana-bhu(bha)vana-[prē]rakaś=ch=āpi vāyō rājā sa Sthāṇu-[mū]-

7 rtti[r=jja]yati kala(li)-mala-kshālanō Mādhava(vē)ndraḥ || [2*] Prāṅśu(Prāṁśu)r=mmahēbhaka[ra]-

8 pīvara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[ḥ*] kṛishṇ-āśma-sañchaya-vibhēda-vishā(śā)la-vakshō(kshāḥ |) rājīva-

9 kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntā(ntaḥ) khyātaḥ Kaliṅga-janatāsu Puli[nda]-

10 sēna[ḥ] || [3*] Tēna(n=ē)tthaṁ guṇin=āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā n=ēshṭaṁ bhuvōr=mmaṇḍalaṁ [śaktō]

11 ya[ḥ*] paripālanāya jagataḥ kō nāma sa syād=iti [|*] pra[tyādishṭa-vibh-ū]-

12 tsavēna bhagavāṁ(vā)n=ārādhita[ḥ] sā(śā)śvata[s*]=tach-chit-ā(tt-ā)nuguṇaṁ [vidhitsur=a]-

Second Plate, First Side

13 [di]śad=vāñchhā[ṁ] Sva[yambhūr=api] || [4*] Sa śilā-sakal-ōdbhēdī tēn=[āpy=ālōkya]

14 [dhi(dhī)matā] [|*] [parika]lpita-[sa]d-vaṅśa(d-vaṁśaḥ) prabhu[ḥ*] Śailōdbha[va][ḥ*] kṛita-[ḥ] [|| 5*] Śailōdbhavasya [kulajō Ra]-

15 ṇabhīta āsīd=y[ē]n=ā[3]sakṛit=kṛita-bhiyā dvishad-aṅganānā[m |*] jyō[tsnā]-

16 [tsnā][4]-pravō(bō)dha-samayē svā(sva)-dhiyē(y=ai)va[5] sārddham=ākampitō nayana-pa[kshma]-pa[kshma]-[6]

17 jalēshu chandraḥ || [6*] Tasy=ādbha(bha)vad=vivu(bu)dha-pāla-samasya s[ū]nu[ḥ] śrī-Sainyabhī-

18 ta [i]ti bhu(bhū)mipati[r=gga]ri(rī)yāṁ(yān |) yaṁ prāpya naika-śata-nāga-ghaṭṭā(ṭā)-vighaṭṭa-la[vdha(bdha)]-

19 prasāda-vijayaṁ mum[u]dē dharittrī [|| 7*] Tasy=āpi vaṅśē[7] yathārtha-n[āmā jā]-

20 tō=yaśōbhīta iti kshiti(tī)śaḥ [|*] yēna prar[ū]ḍhō=pi śubhaiś=chari-

21 ttrair=mṛishṭa[ḥ*] kalaṅka[ḥ*] kali-darppaṇasya [|| 8*] Jāta[s]ya(s=sa) tasya tanayaka[8] [su]-

22 kṛiti(tī) samasta-sīmantinī-nayana-shaṭpada-puṇḍarīkaḥ | śrī-Sainyabhī-

23 ta iti bhu(bhū)mipatir=mmahēbha-ku[mbha-sthalī]-[dalana*]-[durlla]lī(li)t-āsi-dhāraḥ [|| 9*] [Jātē]-

24 na yēna kamal-ākaravat=sa(t=sva)-gō[ttram]=unmīlitaṁ dinakṛit=ēva ma-

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[1] Read *kshōbhajid=yaḥ kshamāyā°*.
[2] Read *hlādī* for the sake of the metre.
[3] The *akshara* looks somewhat like *nau* in the original.
[4] Omit this superfluous letter.
[5] There is a mark after this letter.
[6] The word *pakshma* has been unnecessarily duplicated.
[7] Read *vaṁśē=tha.*
[8] Read *tanayaḥ.*

Second Plate, Second Side

25 h-ōdayēna [|*] saṁkshipta-maṇḍala-ruchaśru(ś=cha) [ga]tā[ḥ*] praṇāśu(śa)m=**āśu dvishō gra-**

26 ha-gaṇā iva yasya dīptyā || [10*] Kā[lēyai]r=bhūtadhāttrī-|[1]pati[bhi*]r=upachit=[ā]-

27 nēka-p[ā]p-āvatāra(rair=)nītā yēshāṁ kath=āpi pralayam=abhimatā kī-

28 rtti-mā(pā)lair=ajasra[ṁ*] | [ya]jñais=tair=aśvamēdha-prabhṛitibhir=amarā **lambha(mbhi)**-tā[s*]=[tṛi]-

29 pti[m=u]rvvīm=u[d*]dṛipt-ārāti-paksha-kshaya-kṛiti-paṭunā **Śrīnivāsēna** yēna [|| 11*] **[Kōṅgō]-**

30 **da**-kṛita-nikēta[ḥ*] śa(śā)[ra]da-niśākara-mar[ī]ch[i]-sita-kīrtti[ḥ |*] sa śrī-**Mādhava-**

31 **varmm[ā]** ri[pu*]-[mā]na-vi[ghaṭṭa*]na-kuśalī || [12*] asmiṁ(smin) **[Kōṅgō]da-maṇḍala** śarē[2]-

32 sāma[nta]-ma[h]āsāmanta-ma[hā]rā[ja]-rājaputtra(ttr-ā)ntaraṅga-daṇḍapāsi(śi)k-[ōpa]-

33 rī(ri)ka-|[3][visha]yapati-tadāniyuktaka[4]-varttamāna-bhavishya-vyavahāri[ṇa][ḥ*]

34 sa-karaṇa(ṇān) yathārha[ṁ*] pu(pū)jaya[ti*] mānayati [cha*] viditam=astu bhavatāṁ(tām) || **Dēva-**

35 **grāma-vishaya**-samva(mba)ddhaḥ **Amva(mba)grāmō**=yaṁ chātu[ḥ*]-sīm-ōpalakshi-ta[ḥ] |[5]

36 [Mu]dgalya-sa[gō]ttra-Aṁkāśa-Bhamrāha-pravara[6]-Chchhandōga-[chara]ṇāya [Bha]ṭṭa-Nā-

37 [rā]ya[ṇā][ya*] data(ttaḥ) ma(a)[sma]t-mā(n-mā)[tā-pittrō]r=ātmana[ś=cha] puṇy-āva(bhi)-vṛiddhayē salila-dhā[rā]-

Third Plate

38 [puraḥ]sarēṇ=[ā-cha]ndr-ārkka-kshitī(ti)-sama-kālaṁ p[r]at[i]pāti(di)t[ō] ya[taś=cha tāmra]-

39 pa[ṭṭa]ka-darśanā[t*] dharma-gauravā[t*] cha kāl-āntarādha(d=a)pi na. kaiś=cha(ś=chit) pa[ripa]-

40 nthinā(bhiḥ) bhavitavyam=iti | uktañ=cha Mānavē Dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)hubhi[r=va]-sudhā [bhu]-

41 [ktā] rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya [yasya*] yadā bhu(bhū)mi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phala[m] |[| 13*]

42 Mā bh[ūd=a-pha]la-śaṅkā va[ḥ*] para-datt=ēti pārthiva(vāḥ |) sva-dānāt=pha[lam=ā]nantya-[ṁ*] pa[ra]-

43 [da]tt-ān[u]palanē |[| 14*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō harēti(ta) va[su]n[dh]a-rā[m |*] sa vi-

44 [shṭhāyāṁ kṛi]mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē |[| 15*] Likhit=Ōpēndras[iṁhē]-

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[1] This mark of punctuation is redundant.

[2] Read *śrī*.

[3] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[4] Better read *tanniyuktaka* or *tadvini°*.

[5] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[6] The intended reading seems to be *Maudgalya-sagōttr-Āṅgirasa-prav ara-Bhārmyāśv-ānupravara*.

45 na [tanayaḥ][1] Kuṇḍa-bhōginā(naḥ |) liñchhita[2] Jayasi[ṁhē]na utkīrṇṇa[3] Chchhē[ḍ]ḍi[4]-[bhō]-

46 gi[nā] [|| 16*] dūtaka(kō) Ga[ṁ*]gabhadra[s=tu*] [pr]āt[i]hāyē(ryē) vyavasthitaḥ · |[| 17*][5] **Samvata[6] 10 3** [||*]

B.—*Chaṇḍēśwar Plates of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja, Regnal Year 18*

This set of inscribed copper plates was discovered in 1936 from an old well in the village of **Chaṇḍēśwar** under the Tangi Police Station in the Puri District, Orissa. It originally consisted of three plates ; but the first plate, apparently containing inscription on one side only, is missing. Consequently the record is **fragmentary**. The ring, on which the plates were strung and to which the royal seal must have been affixed, is also lost. The two plates of the set, now extant, have the usual hole (½ inch in diameter) for the ring to pass through. They measure 6 inches by 3¼ inches each and together weigh 35½ *tolas*. The plates have writing on both obverse and reverse. There are altogether 41 lines of writing on the four sides (11+12+12+6).

The **palaeography, orthography** and **style** of the inscription do not call for any remark as they resemble those of the other published records of the Śailōdbhava king Mānabhīta Dharmarāja (*circa* 695-730 A.D.) who issued the present charter. But attention may be drawn in this connection to an interesting fact not so far noticed by scholars. We have seen how some of the epigraphs of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa were written in the normal East Indian alphabet of the seventh century and how some of them exhibit a slightly modified script prevalent in the same age in the southern areas of Orissa. The charters of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja can be similarly divided into two groups. While the Banpur plates[7] and Nivina grant[8] are written in the former alphabet, the Puri plates[9], the Kondedda grant[10] and the present charter are written in the latter script. Indeed it is interesting to note that the Puri, Kondedda and Chaṇḍēśwar records representing the second group of the charters of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja were all engraved by the same person who was rather careless in the performance of his work. The palaeography of the inscription under study is characterised by the imperfect formation of some signs (cf. many cases of the medial *u*), the same letter often written in different shapes (cf. *n* in *yēn=ā°* in line 1 and *'d-aṅganānām* in line 2), different letters (e.g. *p* and *m* in *°pāditō* in line 30 and *kamala* in line 34 respectively) often made almost undistinguishable from one another, use of several varieties of a sign like medial *ā* or *u*, etc. Another feature of palaeographical interest is that the date of the grant, viz. the regnal year 18, is written as *10 0 8*. This shows that the practices of writing numbers in symbols and figures were both prevalent in Orissa side by side in the age of the record. The twofold mistake in the present case is that ten was written by the symbol for 10 and a zero, instead of one and a zero, and that the zero was retained in spite of 8 occupying the place of the unit.[11]

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[1] Read *sutēna*. The intended reading may be *lēkhit=Ōpēndrasiṁhaś=cha tanayaḥ* as in the Puri, Buguda and Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates.

[2] Read *lāñchhitaṁ* or *lāñchhitā*.

[3] Read *ch=ōtkīrṇṇaṁ* or *ch=ōtkīrṇṇā*.

[4] The same name is found in the Puri plates as *Chchhaḍḍi*. In the Buguda plates, it was read as *Daḍḍi*.

[5] The first half of the stanza is omitted through over-sight. In the Puri plates, it reads : *samyag-ārādhita-svāmi-prasāda-śliṣṭa-mānasaḥ* which is also apparently the intended reading of the Buguda plates.

[6] Read *Saṁvat*.

[7] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 38-43. This important point was not discussed by me in connection with the palaeography of the Banpur plates (loc. cit., p. 39) through oversight.

[8] Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 38 ff. The learned editor of the Nivina grant has overlooked this interesting palaeographical feature of the inscription.

[9] *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.

[10] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 267 ff.

[11] Cf. ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 212.

The fragmentary inscription abruptly begins with part of a word in the second half of a stanza which is the same as verse 4 of the Banpur charter, issued by the same king and edited by us above.[1] This is followed in lines 1-21 by eleven other stanzas which are also identical with verses 5-10, 12-13 and 15-17 of the Banpur record. We see that verses 11 and 14 of the Banpur plates have been omitted in our record. It has also to be pointed out that the concluding portion has been left out in two of these stanzas which are the same as verses 15 and 17 of the Banpur inscription. These introductory stanzas have already been discussed by us in connection with the Banpur plates of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja and Mānabhīta Dharmarāja.

Lines 21-23 speak of the Śailōdbhava king **Dharmarāja** as issuing the order relating to the grant from the *vāsaka* (camp or residence) at Kōntalayi. He is described as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and as meditating on or favoured by the feet of his parents. The description of the king in this section contains the passage *aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-nirvartita* which may be taken to suggest that the king was a performer of the horse-sacrifice, although in the Banpur plates we have °*nirvartita-sūnōs=tanayaḥ* assigning the celebration of the Aśvamēdha clearly to his grandfather. As the introductory part of the Śailōdbhava records unanimously ascribes the celebration of the horse-sacrifice to Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, the passage in our record cannot be taken to signify that Dharmarāja performed another Aśvamēdha, especially in view of the fact that a similar passage also occurs in the Parikud plates[2] of his father Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. It seems that both Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja and Mānabhīta Dharmarāja took part in the Aśvamēdha performed by Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa and took the *avabhṛitha* bath in connection with the celebration of the sacrifice.

Lines 23-26 mention the king's subordinates, officials and subjects in **Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala**, to whom the royal order in regard to the grant recorded in the document was addressed. The gift village mentioned in lines 26-27 is **Śivādhivāsagrāma** which was situated in a *vishaya* or district, the name of which looks like **Kirātatalaka**. The first and third letters of the name are, however, doubtful. The village was granted as a free holding in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṭṭa* Śubhadēva (lines 26 ff.). The grant is stated to have been made on the occasion of an eclipse. As the date quoted at the end of the record is **Chaitra-badi 15**, the reference may be to a **solar eclipse**.[3] Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas have been quoted in lines 31-38. The names of the officials responsible for the preparation and execution of the document are given in lines 38-40. The *dūtaka* or executor of the grant was the *sachiva* Dharmachandra. The charter was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika Bhōgin* Sāmanta who is also known from the Puri and Banpur plates of the issuer of the present charter. It was *lāñchhita* by the *Pēṭāpāla* Jyēshṭhasiṁha who may have been a relation of Jayasiṁha mentioned in the earlier records of the king. The plates were engraved by Thaviravṛiddha, no doubt the same as Sthaviravṛiddha, engraver of the Puri plates and the Kondedda grant. The record ends with the date : **year 18, Chaitra-amāvāsyā**. The year seems to be written once at the end of line 40 although it was repeated in the last line (line 41).

Of the **geographical** names, the king's camp or residence at **Kōntalayi**, the gift village **Śivādhivāsa-grāma** and the district **Kirātatalaka** are known for the first time from the record under study. I am not sure about their identification. Kōntalayi may, however, be modern Kantalabāi[4] on the Chilkā near the Bhushandapur railway station.

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[1] See Vol. XXIX, pp. 38 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XI, p. 286 (text, lines 38-39).

[3] A solar eclipse occurred on the Amāvāsyā day of *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra in 702 and 705 A.D. If either of these was the date of the record under discussion, Mānabhīta Dharmarāja ascended the throne about 685 or 688 A.D. instead of 695 A.D. as given in our tentative chronology of the Śailōdbhava kings.

[4] Cf. P. Acharya, *Sambalapura-yātrā* (Oriya), p. 38.

TEXT[1]

Second[2] Plate, First Side

1 ṅśa[3] pra[bhu]ḥ Śailōdbhava[ḥ*] kṛitaḥ [|*][4] Sailōdbhavasya [kula]jō Raṇabhīta āsīd=y[ē]n=āsakṛit

2 kṛita-bhiyā[ṁ*] dviśa(sha)d-aṅganānāṁ(nām |) jyōtsnā-pravō(bō)dha-samayē sva-dhē(dhi)y=aiva [sārddham]=ākampitō naya-

3 na-pakshma-jalēshu chandraḥ [||*][5] Tasy=ābhavad-Vi[vu(bu)dha]pā[la-sa]masya s[ū]nu[ḥ*] śrī-Sainyabhīta iti

4 bh[ū]mipatir=ggari(rī)yāṁ(yān) | yaṁ prā[pya] naika-[śata]-nā[ga]-ghaṭā-vighaṭa(ṭṭa)-laddha(bdha)-prasāda[6]-vi-

5 jayaṁ mumudē dharittriḥ(trī ||)[5] Tasy=āpi va[ṁ*]gśē(śē)=[tha*] yathārtha-nāma(mā) jātā(tō)=yaśōbhīta iti kshiti(tī)śa[ḥ |*]

6 [yēna] pra[rū]ḍhō=pi śubhaiś=charittrai[r*]=mṛishṭa[ḥ*] kalaṅka[ḥ*] kali-darppaṇasyaḥ(sya ||)[7] Jātō=tha tasya ta-

7 [naya][ḥ*] sukṛiti(tī) samasta-sīmantinī-nayana-shadpa(ṭpa)da-puṇḍari(rī)ka[ḥ |*] śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhu(bhū)[mi]-

8 pati[r*]=mahēbha-kumbhasthalī-dalana-durlalī(li)t-āsi-dhārāḥ(raḥ |)[8] Kālēyair=bhūtadhāttri(trī)-patibhī(bhi)-

9 r=upachitā naika-pāp āvatārai[r*]=ni(nī)tā yēshāṁ kath=āpi pralayam=abhimatā kīrttigā(pā)-lair=aja

10 śraṁ(sram |) [ya]jñais=tair=aśvamēdha-prabhṛitibhir=amarā lambhitās=tṛiptim=urvvi(rvvī)m=udri(ddṛi)pt-ārāti-paksha-ksha[ya]-

11 kṛiti-pu(pa)ṭunā Śrīnivāsēna yōna |[|*][8] Tasy=ōtkhāt-ākhil-ārēr=mmarud=iva janan-ō[d*] bhā[9]-

Second Plate, Second Side

12 svad-ushṇāṅśu(shṇāṁśu)=tējā[ḥ*] śu(śū)rā(rō) mānī dayālur=ṇṇa(r=na)rapati[r=A*]yas[ō]-bhītadēvas=tanu(nū)ja[ḥ*] | tmā(mā)taṅgān=yō=ti[tuṅgān=va(n=ba)]-

13 hala-mada-muchaś=chāru-va[10]ktrā[n*] prachaṇḍā[n*] vaddh[11]=ā-karshaty=akhina[12] punar=api tayatē[13] yatnata[ḥ*][13] sa-pragal[bha][ḥ[13] |*][14] Ta-

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] The first plate of the inscription is lost.

[3] This is the last *akshara* of the expression that would correctly read *parikalpita-sadvaṁśaḥ*. See verse 4 in lines 7-8 of the Banpur plates of Dharmarāja (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 41).

[4] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[5] Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.

[6] The top *mātrā* of an unengraved letter is noticed in the space between *pra* and *sā*.

[7] Metre : *Indravajrā*.

[8] Metre : *Sragdharā*.

[9] Some records of the family have *janit-ō°*.

[10] *Vaṁ* was originally engraved.

[11] Read *baddhv=ā°*.

[12] Read *°khinnaḥ*.

[13] See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 37, note 4.

[14] Metre : *Sragdharā*.

14 sy=ābhavat=sa[ka*]la-śi(śa)stra-viśēsa(sha)-va(vē)di(dī) śī(śrī)-**Dharmmarājadēva** iti[1] su-(sū)nur=adh[ī]ta-śāstraḥ [|*] yasy=āti-nirmma-

15 la-yaśa[ḥ*] parivarddhamāna[ṁ*] pādā Harēr=iva na māi(yi)tam=ā ttrilōkyā[ḥ[2] ||*][3] Nirāśrayai[ḥ*] prayatna(tnē)na guṇai[ḥ*]

16 sa parivāritaḥ [|*] vaimukhyād=īrshayā ch=aiva sarvva-dō[4]shair=vvivarjja(rjji)taḥ [||*][5] Rājyaṁ laddha(bdhv=ai)va darppād=avi-

17 gaṇita-ta[yō] Mādhava(vō) jē(jyē)shṭha-bhāvāḥ(vān) tēshād=asmād=apāttraṁ[6] kṛita-vishaya-(ma)-mati|(tir=)vigrahē Phā-

18 sikāṁ(kā)yāṁ(yām |) yuddha-kshōbhē[ṇa] bhagnaḥ(gnō) nṛipati-pa(va)ram=avaśauḥ[7] sa[ṁ*]-śrī(śri)tas=Ti(s=Tī)var-ākhyaṁ(khyam) [|*][8] Śauya(ryaṁ) śrī-

19 yō(r=yau)vanaṁ rājyam=ēk-aikaṁ [pa(ma)da]-ka(kā)rakaṁ(kam) | sarvva[ṁ*] śrī-**Mānabhītasya** [nirvvi]kāram=upasthitaṁ|(tam ||)[9] Turaga-khu-

20 r-ābhighāta-vidala[d*]-dharaṇi(ṇī)-talajaṁ [ja*]ya-gaja-[karṇa*]-chāmara-vidhu(dhū)nana-visphuri[tam |*] subhaṭa-[phara*]-prarpparasa[10]-ni-

21 rudha(ddha)-ka[ku*][d-ga][11] **Kōntalayi-vāsakāt** śrī-**Śailōdbhava**-kula-tilakō mahāmakha-vājapa(pē)y-āśva-

22 mēdh-āvabhṛi[tha]-snāna-nirvvar[ttita][12]-prakh[y*]āta-kīrti-krama-paramama(mā)hēśvarā(rō) mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta[ḥ*] śva(śrī)-

23 **Dha[rmmarājē(ja)dē]va[ḥ*]** kuśalī a[smiṁ(smin)] **Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalē** śrīsāmanta-maha-(hā)sāmanta-mahārāja-rājana-

Third Plate, First Side

24 [ka-rā]japutr-ā[ṁ*]taraṁ(ra)ṅga-daṇḍanānāyaka[13]-daṇḍapāsi(śi)k-ōparika-[sta(ta)dvi]niyukta-[ka]-vyavahā-

25 riṇa[ḥ*] sa-karaṇāṁ(ṇān) Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-purōg-ādi-janapadāñ=cha(dāṁś=cha) śchā(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jāti(tī)yāṁ(yān)

26 yathārha[ṁ*] pū[ja]yaty=ājñāpayati cha viditam=astu bhavatā[m*] [|*] **[Ki]rā[ta]**[14]-**talaka**-vishaya-sa-

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[1] *Tā* was originally engraved. Read *°rāja iti* for the sake of the metre.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 42, note 3.

[3] Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.

[4] *Dī* was originally engraved.

[5] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[6] Read *dēśād=asmād=apāstuṁ* as in other records. The expression *jyēshṭha-bhāvān avigaṇita-tayaḥ* means to say, that, in the matter of protecting Dharmarāja, Mādhava did not consider that he was the former's elder brother.

[7] Read *°asau*.

[8] The last foot of the stanza (*paśchāt=tēn=āpi sārddhaṁ punar=api vijitō Vindhya-pādēshu jīrṇṇaḥ*) has been left out. Metre : *Sragdharā*.

[9] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[10] Read *prasarppaṇa*.

[11] The rest of the stanza (*°ganaṁ bala-raja ēva yasya jayati dvishatāṁ dhvajinīm*) has been left out.

[12] The Banpur plates have here *nirvartita-sūnōs=tanayō*, with a few other passages standing between this and *parama-māhēśvarō*. It has to be noticed that the language of the Banpur plates would suggest that not Dharmarāja but his grandfather was the performer of the Aśvamēdha and this is supported by the records of the latter (cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 39).

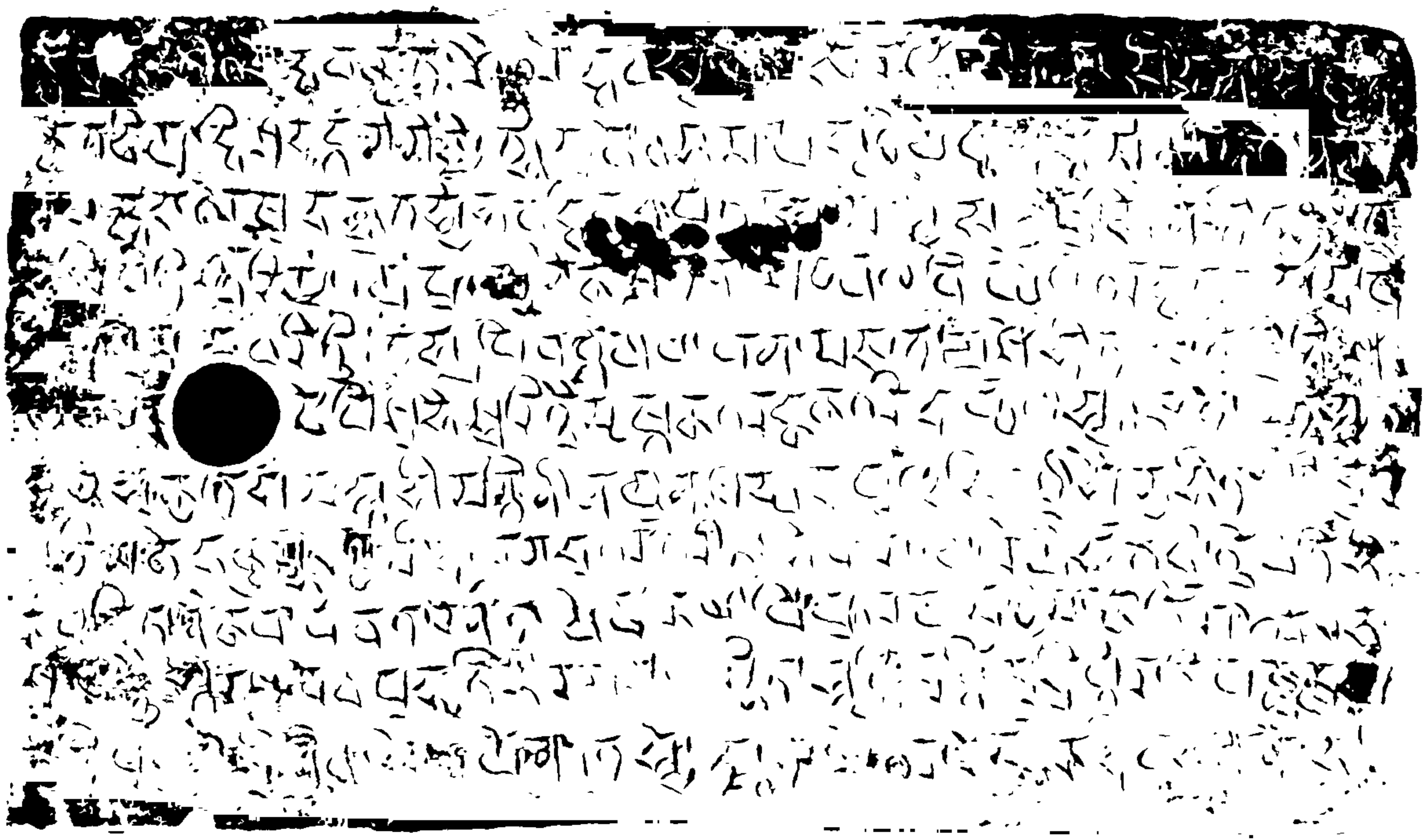
[13] Read *°nāyaka*.

[14] The letters in square brackets are not properly formed.

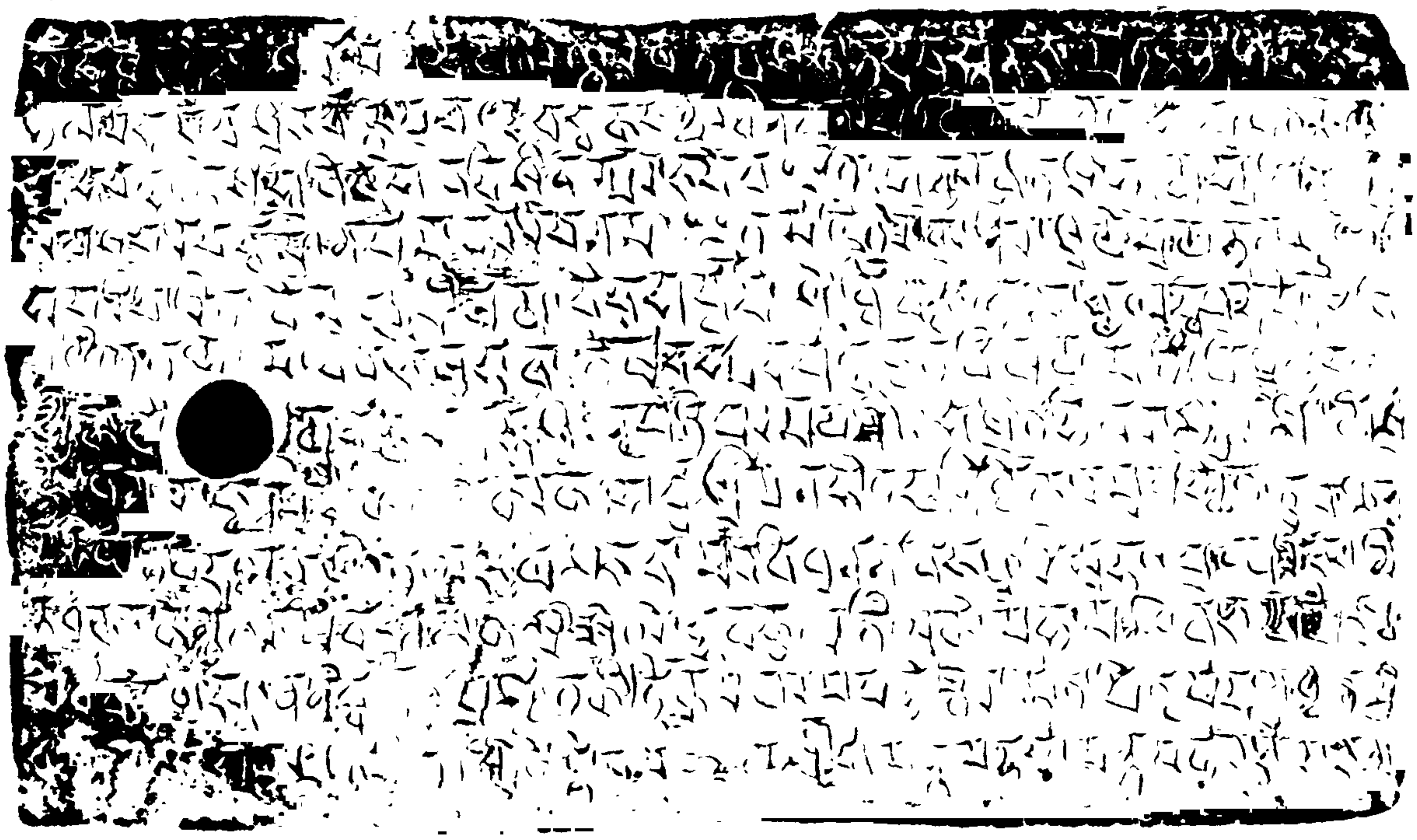
TWO GRANTS OF SAILODBHAVAS—PLATE II

B.—CHANDESWAR PLATES OF MANABHITA DHARMARAJA, REGNAL YEAR 18

ii,a

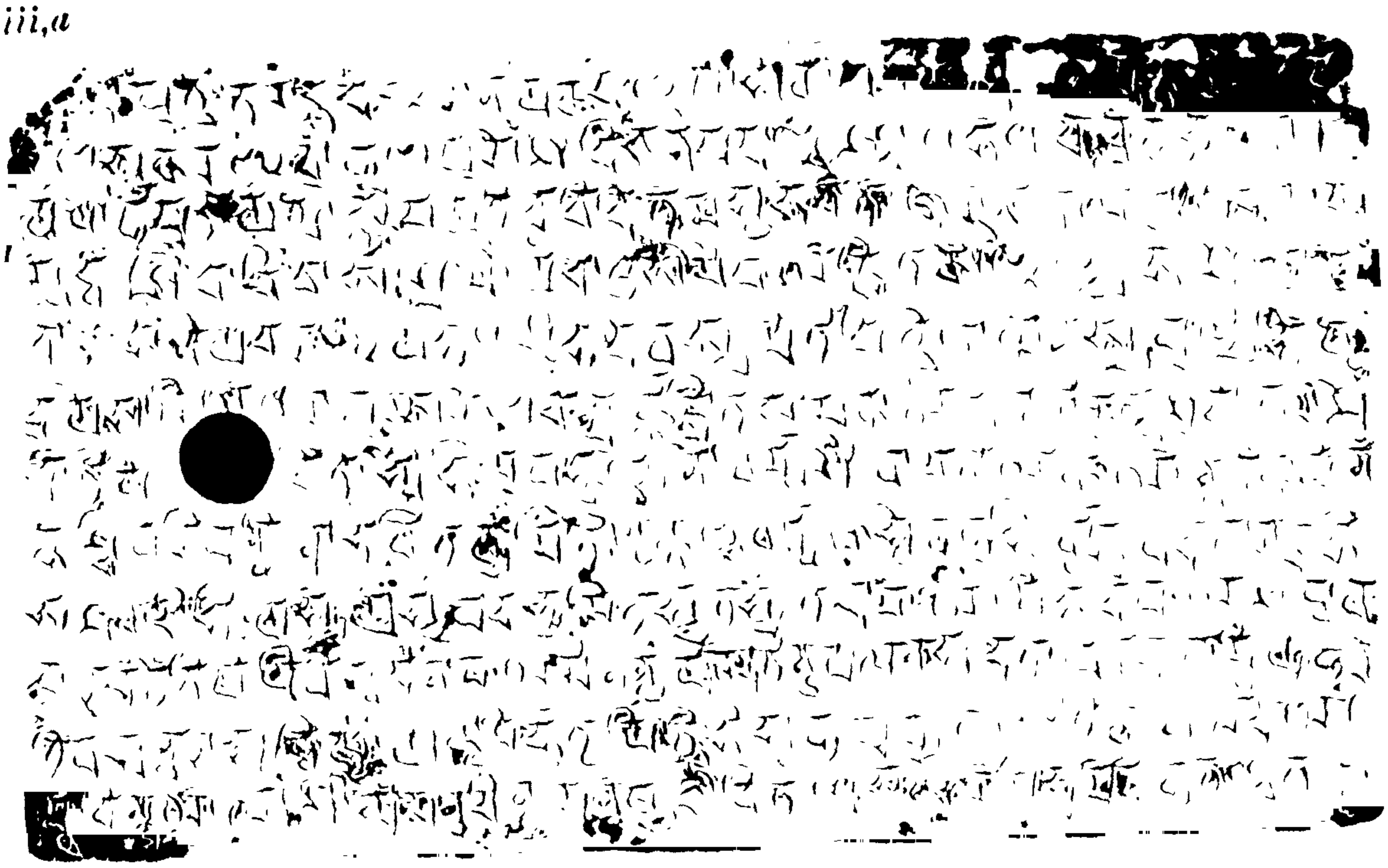


ii,b

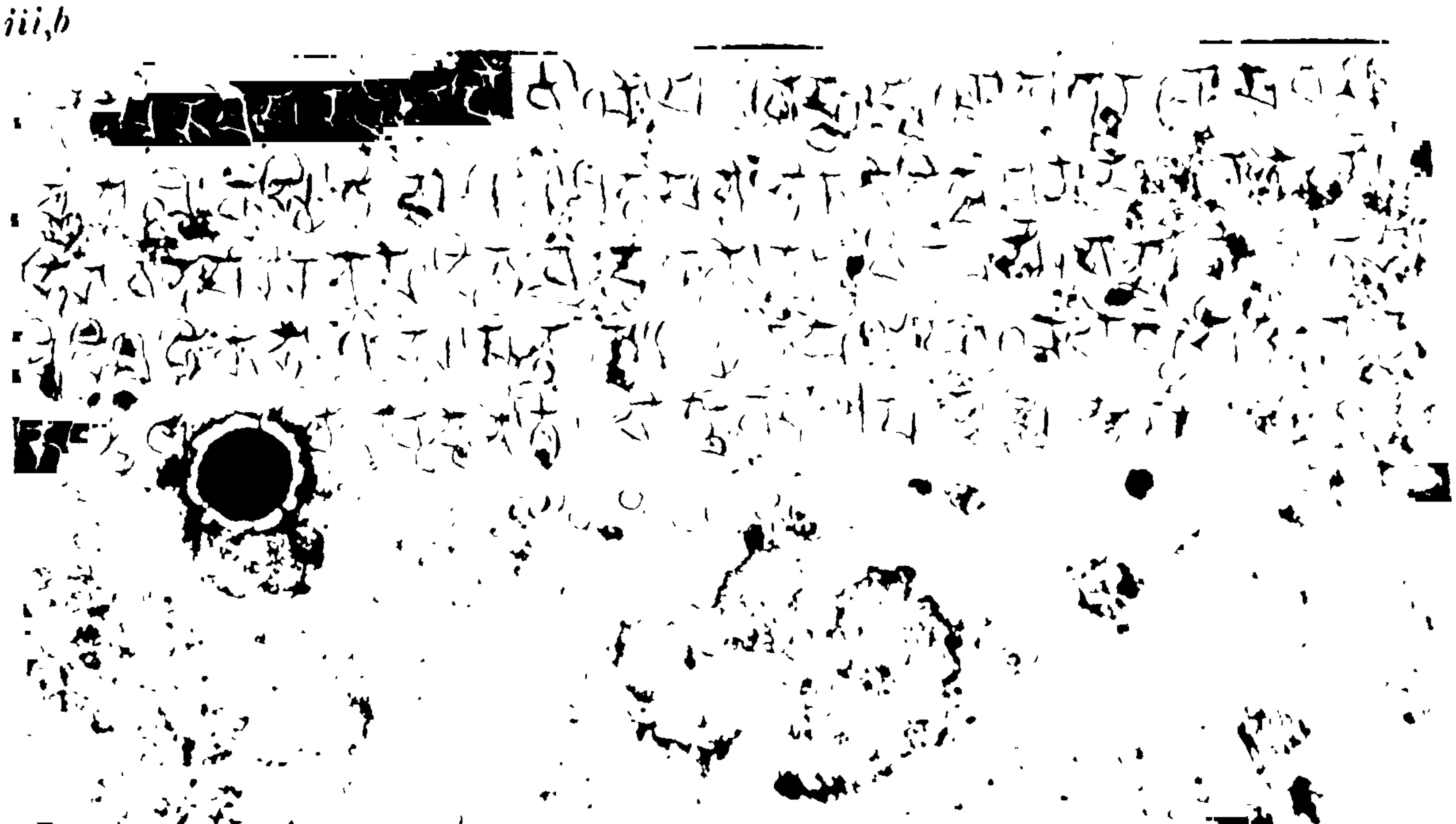


SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

iii,a



iii,b



27 **mva(mba)ddha-Śivā[dhī]vāsa-grāmō=yaṁ** chatu[ḥ*]-sīm-ō[pa]lakshita[ḥ*] Kauṇḍiṇya(nya)-**sagōttrāya**

28 Vā[ja]sanēya-charaṇāya Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-Śubhadēvasya(vāya) mātā-pittrōr=ātmanasya(ś=cha) puṇy-ābhivṛi-

29 ddhayē salila-[dhā]rā-pura[ḥ*]sarēṇa chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālam=akari(rī)kṛitya grah-ōparāgē

30 pratipāditō=smābhiḥ [|*] mu(u)pabhuñjānō[1] dharmma-gau[ra*]vāya kāl-āntarēn=ā(ṇ=ā)-pi na

31 kaśchi[2] paripanthinā bhavitavyam=iti | [u]ktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā datā(ttā) rājabhi[ḥ*]

32 Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yada(dā) bh[ū]mi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) |[|*][3] Mā bhu(bhū)d=a-phala-śaṅkā va[ḥ*]

33 para-datā(tt=ē)ti pārthiva(vāḥ |) sva-dānā[t*] phalam=ānantyaṁ [pa]ra-datā(tt-ā)nupālana-(nē ||) Sva-datā(ttāṁ) para-datām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō harē-

34 ti(ta) vasundharā[m |*] su(sva)-vishṭhā[4]ya(yāṁ) kṛimir=bhutri(r=bhūtvā) pittri(tṛi)bhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē |[|*] Iti kamala-dal-ā-

35 mva(mbu)-vinda(ndu)-lōlāṁ śrī(śri)yam=anuchintya man[u]shya-jīvitaṁ(ta)ñ=cha [|*] saka-lam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vuddhā(buddhvā)

Third Plate, Second Side

36 na hi purushai[ḥ*] para-kīrttayō vī(vi)lōpyāḥ [||*][5] Vi[dyu]d-vilāsa-taralām=avaga-

37 m[ya] sa[myag*] lōka-sthitiḥ(tiṁ) [ya]śasī(si) śa(sa)kta-manōbhir=u[6]chai(chchaiḥ |) [n]ityam par-ō[pakṛiti*]-mātra-ratai[r=bhavadbhir*]=dharm-[ā]-

38 bhirādhana-parair=anumōditavyaṁḥ(vyam ||)[7] dūtta(ta)kō=ttra [sa]chi[va]-Dharmmachandra-[ḥ |*] likhitaṁ [sā]-

39 ndhivigrahikaṁ(ka)-bhōgī(gi)-Sāmanta(ntēna |)[8] lāñchhitaṁ pēṭāpāla-Jē(Jyē)shṭhasiṁhē-(siṁhē)na [|*] u-

40 tki(tkī)rṇṇaṁ [Tha]viravṛiddhēn[9]=eti | **Chai[ttra][10]-vadi** [amvāmvāsyī svasvandhā[11] **10 0 8**][12]

41 | 10 0 8[13] |

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[1] Read *bhuñjatō.*

[2] Read *kēnachit.*

[3] The metre of this and the following two stanzas is *Anushṭubh.*

[4] These two *aksharas* are incised on other letters previously engraved.

[5] Metre : *Pushpitāgrā.*

[6] There is an unnecessary medial *ē* mark above *ru.*

[7] Metre : *Vasantatilaka.* The *visarga* at the end of the stanza may have been intended for a full-stop.

[8] This person is mentioned in the Banpur plates of Dharmarāja (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 43 ,text, line 53).

[9] The name is given in the Puri plates (line 61) and Kondedda grant (line 61) of Dharmarāja as Sthaviravṛiddha (*JBORS*, Vol. XVI, p. 182 ; above, Vol. XIX, p. 270). The same name also occurs in lines 58-59 of the Parikud plates (above, Vol. XI, p. 287). The editor of that inscription, however, could not read it properly.

[10] The letter *ttra* seems to be engraved on another *akshara* incised originally.

[11] These letters are re-engraved on some others previously incised. Read *amāvāsyā*(or °*vāsī*) *Saṁvat.*

[12] These indistinct marks may have been erased by the engraver who incised the same signs in the following line.

[13] The intended reading is apparently *10 8*, i.e. *18.*

No. 45—TERASINGHA PLATES OF TUSHTIKARA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The village of **Terāsiṅghā** (sometimes also called Tersinga) lies on the southern bank of the river Tel in the Madanpur-Rampur Zamindary of the old Kalahandi State, the present Kalahandi District of Orissa. The set of copper plates, which forms the subject of the present article, was discovered near the bank of the Tel by some cowherd boys of Terāsiṅghā in the latter half of the year 1947. The plates are now in the possession of the Maharaja of Kalahandi.

Mr. Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru secured the plates for examination in October 1947 and published his reading and interpretation of the inscription in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, Nos. 2-3, 1947, pp. 107 ff. and Plates. Unfortunately Mr. Rājaguru's treatment of the epigraph is not quite satisfactory. In April 1948, the office of the Government Epigraphist for India received a set of impressions of the plates from Mr. K. N. Mahāpātra of Kalahandi and, in the month of December of the same year, secured the original plates for examination through the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, Calcutta. Besides the excellent impressions of the plates then prepared and now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I had, in 1952, an opportunity of examining also the original record through the kindness of the Maharaja of Kalahandi.

This is a set of **three** small and thin plates each measuring 5.9 inches by 1.6 inches. The plates are strung together on a rather thin ring to which, however, the seal is not soldered in the usual fashion. The purpose of the **seal** has been served by flattening a portion of the ring into a small rectangle which bears the legend *śrī-Tushṭikāraḥ*. The three plates together weigh 12¼ *tolas* while the weight of the ring is only 1½ *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Kaliṅga variety of the Southern Alphabet and the epigraph may be assigned, on palaeographic grounds, to the first half of the **sixth century A.D.** The alphabet resembles closely that of the early charters of the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅganagara and Dantapura such, e.g. as the Jirjingi plates[1] of king Indravarman I, dated in the Gaṅga year 39 falling in 535-37 A. D. An interesting feature of the record is that the main document (fifteen lines) is engraved on the inner side of the first plate, both sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate, while there are some slightly later additions on the outer sides of the first and third plates as well as at the end of the original charter on the inner side of the last plate. The characters of the additional writing on the third plate closely resemble those of the original document; but the lines on the outer side of the first plate, which represent a complete endorsement in four lines, are written in box-headed characters which exhibit utter carelessness on the part of the scribe and engraver. The **language** of the original document as well as of the additional matter is Sanskrit; but while the number of mistakes in the former is not many, the latter is full of errors. In point of **orthography**, the original charter resembles other records of the Eastern Deccan belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries. The inscription bears **no date**.

The main charter was issued from **Tarabhramaraka** by *Mahārāja* **Tushṭikāra,** who was a devotee of Stambhēśvarī. It records the king's order addressed to the agriculturist householders of Prastara-vāṭaka relating to the grant of the said *vāṭaka* (literally, 'an enclosure', 'a garden' or 'a plantation', but in the present case possibly 'a small hamlet') as a permanent *agrahāra* in favour of a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, named Ārya-Drōṇaśarman. The inhabitants of

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[1] *JAHRS*, Vol. III, p. 51 and Plates; Vol. VII, 229. The characters of the record under study appear to be earlier than those of the Urlam plates of Hastivarman, dated Gaṅga year 80 (576-78 A.D). See above, Vol. XVII, pp. 330 ff. and Plates.

Prastara-vāṭaka were ordered to attend on the donee according to the established custom. The record next quotes seven of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The above is followed by the statement that the charter was written by Sadgāmaka with the cognisance of *Rāhasika* Subandhu. The official designation *rāhasika* is no doubt the same as *rahasyādhikṛita* of the Hirahadagalli plates[1] of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. Subandhu was apparently the privy-councillor of *Mahārāja* Tushṭikāra.

At the end of the above charter, two expressions were later added. The intended reading of these appears to be *śūnya-kshētram prastara-kshētra-pramukham.* It purports to include a piece of land, which was fallow and mainly rocky, in the *agrahāra* of Prastara-vāṭaka granted by *Mahārāja* Tushṭikāra in favour of the Brāhmaṇa, Ārya-Drōṇaśarman. But whether it was a genuine endorsement made by the royal authority sometime after the original grant had been made is difficult to determine. The errors that are noticed in the expressions may suggest that this addition was made, not long after the date of the grant, by the donee or his successors.

A more important endorsement is found engraved on the outer side of the first plate. It is interesting to note that the incision of the same was at first begun on the outer side of the third plate but was given up after engraving only one line, the letters of the line being erased. It may be supposed that the intention was to incise the endorsement on the outer side of the first plate in an earlier script so that the original document might be regarded as its continuation engraved at a later date. The facts that it was engraved at the beginning of the main document in the box-headed script, perhaps to give it an earlier look, and that it exhibits numerous errors in both drafting and engraving may suggest that the endorsement is a forgery. Since, however, the box-headed alphabet was used in the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kosala (i.e. the Sambalpur-Bilaspur-Raipur region) in the sixth and seventh centuries, it seems better to suggest that the person responsible for the forgery had some reason to associate that alphabet with the donor of the grant recorded in the endorsement. It is thus possible to think that the endorsement was intended to be written in the box-headed script just to give it a special look but not an earlier one.

The endorsement purports to state that it was issued from **Parvatadvāraka** by the mother of a king who was devoted to the goddess Stambhēśvarī and to record the grant of a piece of land which was under the possession of certain persons as a permanent holding in favour of a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra,* named Drōṇasvāmin. There is little doubt that this Drōṇasvāmin is no other than Drōṇaśarman, donee of Tushṭikāra's charter discussed above. The fact that the original grant was issued from Tarabhramaraka but was endorsed at Parvatadvāraka may be taken to suggest that the grant recorded in the latter was sought to be attributed to the ruler of a territory adjacent to Tushṭikāra's kingdom. But the reference to the goddess Stambhēśvarī both in the original grant as well as the endorsement may suggest that the latter was purported to be issued in favour of the donee of Tushṭikāra's grant by another member of that king's family whose tutelary deity was Stambhēśvarī. The representation of the queen-mother as the donor of the grant may indicate that the king was a minor and that his mother was running the administration as regent. It is tempting to suggest that the young king mentioned in the endorsement was the minor son of Tushṭikāra himself. In that case we have to assume that Parvatadvāraka was a secondary capital of Tushṭikāra's kingdom. The use of the box-headed alphabet in this part of the record may then be explained by the suggestion that it was popular in the dominions of the queen-mother's father. Unfortunately, owing to the careless engraving of the endorsement, the names of the king and the queen-mother cannot be satisfactorily made out. The name of the latter, given in the third case-ending, seems to read *Kasthubhasayya* which may

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 7; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 441; cf. also the Rithapur grant (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.) and Kesaribeda plates (ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 16-17).

be a mistake for *Kaustubhēśvaryā*. The queen-mother's name may thus have been Kaustubhēśvarī. But the king's name is more indifferently written and looks like *Sōbhōṅnā*- or *Sōbhīṅnā rāja* which, however, may not be its correct from.

The goddess Stambhēśvarī is known to have been the family deity of the Śulkīs who ruled over the Dhenkanal area of Orissa about the tenth century A.D.[1] If the Śulkīs have to be identified with the Śūlikas mentioned in the Haraha inscription,[2] they were probably ruling in Orissa as early as the sixth century A. D. But we do not know if any relation existed between the Śulkīs and Tushṭikāra's family. The aboriginal people of Orissa worship wooden pillars posted at the corner of their villages. This aboriginal deity was gradually adopted by the orthodox Hindus who gave her the name Stambhēśvarī (now usually called Khambēśvarī). There are a few temples of this goddess in differnt parts of Orissa.[3]

Tushṭikāra and Sōbhōṅnā or Sōbhīṅnā are not known from any other source. Their territory apparently comprised the district round the cities of Tarabhramaraka and Parvvatadvāraka in the present Kalahandi region of Orissa. The fact that the gift land has been mentioned in the document without any specification regarding its location in a district may suggest that Tushṭikāra ruled over a small area.

It is difficult to determine what relations the royal family represented by Tushṭikāra and Sōbhōṅnā or Sōbhīṅnā had with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king of South Kosala. We cannot possibly think that Tushṭikāra's family owed allegiance to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs but began to rule semi-independently on the latter's decline. There is no influence of Pāṇḍuvaṁśī charters on the style of Tushṭikāra's grant. Moreover the decline of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs appears to have been brought about by the expedition against South Kosala led by the early Chālukya king Pulakēśin II (*circa* 610-42 A.D.) of Badami, some time before 634 A.D., probably during the reign of Śivagupta (or Mahāśivagupta) Bālārjuna who ruled at least for about 57 years and was the last important ruler of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa. The palaeography of the inscription under discussion, as already indicated above, seems to be much earlier than the middle of the seventh century.

The inscription mentions the following geographical names : (1) Tarabhramaraka, (2) Prastara-vāṭaka, and (3) Parvvatadvāraka. Of these Tarabhramaraka seems to be no other than the present village of Tala-Bhamara, about two miles to the south of Belkhandi-Rajapadar, on the bank of the Utei, a tributary of the Tel.[4] Parvvatadvāraka, which seems to have been situated on a pass between two hills, cannot be identified. The identification of the locality called Prastaravāṭaka is also uncertain.

TEXT[5]

First Plate, First Side

1 Svi(sva)sti [|*][6] **Parvvatadvārakād**=bha[ga][7]vatyā Stasbhēniryyā[8] pāda-bha[kta]-

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 111-12.

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 10.

[3] There is a Stambhēśvarī temple at Aska in the Ganjam District (*JKHRS*, Vol. II, p. 110). In the centre of the town of Sonpur, there is a pillar known as Stambhēśvarī and a temple is also attributed to her (Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, p. 107). Mazumdar gives an interesting account of the worship of this deity in modern Orissa. For the goddess Stambhēśvarī, see also *JPASB*, Vol. VII, pp- 443 ff.

[4] *JKHRS*, Vol. II, p. 109.

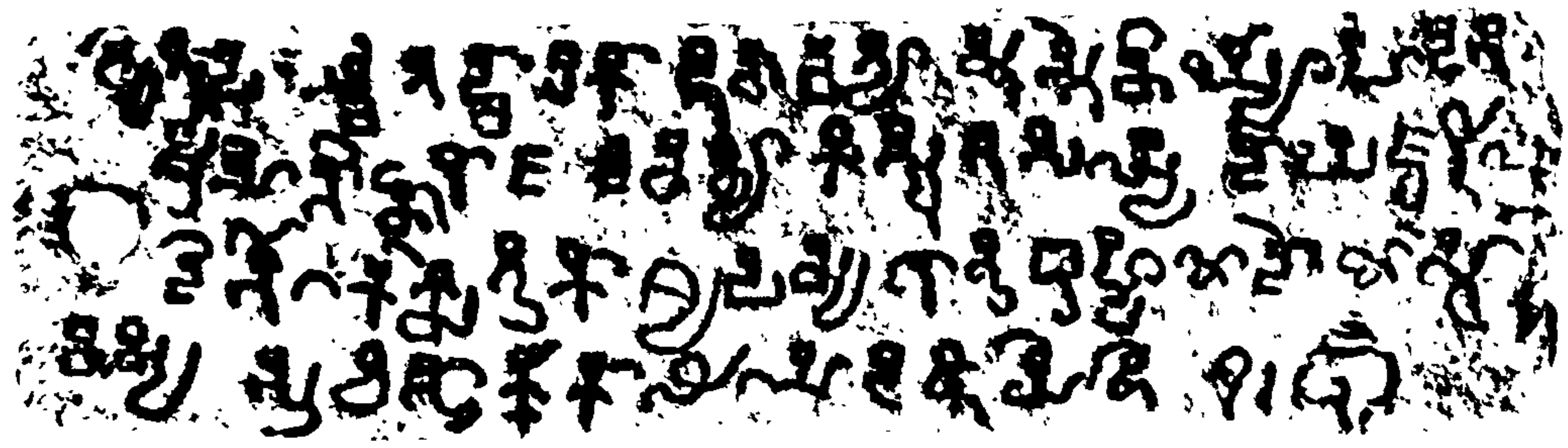
[5] From the original plates.

[6] The *akshara pa* had been originally engraved near *rvva* but was later erased and incised near *sti*.

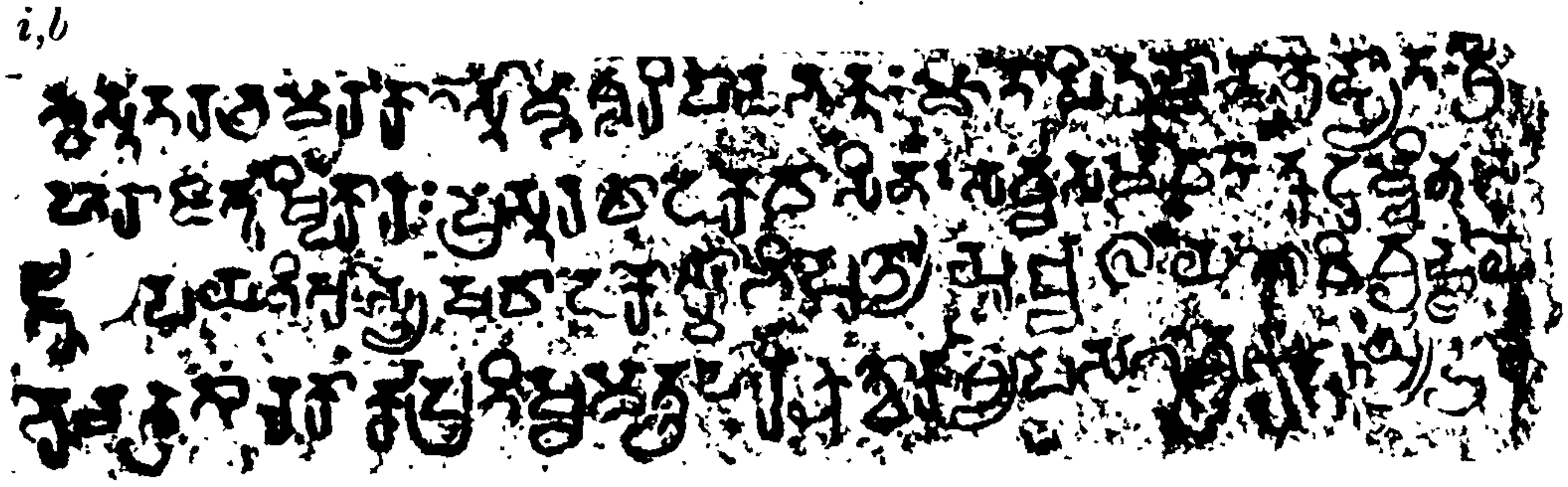
[7] The letter *ga* has a curious from.

[8] Read *Stambhēśvaryāḥ*. Note that, in this endorsement, *t* has sometimes a looped form differing little from that of *n*.

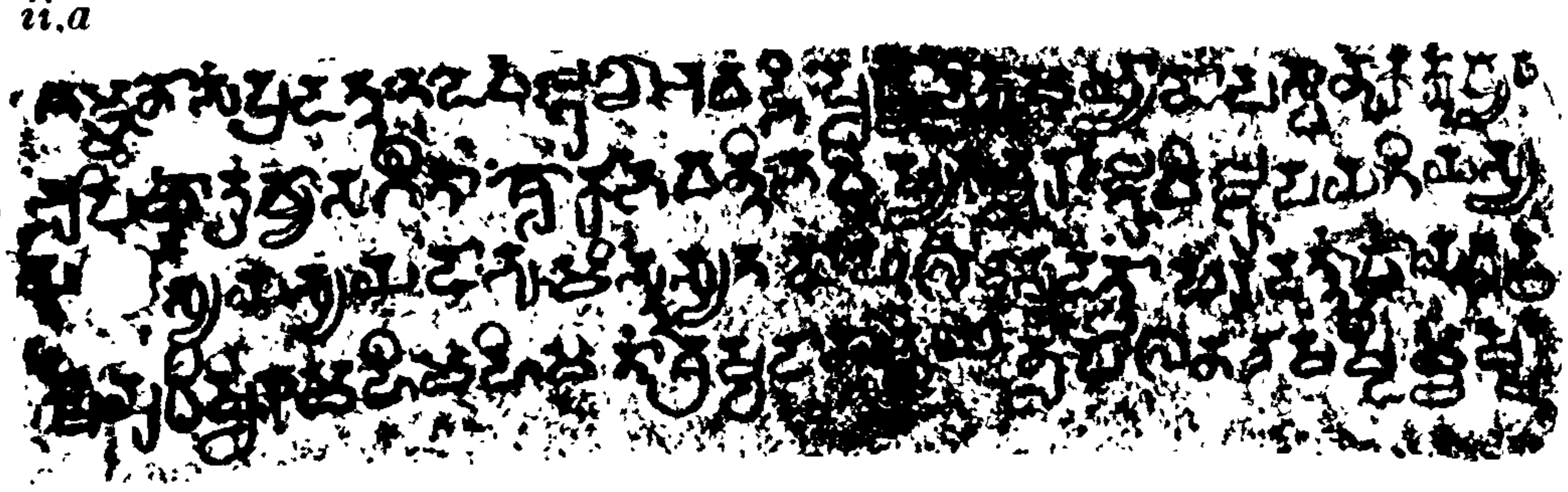
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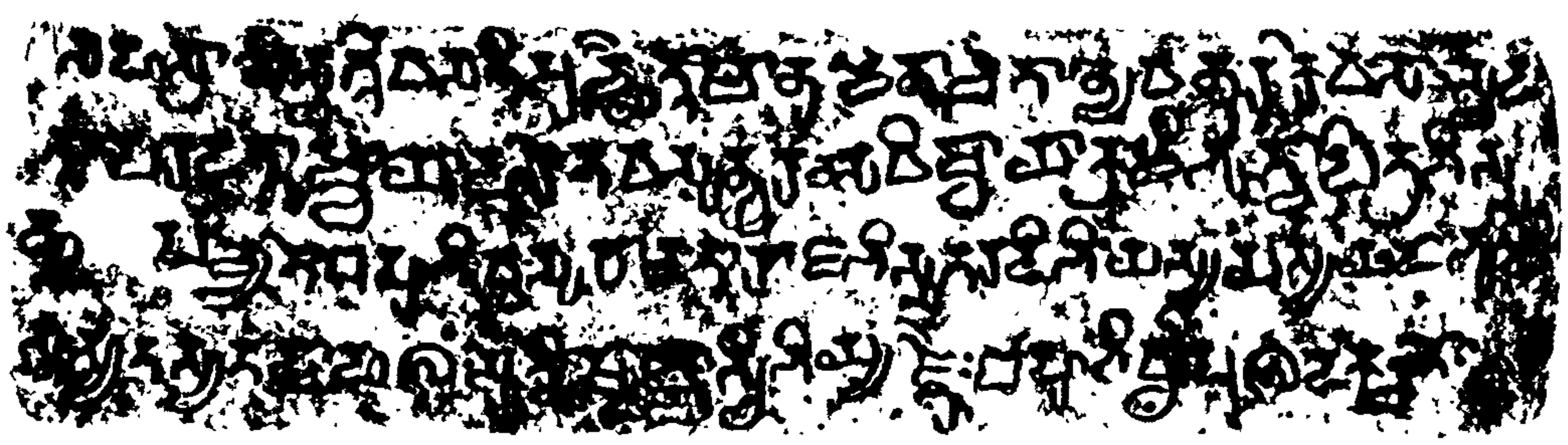
i,b



ii,a



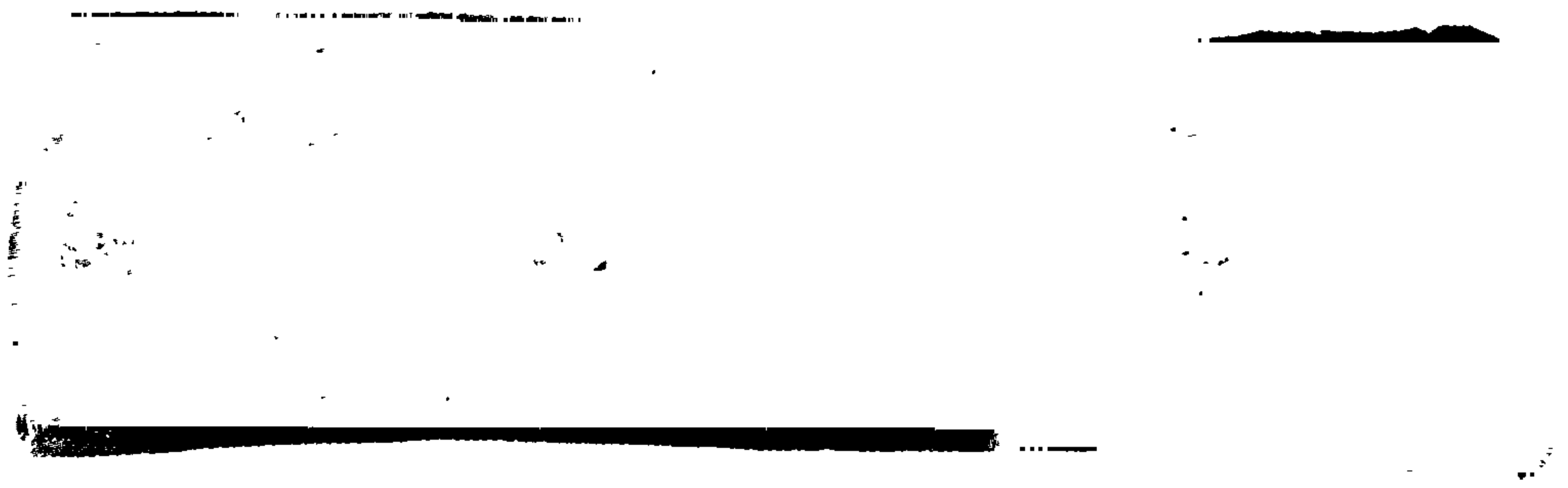
ii,b



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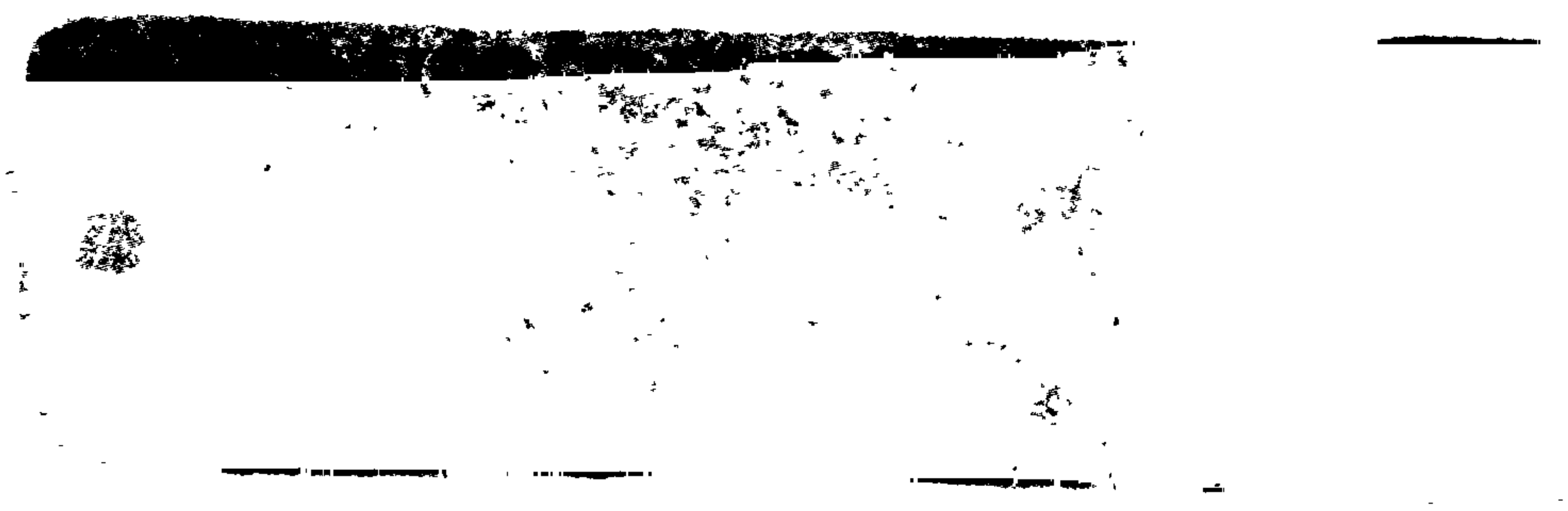
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iii,a

14  14

16 16

iii,b



Seal



(From Photographs)

2 śrī-**Sōbhōṅnarāja**[1]-[ja]nanyā **Kasthubhasayya**[2] Dāya-Jvar-Ūla[k-ā]-

3 di-bhōgaka-kshētra[ṁ*][3] Kāśyapa-syagātra[4]-Bra(Brā)hmaṇa-Dōṇasvā[m]i-

4 nasya[5] ā-chandr-ārkka-kālāya dattayi(m=i)ti ||[6]

First Plate, Second Side

1 Svasti [|*] **Tarabhramarakāt** Stambhēśvarī-pāda-bhaktaḥ mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śrī-[ma]-

2 hārāja-**Tushṭikāraḥ Prastaravāṭaka**-vāsinaḥ sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbinaḥ sa[mā]-

3 jñāpayati asty=ēsha vāṭakō=smābhiḥ puṇy-āyur-bbala-yaśō-vivṛidthayē[7]

4 [ā]-chandra-tārak-ārkka-pratishṭham=aggra[8]hāraṁ kṛitvā Kāśyapa-sag[ō]ttra(ttrā)ya Āryya-Drōṇa-

Second Plate, First Side

5 śa[r*]mmaṇē saṁpradattaḥ [|*] tad=ēvaṁ jñātvā bhavadbhiḥ pū[r]vv-ōchita-maryyād-ōpas[th]ānaṁ ka[r*]ttavya[m] [|*]

6 api ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītāḥ ślōkā bhavanti [||][9] bhavishyataś=cha rājñō vijñāpayati[10] [| *] yasya

7 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tadā phalam[11] [||*] Sva- dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatna(tnā)d=ra-

8 ksha Yudhishṭhiraḥ(ra |) mahī[ṁ*] mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālana[m] [||*] Sbashṭim=vashsha-[12]

Second Plate, Second Side

9 sahasrāṇi svarggē[13] vasati [bhūmidaḥ |*] āchchhai(chchhē)ttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Sva-da-

10 ttā[ṁ*] para-dattām=vā[14] yō harēta vasundharā[m] [|*] sa vishṭhāyā[ṁ*] kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhis=sa-

11 ha pachyatē[15] [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis = Sagara(r-ā)dibhi[15](bhiḥ |) yasya yasya yadā bhūmi-

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[1] The reading of the name may also be *Śōbhīṅnā*.

[2] The intended reading seems to be *Kaustubhēśvaryā*.

[3] The expression *bhōgaka-kshētra* seems to mean the same thing as *bhōga-kshētra*. Possibly the piece of land in question was being enjoyed by the persons named Dāya, Jvara and Ulaka.

[4] Read *sagōtra*.

[5] Read *Drōṇasvāminē*.

[6] The head of the first of the two *daṇḍas* is curved towards the left. This type of double *daṇḍa* is also known from other records. The double *daṇḍa* is followed by the representation of a conch-shell.

[7] Read *vivṛiddhayē*.

[8] The *akshara ggra* here looks more like *ttra*.

[9] This mark of interpunctuation is written by two small horizontal strokes which were probably inserted as an afterthought.

[10] This sentence should have properly been written before the previous sentence beginning with *api ch=ātra*.

[11] This is the second half of a verse which is fully quoted below. Note that *yasya* should have been written twice instead of thrice and *tasya* twice instead of once. Better omit this half stanza.

[12] Read *shashṭiṁ varsha°* or *shashṭi-varsha°*.

[13] Here as well as in some other instances *g* has a top *mātrā* and looks like *t*.

[14] Read *dattāṁ vā*.

[15] There is a dot here probably to indicate a mark of interpunctuation.

12 s = tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam ||) Agnishṭōmmasthibhi=yyajñaiḥ[1] bahubhir = v[v]ipula-dakshaṇēḥ[2] [|*]

Third Plate, First Side

13 yashṭō(shṭā) bhavati ra(rā)jēndraḥ ya(yō) dadāti vasundharām [||*] Ādityā Vasā(sa)-vō Rudrāḥ

14 purōgamā[3] [|*] Śūlapāṇiś=cha bhagavān=abhinandanti bhūmidam [||*] Rāhasi -

15 ka-Subandhōr=v[v]iditaṁ Sadgāmakēna likhitam=iti ||[4] [5]sunya-ghēttram[6]

16 [7]prasthara-kshētra-pramūkhaṁ[8] [|*]

Third Plate, Second Side

17 [9]Siddham[10] [Svasti Parvatadvārakād = bhagavatyā Stambhēśvaryyāḥ] ......

No. 46—THREE VAIDUMBA INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALAKADA

(*2 Plates*)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

The three inscriptions edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India were copied by me at **Kalakaḍa**, a village in the Vayalpad Taluk of the Chittoor District during my collection tour in 1940-41.[11] The first, **A**, is on a large slab nearly six feet square and lying on a heap of debris close to the village school. A three feet square panel in the centre of the slab depicts, in high relief, a warrior wielding a massive sword in his right hand and holding, with his left, his opponent by the tuft. Two damsels with chowries are depicted on either side of the hero as if in the act of leading him heavenwards.[12] The first five lines of the inscription are engraved above the panel and the rest of it is continued on the right and left sides of it. The other two records, **B** and **C**, are engraved on the walls and tier stones of the basement of a small dilapidated temple in the same area. Inscription **C** refers to the deity in the temple as Pallīśvaramuḍaiya **Mahādēva** of Kaṛkaḍai.

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[1] Read *Agnishṭōm-ādibhir°*. The akshara *gni* looks like *tni*.

[2] Read *bahubhir=bahu-dakshiṇaiḥ*.

[3] This foot of the stanza is short by four syllables. Read *Hutāśana-purōgamāḥ*. The first half of the stanza, as usually found in inscriptions, runs : *Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇur=Brahmā Sōmō Hutāśanaḥ*.

[4] This mark of interpunctuation is written by two horizontal strokes as in line 6 above.

[5] These *aksharas* are incised at the end of line 15.

[6] The intended reading seems to be *śūnya-kshētram*.

[7] These *aksharas* are engraved below the concluding portion of line 15.

[8] Read *prastara-kshētra-pramukham*.

[9] The beginning of the endorsement engraved on the outer side of the first plate is found here in one line. The engraver had begun to incise the endorsement here, but, after finishing about a line, erased the letters. Some of the *aksharas* can be faintly seen even after the erasure.

[10] The symbol for *siddham* is very faintly visible.

[11] *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 443-445 of 1940-41.

[12] A mutilated image of Mahishāsuramardinī in the act of killing the demon Mahisha, who is depicted in human form with a buffalow's head, is lying in the temple. The sculpture is an excellent specimen of iconographic art of the 10th century from this area. Another slab, which is also of the same size as that of the warrior described above, contains an interesting representation in high relief of a man in the act of offering his decapitated head. The slab, however, bears no writing.

A



Scale: One-Tenth

A

This inscription[1] is engraved in the Telugu-Kannaḍa **script**. Its **language** is Kannaḍa except for a verse in Sanskrit towards the end of the regard. In regard to **palaeography**, it is worth noting that the forms of *j* and *b* are of the archaic type. The initial vowels *i* and *ō* occur in the names *Indireya* and *Ōgina* (line 4). In respect of **orthography**, the class nasal is sometimes used for the *anusvāra* as in *āliṅgita*, *rājyaṅ=geye*, *pasiṇḍi*, *Tumbevāḍi*, etc. (lines 2, 3, 5 and 6); but sometimes it has been avoided, cf. *saṁghaṭṭana*, *sur-āṁganā*, etc. (lines 1 and 15).

The record commences with the expression, *svastg=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha*, etc., which is the characteristic preamble of all Vaidumba inscriptions. It refers itself to the reign of **Gaṇḍa-triṇētra Vaidumba-mahārāja** and states that Indireya, the younger brother (*tammu*) of Rāmeya of Ōgu[2] and a servant (*aḷu*) of Palladayya, the dear younger borther (*priyānuja*) of the King, died on hearing of the death of Ajaḷa in a cattle raid at Tumbevāḍi.[3] Like the other records of Gaṇḍa-triṇētra,[4] this too is not dated. Its characters may be compared with those of the Dharmapuri inscription (A) of Noḷamba Mahēndra which is dated in Śaka 815.[5] While the letters *j* and *b* retain their closed forms throughout in our record, whether individually or as subscripts, the Dharmapuri epigraph shows the open form of *b* when it occurs as a subscript. We may therefore assign this record to about the close of the ninth century. The provenance of the record suggests that the raid at Tumbevāḍi referred to in it might have been one among those many skirmishes which culminated in the battle of Sōremaḍi.[6] Tumbevāḍi, the place of the cattle raid, may be identified with the village of Tuṁbapālem in the Tumbapalem Zamindari in the Chittoor Taluk, situated about 30 miles due south of Kalakaḍa, the findspot of our record.[7]

The use of the Telugu expressions *tammu* (line 4), for *tamma*, and *pasiṇḍi* (line 5) for gold, shows the influence of this language in the Kannaḍa inscription under study.

TEXT[8]

1 Svasty=anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭaṇḍ=ō(n=ō)pa[la]bdha-jayalakshmī-

2 samāliṅgita-vakshasthala **Gaṇḍa-triṇētra śrī-Veydu-**

3 **mba-maha(hā)rājam**=pṛithivīrājyaṅ=geye ātana priy=ānuja Pa-

4 lla[da]yyan[9]=āḷu Ōgina Rāmeyana tammu Indireyar Maṟeya-

5 Koṇḍeya Doḍa-Mā[dhi]yya pasiṇḍi-dī-pegaḷ=e[mba] emmegaḷa Tu-

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1940-41, App. B, No.445.

[2] There is a village of this name in the Palmaner Taluk of the Chittoor District. Vide *Alphabetical List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, 1924, Palmaner Taluk, p. 123.

[3] See below, p. 280, note 2.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 183 ff. and Plates.

[5] Ibid., Vol. X, Plate opp. p. 66.

[6] *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 295 and 296 of 1905, 533 of 1906, 308 and 310 of 1922, all from the Madanapalle Taluk, and No. 543 of 1906 from the Punganur Taluk, refer to Sōremaḍi, as the place of battle. Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi has shown on chronological considerations that this battle was fought sometime about 885 A.D. (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 189). Two other dates have been worked out for this very event, one about 825 A.D. by Mr. M. Venkataramayya (*Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XII, pp. 193 ff.) and the other about 937-38 A.D. by Dr. A. R. Baji (*Journal of the Gauhati University*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.). Palaeographically the last date cannot be upheld.

[7] The Bēgūr stone inscription mentions a place called Tumbepāḍi and refers to a battle fought there between the forces led by Ayyapadēva and Bīra-Mahēndra. This locality has been identified with the village of Tumbaḍi in the Maddagiri Taluk of the Tumkur District, bordering on Noḷambavāḍi (above, Vol. VI, p. 48).

[8] From impressions.

[9] The name is probably Pallavayya which has been wrongly engraved as Palladayya.

6 [mbe]vāḍi ka-
7 ṇa koṇḍu pa-
8 riye puyya-
9 varidu Aja-
10 ḷa sattan=e[mba]
11 māta pēḻda-
12 ḍe [|*] Jitēna la-
13 [bhyatē La]kshmī-
14 [r=mṛi]tēn=ā-
15 pi surāṁga-
16 [nā] [|*] kshaṇa-vi-
17 dhvaṁsini ka(kā)-
18 yē kā chintyā(ntā)
19 ma[ra*]nē(ṇē) raṇē(ṇē) [||*]
20 emba ma(mā)ta
21 ne-
22 neyuttu[ṁ]
23 Surēndrā(ra)-
24 gaṇikā-
25 ghana-stha(sta)-
26 na-sthā-
27 na-pprā-
28 ptan=ādaṁ [||*]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-3. The usual Vaidumba *praśasti*.

Lines 4-11. On hearing the news of the death of Ajaḷa who ran to encounter Maṟeya-Koṇḍeya and Doḍa-Mādhiyya who, having taken the field of (i.e. attacked) Tumbevāḍi, were running away with the buffaloes which were known as 'the golden lamps', Indireya, the servant of the king's dear younger brother Palladayya (or Pallavayya) and the younger brother of Rāmeya of Ōgu

Lines 12-28. (*fought and*) attained the blissful company of the celestial damsels (i.e. died) remembering the saying, 'By victory one secures the Goddess of Fortune; by death (*in war*), the celestial nymphs; the body is destructible in a moment; why then care for death in war?'[2]

B

This record[3] is in the Telugu language and the Telugu-Kannaḍa script of about the tenth century A.D. The inscribed matter, covering the outer faces of the wall on both the right and left sides of the entrance into the above-mentioned temple, is in three sections, two of twelve lines on the right side and the third of three lines on the left. In the course of engraving, the scribe appears to have committed a mistake; he forgot to inscribe a portion of the document and, discovering his error, engraved the matter in three lines at the top of the first section, indicating its place in the main record by a plus mark. The third section consists of three lines and is engraved on the left side of the entrance into the temple.

The characters of this record are later than those of **A**. The letters *j* and *b* are no longer of the archaic type, but are both of the later cursive form. The letter *ṇ* is sometimes doubled by writing

[1] Lines 6 to 21 and 22 to 28 are engraved on the right and left sides respectively of the panel containing the figure of the hero.

[2] Mr. P. B. Desai offers a different interpretation of the record. According to him, the object of the record is to commemorate the heroism of only one person, viz. Ajaḷa, a servant of Pallada(va)yya, who fought on the side of the Vaidumba chief and died. He takes the expression *āḷu* to qualify Ajaḷa (not Indireya), who is stated to have encountered (*puyya-varidu*) the three aggressors, to wit, Indireya, younger brother of Rāmeya of Ōgu, Maṟeya-Koṇḍeya and Doḍa-Mādhiyya. Otherwise, he says, it is difficult to explain why Indireya should die on hearing the death of Ajaḷa.

[3] *A.R. Ep.*, 1940-41, App. B. No. 444.

below it another subscript *ṉ* exactly like the superscript (see *miṉṉaka*, line 14). However, in *paṉṉu* occurring several times in lines 3 and 4 and in *yaṉṉa* in line 7, subscript *ṉ* is written in two ways: either as subscript *n* without the seriff attached to it (as in *paṉṉu* in lines 3 and 4) or like the cursive form of the subscript *n* as written even at present by attaching it to the right limb of *ṉ* (as in *yaṉṉa* in line 7). These different modes of representing apparently the same sound are noteworthy. In respect of other **palaeographical** features of individual letters, the record bears a close resemblance to the Bezwada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla.[1]

As for **orthography**, the *anusvāra* is used in place of the class nasal in *samālimgita* (line 1), *mamgaḷa* (line 9), *Vaidumba* (line 1), etc., and the class nasal in place of the *anusvāra* in *Vēnāṇṭi* (line 3), *vāṇḍu* (lines 5-6), etc. The rules of *sandhi* are correctly observed.

Among individual words, *santosa* (line 3) is obviously used for *santōsha*; cf. *santasa* which is commonly found in Telugu and Kannaḍa. As for the words *aḻisina* from *aḻachu* (cf. Kannaḍa *aḻisu*, Tamil *aḻi*), *vaḍasina* from *vaḍayu* or *paḍayu* (cf. Kannaḍa *paḍe*, Tamil *aḍai*), *kadapina* from *kadumu* (cf. Kannaḍa *kadubu*), *chiṟuderа* (cf. Kannaḍa *kiṟudeṟe*, Tamil *chiṟṟiṟai*), *paḍevāḷa* (cf. Kannaḍa *paḍevaḷa*, Tamil *paḍaiyāḷ*), etc., the affinity of their roots or bases to those of the corresponding words in Kannaḍa or Tamil is readily discernible. The word *ḻḻechchu* (line 6), spelt with the initial letter doubled, occurs in archaic inscriptions both in this form and as *ḻachchu*.[2] In the word *kabbada* used as an epithet of Kēsiyanna, the composer of the record, perhaps on account of his literary attainments,[3] *kabba* is the *tadbhava* of *kāvya* and is common both to Telugu and Kannaḍa. The terms *Raṭṭoḍi* and *Raṭṭaguḍi* (lines 11-12), which are variants indicating the same office, are met with in the inscriptions of this period.[4] The suffix *aṉṉa* in Chandiyaṉṉa (line 7) and the word *ōvajanu* in *Dantiy-ōvajanu* (line 9) show the influence of Kannaḍa. Attention may also be drawn to the forms *okkoḍu* (line 13) for *okkaḍu* or *okkaṇḍu*, *aruvādi* and *goṉuvāru* (line 15) for *aruvadi* and *gonuvāru* respectively. The record furnishes us with an early reference to the coin called *gadya*, a still earlier mention of it being that in the Chēvūru plates of Chālukya Amma I (922-934 A.D.).[5] It occurs frequently as *gadyāṇa* in Kannaḍa inscriptions of this period.[6]

The record states that on the happy occasion of his coronation, **Bhuvana-triṇētra Irugeya-mahārāja** granted to the farmers (*kāmpus*) of Vēnāḍu (whose names are specified), all the minor taxes (*chiṟu-deṟalu*) inclusive of the *tivuḷ-desa*, barring the *Dogarāchappaṉṉu*, *Paḍiyēripaṉṉu*, *Paḍevāḷapaṉṉu* and *Sandhivigrahipaṉṉu*.

Of the records of Bhuvana-triṇētra, three furnish dates. The earliest which is a copper-plate grant, the only one of this king or, for that matter, of this dynasty, so far known, is dated in Śaka 893,[7] while two stone inscriptions, one from Upparapalle[8] and the other from Animala,[9] both in the Cuddapah District, are dated in Śaka 894 and 898 respectively. While the Upparapalle record mentions the king as Bhuvana-triṇētra and the Animala epigraph gives his personal name as Irigāya after the usual *praśasti*, the record under review establishes the identity of these two by

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[1] Above, Vol. XV, Plate opp. p. 158.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 230, D. text lines 5-6; p. 238, H. text line 21, etc.; *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 150, *SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 600, 606, 619, etc.

[3] An inscription of Śaka 853 of the time of Vīra-noḷamba mentions another person named Nāgamayya bearing the same epithet (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Chintāmaṇi No. 43).

[4] Above Vol. XI, pp. 342-343.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 42 and f.n. 3.

[6] *SII.*, Vol. XI, part i, No. 42, line 24, No. 45, line 47, etc.

[7] *A. R. Ep.*, C. P. No. 7 of 1935-36; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 67 ff. Mr. P. B. Desai has shown that this date is irregular as the details given for it do not work out correctly.

[8] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 325 of 1905.

[9] Ibid., No. 196 of 1938.

giving the full name of the king as Bhuvana-trinētra Irugeya(a variant of Irigāya of the Animala record)-mahārāja. Though not dated, the epigraph under review states that the grant recorded in it marked the occasion of the coronation of Bhuvana-triṇētra Irugeya-mahāraja. As the Upparapalle record quotes Śaka 894 as the date on which Bhuvana-triṇētra, i.e. Irugeya, was crowned (*sakavarshammu* 894-*gu nēṇḍu prithivīrājya-paṭṭabaddhuṇḍ=ayen*), the record under review, which registers a gift made by the king on the same occasion, may also be reasonably assigned to the same year, viz. Śaka 894 or 972 A.D. The Animala inscription dated four years later, i.e. in 976 A.D., states that Irigāya (i.e. Irugeya) made a gift of land on the eleventh day's obsequies of his father (*ayya*) Bejayita-mahārāja. No inscriptions of Bejayita-mahārāja mentioning him by name are known so far. The copper-plate grant of Bhuvana-triṇētra, i.e. Irugeya-mahārāja, mentioned above, refers to Bhīmarāja and Bāchavva as the persons for whose merit the gift was made. It is doubtful if these persons could be the parents of Irugeya-mahārāja in view of the evidence of the Animala inscription furnishing the name of Irugeya's father as Bejayita-mahārāja. It may also be observed that Bhīmarāja is not called a ***Mahārāja***. He was in all probability a close relative of the king. If the event recorded in the Animala epigraph, namely, the ceremony of the eleventh day's obsequies of Bejayita-mahārāja, was a contemporary one, Irugeya's father must have lived till 976 A.D. In that case, Irugeya appears to have succeeded to the throne even during the life time of his father who probably abdicated in favour of his son as early as Śaka 894 (972 A.D.) on the latter's coronation or even slightly earlier according to the copper-plate grant.

Bhīmarāja, it has been pointed out, could not have been the father of Irugeya-mahārāja. But undoubtedly he was a close relation of the king and a person of high rank inasmuch as the monarch made the grant for his merit. In this connection we may consider three epigraphs from Uḍaiyārguḍi[1] in the Chidambaram Taluk of the South Arcot District, which mention the Chōḷa queen, Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār-Vīman-Kundavvaiyār. One of them[2] refers to her as the mother (*āchchiyār*) of prince Ariñjiya-Pirāntakadēva, i.e. Parāntaka, son of Ariñjaya. There is no clue in these epigraphs regarding the lineage of the Chōḷa queen. It has been surmised that she was an Eastern Chālukya princess, probably a daughter of Chālukya Bhima II (934-945 A.D.) or the daughter of Ādittaṉ Vīmaṉ, the chief of Aṇḍurai.[3] But the Anbil plates of Sundara-chōḷa refer to the prince's mother, i.e. the queen of Ariñjaya, as born of the Vaidumba family.[4] It may therefore be surmised that Vīman-Kundavvaiyār of the lithic records was the daughter of Vaidumba Bhīmarāja, the queen of Ariñjaya (956-957 A.D.) and the mother of Sundara-chōḷa Parāntaka II (956-973 A.D.). It was evidently after this Kundavai that her granddaughter, i.e. the daughter of her son Sundara-chōḷa and sister of the great Rājarāja I, was named.

Most of the recipients of the grant referred to as the *Kāmpus* of Vēnāḍu associate their proper names with place-names such as Vēmbaḷḷi, Ṛākuṇḍa, Mēḷikurti, Pichchali, Vuddini, etc. Some of the localities may be identified with villages of the same or similar names in the neighbourhood of Kalakaḍa such as Mēḍikurti, Rātiguṇṭapalle (Ṛākuṇḍa), etc., lying in the Vayalpad Taluk, and Pichchalivāṇḍlapalle (Pichchali) and Vēmpalle (Vēmbaḷḷi) in the Madanapalle Taluk. Vēnāḍu, the native land of the *Kāmpus* (tenants or farmers), must be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Vayalpad and Madanapalle Taluks only. However, there is no evidence to show that any area round about these Taluks bore the name of Vēnāḍu. If *vē* is understood in

[1] *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 572, 587, and 589 of 1920.

[2] Ibid., No. 572.

[3] *A.R.Ep.*, 1921, p. 95, para. 26 ; ibid., 1928, p. 51, para. 3.

[4] *Vaidumbasya kulōdbhavām..............kalyāṇīm=uduvāha*, etc. (above, Vol. XV, p. 68). Prof. Nilakanta Sastri assumes the expression *kalyāṇī* in this passage as the proper name of the princess, but, as has been construed in the translation, it may be only an epithet of the queen.

the sense of *vēyi* meaning 'a thousand' as in *vē-guḷḷu, vē-seruvulu,*[1] etc., it may be construed that Vēnāḍu[2] or Vēyi-nāḍu was a 1000-division.

The taxes, *Dogararāchappaṇṇu, Paḍevāḷapaṇṇu, Paḍiyēripaṇṇu* and *Sandhivigrahipaṇṇu* are said to have been excluded from the king's award or *sthiti,* which, as the record specifies, comprised of all the minor taxes (*chiṟu-deṟalu*) inclusive of the *tivuḷdesa.* By their very context, the four taxes which were excluded from the award came under the major taxes. In *Dogarācha-paṇṇu,* the term *doga* apparently stands for *yuva.* The tax might be understood as one paid for the maintenance of the office of the *Yuvarāja.* *Paḍevāḷappaṇṇu* seems obviously to be a levy for maintaining the *Paḍevaḷa,* i.e. the commander of the army; *Paḍiyēri* (probably meaning *Paḍiyari,* i.e. *pratihārī*), and *Sandhivigrahi,* after whom the next two taxes are named, were important officers and the taxes raised in their name were perhaps meant for maintaining their offices. All minor taxes, which were exempted from payment according to the terms of the award, were, it is stated, headed by the *tivuḷdesa* (lines 4-5). The meaning of this expression is, however, obscure.[3]

The third section of the record comprising lines 13-15 is highly interesting. Perhaps this too, like the second section (lines 10-12), was at first omitted by oversight from the main record and was added later on. This seems to account for its being engraved separately on another part of the wall, away from its place in the main record. The passage may be literally rendered thus :—

'If a man kills (*both*) the woman and the man caught red-handed in the act of adultery, there is no punishment (*for him*). If, instead of killing (*them*), he distresses[4] (*only*) the woman, either by cutting off her nose or by a milder punishment (*miṇṇaka*), they (i.e. the donees) are to collect a fine of 64 *gadyas* from the man.' We have perhaps to understand here that the person who commits the murder is the husband of the woman and that he does so under grave provocation. The right of levying this fine seems to have formed part of the award (*sthiti*) conferred on the *kāṁpus* of Vēnāḍu, for the word *gonuvāru* at the end of the passage apparently refers not to the government but to the donees who obtained the *sthiti* from the king, namely, the *kāṁpus* of Vēnāḍu. The cutting off of the nose of an adulteress and death to an adulterer are the punishments prescribed in an inscription from Kōgaḷi in the Bellary District, dated in Śaka 914 (992 A.D.) in the reign of Chālukya Āhavamalla.[5] It is noteworthy that this punishment for adultery imposed on persons of either sex conforms to that prescribed for the offence in the *Arthaśāstra.*[6]

TEXT[7]

1 Svasty=anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha-vijayalakshmī-samāliṁgita-viśāḷa-

2 vakshasthala Bhuvana-triṇētra śrīmad-Irugeya-mahārāju dana paṭṭaṁbu gaṭṭi[na]

3 santosaṁbuna Vēnāṇṭi kāṁpulakù daya-sēsina sthiti [|*] Dogarācha-paṇṇunu Paḍevāḷa-

4 paṇṇunu Paḍiyēri-paṇṇunu Sandhivigrahi-paṇṇunu veligānun-dakkaṁbaḍina tivu-

[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 346, text lines 21-22.

[2] The Madanapalle Taluk abutting on Vayalpad on the west formed part of Rēnāḍu-7000 at the period of the record under review (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 184, Inscription C; *SII*, Vol. X, No. 639). It is not unlikely that this division extended even upto Vāyalpād. In that case, it is possible that in engraving the name of this territorial division, the scribe or the engraver committed a simple mistake of spelling it as *Vēnāḍu* for *Rēnāḍu.*

[3] Mr. P. B. Desai suggests that *Tivuḷ* may be a variant of *Tiguḷ,* and so it may be equated to *Tamiḷ,* and the expression understood as some levy connected with the Tamils.

[4] The word *kadapu,* from *kadumu,* seems to be used here in the same sense as Kannaḍa *kaḍubu,* meaning 'to press', 'to seize', 'to hold firmly', 'to distress', etc.

[5] *SII*, Vol. IX, part i, No. 77, lines 32-33.

[6] *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (translation by R. Shama Sastry), p. 261.

[7] From impressions.

5 ḷdesaṁbu modalugānu jiṟu-deṟaḷ=ellā Vāyur=Ādityaṁbu viḍiche [|*] Dīnin=aḷisinavāṇḍu

6 ī-guḍiyini Bāranāsiyiṁ ḷḷechchinavāṇḍu [|*] ī-sthiti vaḍasinavāru Vēṁbaḷḷi

7 Beytūrēkkiyu Chēlakāl-Āytannayu Ṟākuṇḍa Koṇḍeyayu Mēḷikuṟti Chandiyaṇṇa-

8 yu Pulvēri Sirāmayya[yu*] Līpara Gāmuṇḍunu Rakkasa Gāmuṇḍunu[1] [|*] Vrāsinavāṇḍu

9 Kabbada Kēsiyanna [1*] Sēsinavāru Dantiy-ōvajanun-Abhinutāchariyu [|*] maṁgaḷa [||*][2]

Section II

10 maṟiyunu Malkoṇḍa Chāmi[yu ā]Pēreya[3]yu Veppari Sirivutti Gā[m]u[ṇḍunu][4]

11 Mḷāṁ[paḷḷi] Kommaṇa Gāmuṇḍunu [Ka]ṟiyakaṇṭi Vaiduṁba Raṭṭoḍiyu Pichchali Vaiduṁba

12 Raṭa(ṭṭa)guḍiyu Vuddini Komma[ṇa]yu Vēnāṇṭi Dāsu Yaḷaṁkāriy=Aripuliyu [|*]

Section III

13 Ṟa[ṁ]kāḍina naṁ[gaṁ]buna[ṁ]-baṭṭi yāḷini maganinin=okkoḍ[5]u champina[5] daṇḍuvu[5] lēdu [|*]

14 Aṭḷ=okkoḍu champaka āḷi mukku deṟichi kadapinanu miṇṇaka kadapinanu

15 maga-daṇḍuvu aṟuvādinālugu gadye[ḷu][5] go[ṇ]uvāru [|*] Dīniki[ṁ] barīksha lēdu[|*]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-12. Hail! This is the award (*sthiti*) graciously given by Bhuvana-triṇētra Irugeya-mahārāja of the broad chest, embraced by the goddess of victory won in several battles, on the joyous occasion of his coronation, to the farmers (*kāṁpus*) of Vēnāḍu, (*comprising*) the remission of all the minor taxes inclusive of the *tivuḷdesas*, but with the exception of the *Dogarāchapaṇṇu, Paḍevāḷa-paṇṇu, Paḍiyēri-paṇṇu* and *Sandhivigrahi-paṇṇu*, as long as the Wind and the Sun last. He, who destroys this, incurs the sin of having destroyed this temple and Bāraṇāsi (Banaras). (*The following are*) the recipients of the gift: Vēṁbaḷḷi Beytūrēkki, Chēlakāla Āytanna, Rākuṇḍa Koṇḍeya, Mēḷikuṟti Chandiyaṇṇa, Pulvēri Sirāmayya, Līpara Gāmuṇḍu, Rakkasa Gāmuṇḍu and again, Malkoṇḍa Chāmi, that (i.e. Malkoṇḍa) Pēreya, Veppari Sirivutti Gāmuṇḍu, Mḷāṁpaḷḷi Kommaṇa Gāmuṇḍu, Kariyakaṇṭi Vaidumba Raṭṭoḍi, Pichchali Vaidumba Raṭṭaguḍi, Vuddini Kommaṇa, Vēnāṇṭi Dāsu, and Yaḷaṁkāriy=Aripuli.[6] The composer (*of this record*) is Kabbada Kēsiyanna; the engravers are Dantiy-ōvaja and Abhinutāchari. May it be well!

Lines 13-15. Apprehending adultery red-handed, if a man kills the woman and man (*involved*), no punishment is to be imposed (*on him*); but if, without killing (*both the persons*), he punishes (*only*) the woman by cutting her nose or by merely distressing her, they (i.e. the *kāṁpus* of Vēnāḍu) should levy a fine of sixty-four *gadyas* (*from the culprit*). This is irrevocable.

C

This record[7] is in Tamil. It is engraved in two long lines on the projecting tiers of the basement stones of the temple in question. The palaeography of the record is regular for the period

[1] There is a mark above the line between the letters *nu* and *vrā*, probably indicating that the matter contained in lines 10-12 written at the top, was to be introduced here.

[2] There is a floral design here.

[3] The shape of *ya* is not normal. The hook attached to the cypher has two bends instead of one.

[4] The last two letters have suffered slight damage and are only partly preserved.

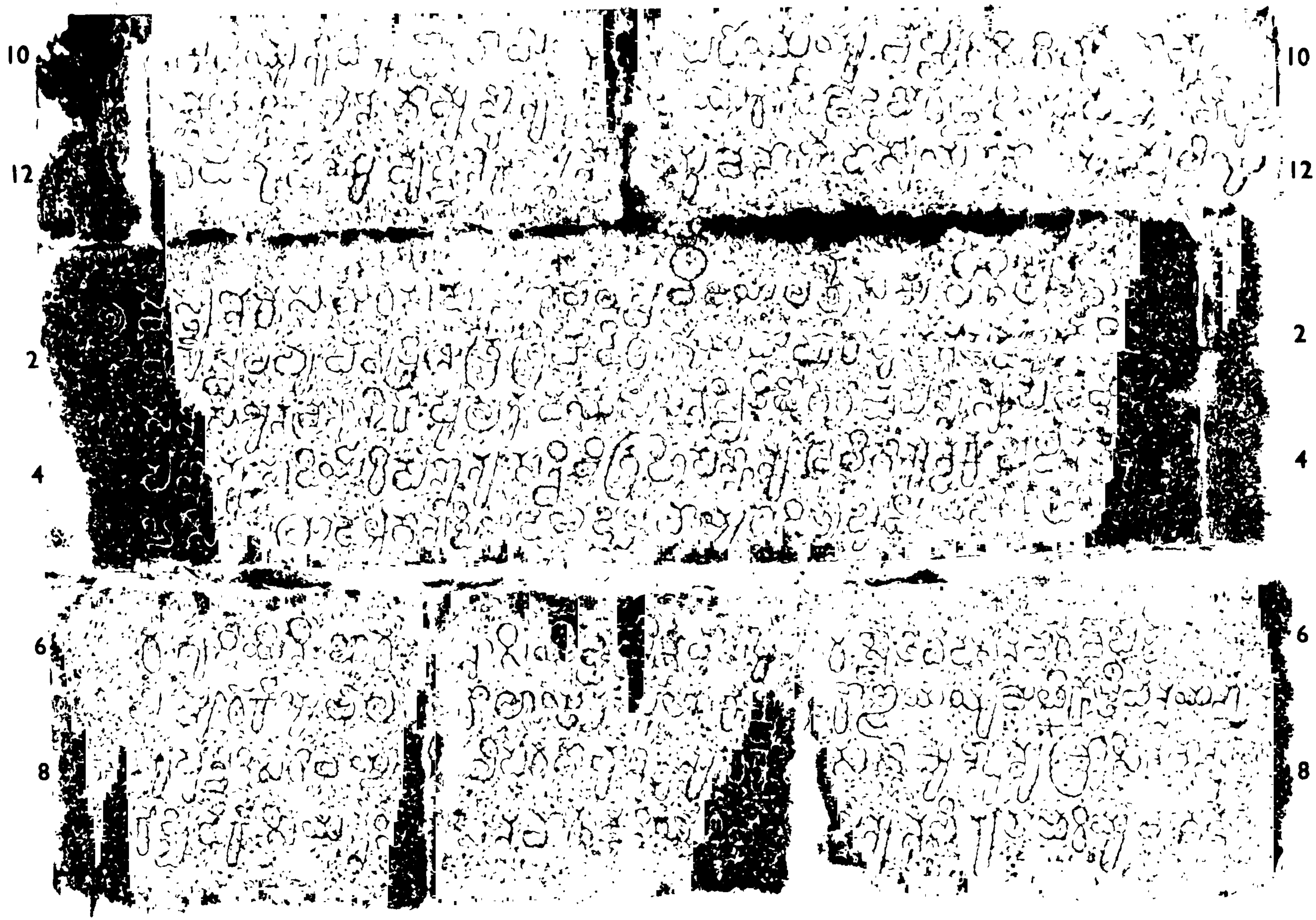
[5] The letters *kko*, *na* and *vu* in line 13 and *ḷu* in line 15 are written below the line just beneath the spaces where they are intended to be inserted, the spaces being indicated by cross marks just above the line.

[6] Vēnāṇṭi Dāsu may perhaps be an epithet of Yaḷaṁkāri Aripuli.

[7] *A. R. Ep.*, 1940-41, App. B. No. 443.

THREE VAIDUMBA INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALAKADA

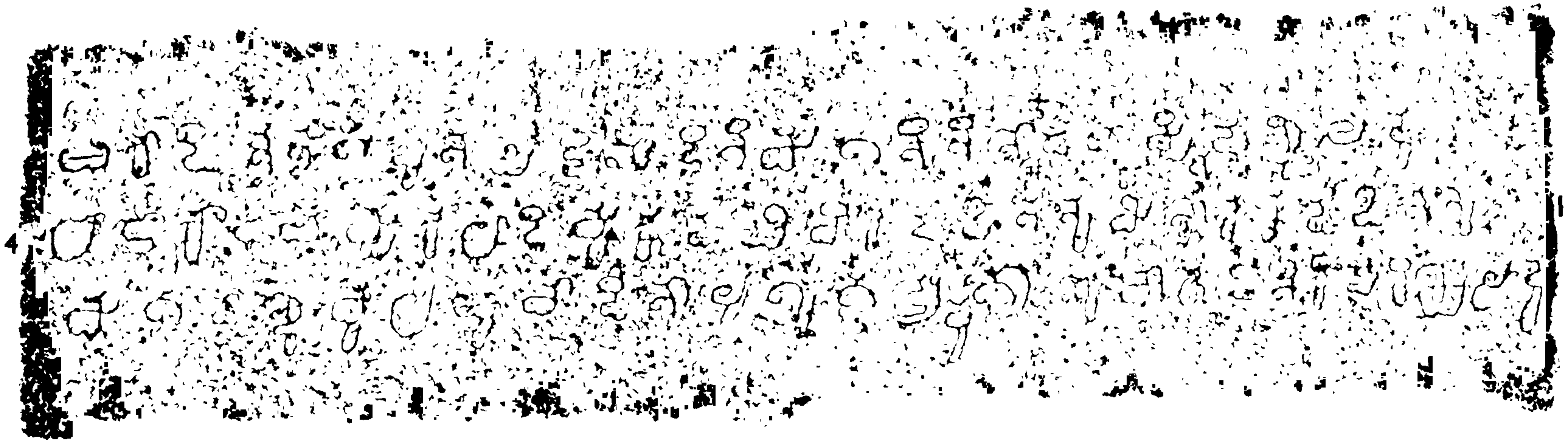
B. Sections I and II



Scale: One-Tenth

B. Section III

14



14

to which it belongs. In respect of **orthography**, the Sanskrit *praśasti* written in Grantha characters shows an overwhelming influence of the Tamil language, which has resulted in such queer spelling of the Sanskrit words as *samadikata* for *samadhigata*, *makā* for *mahā*, *anēha* for *anēka*, etc.[1] Further, the scribe has adopted the *tannagaram* (*n*) indiscriminately violating the rules of its correct usage.

The inscription records a gift of Muṟukkēttam, Kuḍiyēttam and Tirukkāḷattiēri as *dēvadāna* to the god Pallīśvaramuḍaiya Mādēva at Kaṟkaḍai in Kīḻai-Mārāyapāḍi in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam by Vaidumba-mārāyaṉ Tiḍalīśaṉ in the 49th year (i.e. 1119 A. D.) of the reign of Kulōttuṅgachōḷadēva (i.e. Kulōttuṅga I). The *dēvadāna* so given was made over as *kāṇi* to Chāmuṇḍa-bhaṭṭaṉ of the Gautama *gōtra*, stipulating payment of a seventh share [of the produce] thereof [to the government].[2]

The record is the latest among the three and is later than B by nearly a century and a half. Tiḍalīśaṉ calls himself a Vaidumba-mahārāja and adopts the characteristic *praśasti* (*anēka-samara*, etc.) of the Vaidumba family with some additional epithets such as *Siddhavaṭadēva-śrīpāda-padm-ārādhaka* and *Kalukaṭāpura-paramēśvara*, not found in the records of the early members of the family. Among the dated records of the chiefs of Kalukaḍapura, this is the earliest yet known. Tiḍalīśaṉ was perhaps a later contemporary of Attirāja of *circa* 1100 A. D., who figures as an ancestor four generations removed from Udayāditya of the same family in a record of 1199 A. D. from Tāḍipatri.[3] There is, however, nothing to suggest any relationship between Tiḍalīśaṉ and Attirāja except that both of them call themselves the lords of Kalukaḍapura and bear the usual *praśasti* of the family.

Kaṟkaḍai is identical with modern Kalakaḍa, the findspot of the records under review. It seems to have been referred to as Kaṟkaḍai-mānagar in a fragmentary inscription at Tiruchchatturai in the Tanjore District, which speaks of the destruction of this place by a feudatory Chōḷa chief.[4] It is said in the record under review that this village was included in Kīḻai-Mārāyapāḍi in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam. An inscription from Rāyachōṭi[5] in the Rayachoti Taluk of the Cuddapah District, which is abutting on the Vayalpad Taluk in the north, also mentions this division indicating its extent northwards in parts of this Taluk also. Kīḻai-Mārāyapāḍi represented East Mārāyapāḍi and Mēlai or West Mārāyapāḍi is mentioned in an inscription from Peddatippasamudram in the Madanapalle Taluk, to the west of Vayalpād.[6] In a Kannaḍa inscription[7] from the same Taluk, this territorial division is referred to as Mahārājavāḍi-7000 and as being governed by Rājarāja Brahmādhirāja under the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja. The boundaries of this division seem to have extended far to the east as well as to the west at a later period as an inscription of Kṛishṇarāya from Rāyachōṭi[8] mentions the two provinces, Udayagiri-Mārjavāḍa and Penugoṇḍa-Mārjavāḍa.

Muṟukkēttam, Kuḍiyēttam and Tirukkāḷattiēri, which appear to be villages, were given away as *dēvadāna* to the god Pallīśvaramuḍaiya Mahādēva of Kaṟkaḍai and the god, i.e. the temple, was made over to Chāmuṇḍa-bhaṭṭaṉ of Gautama-gōtra as *kāṇi* under certain stipulations.[9]

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[1] For a similar instance of the influence of the local language on Sanskrit, compare above, Vol. XXVII, p. 146.

[2] See below, p. 287.

[3] *SII.*, Vol. IV, No. 798.

[4] *A. R. Ep.*, 1930-31, part ii, para. 30; *The Colas*, Part I, pp. 529, 621. Prof. K. A. N. Sastri assigns this record to the period of Rājarāja I.

[5] *A. R. Ep.*, *No.* 446 of 1911.

[6] Ibid., No. 537 of 1906. The division is spelt Mēlai-Mārāpāḍi with the *ya* in Mārāyapāḍi omitted, perhaps by mistake.

[7] Ibid., No. 295 of 1922.

[8] Ibid., No. 444 of 1911.

[9] The word *dēvarai* in line 2 of the text below, if understood literally, would mean that the god (i.e. the temple), to which the villages were granted, was made over to the priest. It is likely that some such term as *paṇi śeyyum* or *pūjai śeyyum* following this word was inadvertently omitted by the engraver. See translation below.

In regard to the identification of the gift villages it may be pointed out that village names ending in *ēttam* such as Niṉrēttam, mentioned in an inscription at Paḷḷikoṇḍai in the Gudiyattam Taluk may be cited besides Guḍiyāttam itself and Tāḻaiyāttam in the same (Gudiyattam) Taluk of the North Arcot District which is abutting on the Chittoor Taluk of the Chittoor District in the south. But whether the gift village Kuḍiyēttam can be identified with Guḍiyāttam, which is about a hundred miles to the south of the findspot of the record, is doubtful. I am unable to identify Muṟukkēttam and Tirukkāḷattiēri, though villages with names ending in *ēri* such as Ichchanēri, Ayyanēri, Dāmanēri, etc., are quite common in the neighbouring Taluk of Vayalpad. Rāyanārāyaṇaputtēri is mentioned in an inscription of Śaka 1153 (1232 A. D.) from Rāyachōṭi in the Cuddapah District as a village given as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* by Rāyadēva-mahārāja, a later chief of the Vaidumba family.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 Svasti śrī [| *] Samadika(dhiga)ta-pañcha-mahāśabda makā(hā)maṇḍaḷēśvara **anēha(ka)-samara-saṁka(gha)ṭṭan-ōbalabta** (ōpalabdha)-vijai(ja)ya-lakshmī-samāliṁgida (ta)-**viśāḷa-vaksha-sthaḷam** kshatriya-pavitram Bhva(Bhuva)na-triṇētram Vaitumbh-ā(b-ā)bharaṇam **ashṭa-mā-(mahā)**siddhi-Kalukaṭāpura-paramēśvara Siddhavaṭadēva-śrīpāda-patmō(dm-ā)rāda(dha)ka **para-pa(ba)ḷa**-sādagam(dhakam) Pugaḷmādu viḷaṅga Jayamādu viruṁba nilamagaḷ **nilava malarmagaḷ puṇara** urima(mai)yiṟ-chiṟanda maṇimuḍi-śūḍi Villavar kulaitara Mīnava-nilaikeḍa ēṉai **mannavar iḷiyal-uṟṟ=iḷitarat**=tikk-anaittum [tan] śakkaram naḍātti vīraśiṅgā[sa*]nattu **Avanimuḷuduḍaiyāḷ=oḍum** vīṟṟirund=aruḷiya **Kōv-irāśakēsaripanmar āna Chakkaravarttigaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅ-[ga*]-śōḷādēvaṟkk[3]u yāṇḍu nā-**

2[4] **ṟppa[3]ttonpadāvadu** Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍa-śōḻamaṇḍalattuk-Kīḻai-Mārāyapāḍi **Kaṟkaḍaiyil Pallīśvaram-uḍaiya** Mādēvaṟku Murukkēttamum Kuḍi-ē[5]ttamum Tirukkāḷatti-ē[5]riyum **dēvadā-namāgak**=kuḍuttu ivv-ēttaṅgaḷ ēḻil=oru vāram=iḍuvadāga id-dhanmaṁ chantr-ā(ndr-ā)**dita(tta)-varai niṟppa[6]-dāga id-dēvarai** Gautama-gōttirattu Chāmuṇḍa[7]-paṭṭanukku kāṇiy=āga **dā(dhā)rai vārttuk**=kuḍuttēn **Vaidumba-mārāśan Tiḍalīśanen** [| *] it-tanmam iṟakkuvān Geṅgaik-[ka*]raiyil kuṟāṟ-ppa[6]śuvum brāmma(hma)ṇaraiyum konṟān pāvattil paḍuvān [| *]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-2. Hail! I, Vaidumba-mahārājan Tiḍalīśan, who have acquired the *pañchamāhaśabda*, who am the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, who have the broad chest embraced by the goddess of victory acquired after many battles, the pure among the Kshatriyas, Bhuvana-triṇētra, the ornament of the Vaidumbas, the worshipper of the sacred lotus feet of the god of Siddhavaṭa, the subduer of the enemy forces, in the 49th year of Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅgachōḷadēva[8], gave to the god Pallīśvaramuḍaiya-Mādēva at Kaṟkaḍai in Kīḻai-Mārāyapāḍi in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam (*the villages of*) Murukkēttam, Kuḍiēttam and Tirukkāḷattiēri as *dēvadāna* and gave this god (i.e., the right of officiating as the priest of the temple and managing its *dēvadāna* lands) with libation of water as *kāṇi* to Chāmuṇḍa-bhaṭṭa of the Gautama *gōtra*, stipulating payment of a seventh

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 446 of 1911; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 115.
[2] From impressions.
[3] The reduplication of the consonant succeeding *ṟ* is unnecessary.
[4] Traces of the words *pugaḷmādu* are visible at the beginning of the second line.
[5] The rule of *sandhi* has not been observed here.
[6] The doubling of *p* after *ṟ* is unnecessary.
[7] The letter *ḍa* is written below the line.
[8] The short *praśasti* of the king commnecing with *Pugaḷmādu*, etc., is left out in the translation.

of the *vāram* (i.e. share of produce or income) from these *ēttams* (i.e. the villages ?) [to the government ?][1] so that this charity endures as long as the moon and the sun last. Imprecation.

In the light of the information furnished by the records edited above we may briefly review the political vicissitudes of the Vaidumba chiefs who ruled in this area. The three records together show that Vaidumba rule over Kalakaḍa stretched for over two centuries and a quarter. However, they do not furnish a connected account of the members of this family. Gaṇḍa-triṇētra of A and Bhuvana-triṇētra of B figure apparently as independent kings. If the surmise that Bhīmarāja of the Madras Museum plate of Bhuvana-triṇētra[2] was the parent of Kundavā, the queen of Ariñjaya, is conceded, one among Parāntaka's Vaidumba opponents was probably Bhīmarāja himself. Their subjugation by the Chōḷas, followed by their matrimonial alliance with the conquering power, seems to have left the Vaidumbas virtually independent, but soon the family had to submit to the Rāshṭrakūṭa power under Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa III as revealed by the Pālagiri inscription of Kaliga-triṇētra Bhīma-mahārāja, son of Maduka-mahārāja.[3] Vikramādityaṉ and Tiruvayaṉ, the Vaidumba vassals of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch, figure in the Kīḻūr inscriptions[4] as holding sway over the South Arcot region. With the death of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa, the Chōḷas once again imposed their suzerainty over the Vaidumbas. Śaṅkaradēva and Sōmanātha, the son and grandson of Tiruvayaṉ, figure as subordinates under Rājarāja I[5] and Rājēndra.[6] But their position under the successors of Rājēndra is yet unknown until we come to the reign of Kulōttuṅga under whom Tiḍalīśaṉ of record C figures as a vassal. It is, however, doubtful if this chief belonged to the line of Tiruvayaṉ, the members of which do not use the *praśasti* which characterises the other branch. Moreover the sway of the branch represented by Tiruvayaṉ and his successors was confined to the area round about South Arcot, while Tiḍalīśaṉ and his forebears, who called themselves the lords of Kalukaḍa, ruled round their ancestral home, independently whenever it suited them but bending before a suzerain as occasion arose. Some members of this line seem to have been subordinates of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa[7] while Tiḍalīśaṉ ruled over Kalakaḍa as Kulōttuṅga's vassal.

No. 47—DUBI PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN

(5 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A few years ago a labourer discovered a set of inscribed copper plates while digging the earth near a Śiva temple called the Parisarēśvara-dēvālaya in the village of **Dūbi** in the Kamrup District, Assam, about three miles from the Pathshala railway station on the old Bengal-Assam Railway. The set contained no less than six plates. Unfortunately, however, the sixth or last plate is said to have been broken and lost soon after the discovery of the set which later found its way to the Assam State Museum at Gauhati. Mr. P. D. Chaudhury, Curator of the Museum, studied the inscription and published it in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XI, Nos. 3-4, pp. 33-38 ; Vol. XII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 16-33. The paper, however, was not properly

[1] The *dēvadāna* villages were made over to Chāmuṇḍa-bhaṭṭa as *kāṇi*, i.e. they were leased out to him, he being the lessee and Tiḍalīśaṉ, the donor and the ruling chief obviously representing the government, the lessor. Hence the stipulation of payment of a seventh share, obviously to the government.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 67.

[3] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 323 of 1935-36, p. 65, para. 23.

[4] Ibid., 1905, p. 49, para. 28.

[5] *SII*, Vol. III, No. 51.

[6] Ibid, No. 53.

[7] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 798; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 116.

illustrated with a complete facsimile of the inscription. The importance of the epigraph led me to request Mr. Chaudhury to give me an opportunity to examine the original plates. He very kindly complied with my request and sent the plates to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, where they were properly cleaned and several sets of impressions and photographs of the inscription were prepared. On examination of the original plates as well as of their impressions and photographs, it was found that the text of the inscription as published by Mr. Chaudhury was not quite free from errors and that the real import of certain verses inscribed on the first side of the fifth plate, which contain information of great historical importance, was entirely misunderstood. As these stanzas disclose a number of hitherto unknown facts about the struggle between Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa about the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, I re-edit the inscription in the following pages. My thanks are due to Mr. Chaudhury for the opportunity given to me to study and republish the inscription.

The set, as now preserved in the Assam State Museum at Gauhati, consists of five plates only. The original size of the plates, as shown by the second and fifth plates, the sides of which are better preserved, was 9·3″ by 4·6″. But all the plates show some signs of corrosion here and there and pieces of metal have broken away from all the four sides of some of them. The first plate is inscribed on one face only while the other plates have writing on both the faces. There are altogether 117 lines of writing. The second side of the second plate has 14 lines and the second side of the third plate 12 lines, while the inscribed faces of the other plates have 13 lines each. The letters are very carefully and beautifully formed. The effects of corrosion, however, have rendered it difficult to decipher the letters at the beginning and the end of many of the lines, while entire passages have become undecipherable in the lines at the top and the bottom of the plates in some cases. The plates are strung together on a ring, the two ends of which are secured in a ladle-shaped lump of bronze containing the seal. This resembles the brazen seal attached to other charters of the early kings of Assam. The ring-hole at the side of the plates is ·8″ in diameter, while the margin near it measures ·6″. The surface of the seal is oval, its diameter being 3·4″ lengthwise and 3·1″ breadthwise. On the upper part of it is countersunk the figure of an elephant to front. About two-thirds of the seal below this royal emblem is covered by the legend in 11 lines, there being a straight line demarcating the figure of the elephant and the legend. The signs for medial *ā* and *i* (cf. *datt-ā*° in line 1 and *dvi*° in line 6) in the legend have often ornamental shapes not to be noticed in the body of the inscription. The legend describing the ancestry of the king responsible for the charter under discussion reads as follows :—

1 Śrīmān=Naraka-tanayō Bhagadatta-Vajradatt-ānvayō mahārājā-

2 dhirāja-śrī-Prāgjyōtish-ēndra-Pushyavarmmā tat-puttrō mahārājādhirā-

3 ja-śrī-Samudravarmmā tasya tanayō Dattadēvyāṁ mahārājādhirāja-

4 Śrī-Va(Ba)lavarmmā tēna jātō[1] dēvyāṁ śrī-Ratnavatyāṁ mahārājādhirāja-

5 śrī-Kalyāṇavarmmā śrī-Gandharvvavatyāṁ śrī-Gaṇapativarmmā śrī-Ya-

6 jñavatyāṁ śrī-Mahēndrō dvis-turagamēdh-āharttā śrī-Suvratāyāṁ śrī- Nārā-

7 yaṇavarmmā śrī-Dēvamatyāṁ śrī-Bhūtivarmmā śrī-Vijñānavatyāṁ śrī-

8 Chandramukhavarmmā śrī-Bhōgavatyāṁ dvir-aśvamēdha-yā-

9 jī śrī-Sthiravarmmā tēna[1] śrī-Nayanāyāṁ śrī-

10 Susthitavarmmā tēna[1] Śrī-Dhruvalakshmyāṁ

11 śrī-Bhāskaravarmm=ēti [||*]

[1] Properly *tasmāj=jātaḥ*. For similar use in inscriptions, see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 122.

The seal may be compared with the other known seals[1] of the king who issued the present charter. It will be seen that the name of Supratishṭhitavarman, found in the legend on the other seals before that of Bhāskaravarman, is omitted here. The name of Mahēndravarman has been shortened to Mahēndra and that of Nayanaśōbhā or Nayanadēvī, wife of Sthiravarman, to Nayanā apparently owing to the consideration of space[2]. The mother of Bhāskaravarman is called Dhruvalakshmī as on the other seals and not Śyāmādēvī as in the Nidhanpur inscription[3]. One has also to note the forms of the names *Sthiravarman* (not *Sthitavarman*) and *Susthitavarman* (not *Susthiravarman*), which, as will be seen below, are both supported by the text of the inscription under discussion. The five plates together weigh 149 *tolas*, while the weight of the seal together with the ring is 87½ *tolas*.

The **characters** employed in the inscription belong to the eastern variety of the North Indian alphabet prevalent in the sixth and seventh centuries. They have a general resemblance with the characters of the Nidhanpur inscription of the same king who issued the present charter; but there are also certain remarkable differences in the forms of some *aksharas* and vowel-marks. The **palaeography** of the present record may be regarded as slightly earlier than that of the Nidhanpur plates. The top *mātrā* of the letters has been made thick in both the left and right ends; but, while in the left the thickness has a slight prolongation downwards, the right end of the serif has a short *ā-mātrā*-like stroke attached below it. Of initial vowels, we have *a* (lines 7, 16, 51), *ā* (line 44), *i* (lines 35, 50, 56, 57, 85, 86, 92, 103), *ī* (line 32) and *ē* (lines 88, 112). Amongst these, interesting is the form of *i* which is made by a *visarga* sign followed by the sign for *d*. The *ā-mātrā* is written in three different ways. Sometimes it is formed by slightly lengthening downwards the stroke at the right end of the serif, to which reference has been made above. In some cases, a small curve open towards the right is joined below the said stroke, while in many cases the *ā-mātrā* is made by joining the lower end of a slanting stroke above the right end of the serif of the consonants. Medial *ī* sign is made by means of two curved strokes placed side by side above the consonants, the left stroke being more curved towards the left than the right one. In many cases, the left curve is made into a loop, while the right stroke resembles the third variety of the *ā-mātrā* described above. Medial *u* is formed, as in early epigraphs, by putting a short vertical stroke below the consonants; but, in such consonants as *t*, *d* and *bh*, its lower end is raised above upto the level of the serif at the right side of the letter. Medial *ū* is indicated in such cases by adding a curve that joins the prolonged *u* stroke about the middle or a little below and ends beneath the consonant. The *akshara nu*, however, is formed by the prolongation of the lower limb of *n* a little downwards, and there are some cases of *tu* also formed in the same way. Medial *ṛi* has been once employed in line 58. Among consonants, *s* is of the looped variety, usually known as the Eastern Gupta type, and there is hardly any difference between the form of this letter and that of *sh*. Another interesting fact is that the inscription employs both the so-called Eastern and Western Gupta types of the letter *h*, while *m* has only the form of the Eastern Gupta variety. The left curve of the letter *y* usually ends in another curved stroke having its opening downwards; but in some cases it either ends in a horizontal top stroke or is curved towards the right. This second form of *y* has little difference from that of the letter *gh*. *B* has usually been indicated by the sign for *v*; but there are a few cases in which the sign for *b* has been not only used in its proper place but also wrongly instead of *v* (cf. lines 29, 31, 33, 37). The final forms of *t* (lines 19, 35, 61, 94, 111) and *n* (lines 30, 49, 67, 73) are found many times in the inscription.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the only exception of the names of the donees at the end, the entire record is written in verse, although the versification, with the

[1] H. Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Materials* (*MASI*, No. 66), pp. 69-70.

[2] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 261, n. 3.

[3] Above, Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 74, text, lines 26 and 28.

repeated use of the same sort of expressions and ideas, shows that the author was only a second grade poet. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the frequent reduplication of a number of consonants, including the palatal and cerebral sibilants, in conjunction with *r*, either preceding or following. The same consonants, preceded or followed by *r*, are, however, often found to be reduplicated in some cases but not so in others. Certain consonants followed by *y* are also found reduplicated in some cases (cf. *ārāddhya* in line 80). Final *m*, often before *ś* and *h*, has been changed to *ṅ*. It has been wrongly substituted by *n* in °*bhujān=rājā*° in line 5 and is invariably changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. In many cases, it has been changed to the corresponding nasal of the following consonant. Final *n*, which has been wrongly modified in *dōshām* in line 35, has not been changed to *anusvāra* in *sandhi* in some cases (cf. °*māns=tatha*° in line 88).

There is no trace of any date in the preserved portion of the inscription before us; but it is well known from Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* and other sources that the king who issued the charter was already on the throne in 606 A.D., when he sent an embassy to Harshavardhana of Thanesar and Kanauj, and that, according to Chinese evidence, he was continuing to rule as late as 648-49 A.D.[1] The first half of the seventh century may thus be roughly regarded as the reign-period of the issuer of our charter. The Nidhanpur inscription seems to have been issued about the beginning of the last decade of the king's career,[2] while the present charter may have been issued some time earlier.

The charter under discussion was issued by king **Bhāskaravarman** of the **Nāraka, Bhauma** or **Varman** dynasty, the earliest known historical ruling family of ancient Assam. Its aim was the renewal of an older charter originally issued by a predecessor of the king. The first part of the name of this earlier king occurring in verse of 76 of our record is damaged; but it may possibly be restored as **Bhūtivarman** who was the great-great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman. It may be recalled in this connection that the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman similarly record the revival of another charter of Bhūtivarman which was damaged by fire.[3] The original charter recording the present grant is also stated to have been completely damaged (*ā-kshata*) and that is why the plates were burnt (cf. *samujjvālya*) for removing the old writing on them, reshaping them and re-engraving the new document.

From lines 112-117 of our record, it appears that the original grant was made in favour of two Brāhmaṇas of a Ghōsha family belonging to the Kauśika *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *charaṇa*. They were *Bhaṭṭamahattara* Priyaṅkaraghōshasvāmin and the *āvasarika-Bhaṭṭa* Dēvaghōshasvāmin. But when the charter was renewed after the lapse of more than half a century, Dēvaghōshasvāmin was no more and, besides Priyaṅkaraghōshasvāmin, a number of other persons, who were entitled to shares of the property granted to the original donees, had to be mentioned as *aṁśa-patis* or share holders. Of these, Parāśara, Vishṇu, Yajña, Rudra, Vājin, Dhruva, Bhūma, Daksha and Śrēyaskara belonged to the same Ghōsha family of the Kauśika *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *charaṇa* and were probably descendants of the deceased Dēvaghōshasvāmin or of both Priyaṅkara and Dēva. Some other persons, belonging to *gōtras* like Maudgalya, Māṇḍavya, Kauśika and Ātrēya and not to the Ghōsha family to which the original donees belonged, are also mentioned as *aṁśa-patis*. They were probably descendants of the latter on the female side.[4] The case of these Ghōshas adds

[1] *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 63-64, 78; *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Introduction, p. 18.

[2] *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

[3] Cf. *viditam=astu bhavatām=ētad-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Mayūraśālmal-āgrahāra-kshētraṁ rājñā śrī-Bhūtivarmmaṇā kṛitaṁ yat tat=tāmrapaṭṭ-ābhāvāt=karadam=iti mahārājēna Jyēshṭhabhadrān vijñāpya punar=asy=ābhinava-paṭṭa-karaṇāya śāsanaṁ dattvā*, etc. (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 16-17.), and *śāsana-dāhād=arvāk*, etc. (ibid., p. 27).

[4] It is also possible to think that Priyaṅkara and Dēva were the principal donees who shared the gift with the *aṁśa-patis* mentioned separately. In that case, the *aṁśa-pati* Priyaṅkara was different from the principal donee of that name.

to the number of instances in which the name-ending of the members of a family became stereotyped into a cognomen in Eastern India in the age of the Guptas and their successors.[1] It has been suggested that such Brahmanic family names like Ghōsha, which are now found only among the non-Brāhmaṇas in the area about Bengal, points to the absorption of many early Brāhmaṇa families in such non-Brāhmaṇa communities of today as that of the Kāyasthas.[2] There is no indication about the donated property in the preserved portion of the inscription. The lost sixth plate of the charter probably contained this information.

The record begins with a verse in adoration to the god Śiva which also occurs at the commence ment of the Nidhanpur inscription. It is interesting to note that, although the ancient rulers of Assam claimed descent from the god Vishṇu through his son Naraka born of the goddess Earth, they were devoted to Śiva. The next three verses speak respectively of the mythological kings Naraka, his son Bhagadatta, and the latter's son Vajradatta, from whom the ancient kings of Assam traced their descent. Verse 5 credits Vajradatta with the performance of a number of horse-sacrifices. The next verse introduces **Pushyavarman**, progenitor of the royal family to which Bhāskaravarman belonged, as a descendant of Vajradatta and as a performer of sacrifices like the lord of the gods. We know that, according to the Nidhanpur inscription, Pushyavarman floursihed when 3000 years had passed since the days of Vajradatta,[3] whom epic and Puranic traditions assign to about the beginning of the Kali age shortly after the great battle of Kurukshētra. This is another way of saying that Pushyavarman flourished in the fourth millennium of the Kaliyuga, that is to say, in the millennium starting with 102 A.D.[4] Since Pushyavarman was twelfth in ascent from Bhāskaravarman who ruled in the first half of the seventh century, counting about quarter of a century per generation, his rule may be roughly assigned to the second half of the fourth century A.D. It thus seems that the tradition about the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3102 B.C. and the actual age of Pushyavarman were both known to the court-poet of Bhāskaravarman who composed the Nidhanpur record. Verses 6-10 of our epigraph describing the achievements of this king do not give historical informations of any great importance.

Verse 11 says that after Pushyavarman's death the throne passed on to his son **Samudravarman** who is described as belonging to the Bhaum-ānvaya in verse 15. There is little of interest in the description of Samudravarman with the exception of the facts that verse 13 refers to his death, verse 14 to his queen Dattavatī (called Dattadēvī in the legend on the seal) and verse 15 to his son and successor Balavarman. It has been suggested that the names of Samudravarman and Dattadēvī were imitated from those of the Imperial Gupta monarch Samudragupta and the latter's queen Dattadēvī.[5] Considering the facts that naming of the feudatory's son after his overlord was not unknown in ancient India[6] and that Pushyavarman, as indicated above, was probably a younger contemporary of Samudragupta (*circa* 340-76 A.D.), this may be regarded as suggesting penetration of the political influence of the Guptas in the Brahmaputra valley about the second half of the fourth century.[7] The suggestion seems to be supported by the adoption of the use of the Gupta era by the rulers of ancient Assam as indicated by the Tezpur inscription of Harjaravarman.[8] Verse 16 describing the activities of **Balavarman** says that he celebrated a number of

[1] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.

[2] Cf. ibid., pp. 17-18.

[3] *Vaṁśyēshu tasya nṛipatishu varsha-sahasra-trayaṁ padam=avāpya* | *yātēshu dēva-bhūyam kshitīśvara[ḥ*] Pushyavarmm=ābhūt* || (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 12 , also Introduction, p. 9).

[4] Cf. *Vikrama Volume*, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 561-63.

[5] Cf. *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Introduction, p. 14.

[6] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 176-78 ; 248 n. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta suggests that Kāmarūpa (Assam) was a *pratyanta* or bordering state, but that its king was a subordinate ally of the Gupta emperor. See *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 257-58 (text, lines 22-23).

[7] *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, loc. cit

[8] Ibid., p. 187. As is now known, the Barganga inscription of Bhūtivarman contains no date in the Gupta era as was formerly supposed. See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 18 ff.; Vol. XXX, pp 62 ff.

sacrifices and went to heaven. The next verse introduces Balavarman s son and successor **Kalyāṇavarman** who was born, according to verse 17, of the queen Ratnadēvī, called Ratnavatī in the legend on the seal. Verse 20 speaks of **Gaṇēndravarman**, son of Kalyāṇavarman from the queen Gāndharvavatī. On the seal and also elsewhere the names of the king and the queen-mother are given respectively as Gaṇapativarman and Gandharvavatī. Verse 22 says that Gaṇēndravarman went to heaven after having installed his son as king.

The next verse introduces his son and successor **Mahēndravarman** (called simply Mahēndra in the legend on the seal), born of the queen Yajñadēvī (celled Yajñavatī on the seal and in the Nidhanpur inscription). Verse 24 says that Mahēndravarman celebrated many sacrifices and that Suvratā was his queen. Verse 26 speaks of Mahēndravarman's successor **Nārāyaṇa** (i.e. Nārāyaṇavarman) born of the queen Suvratā. The next verse refers to Dēvamati (elsewhere called Dēvavatī), queen of Nārāyaṇavarman. Verses 28-29 speak of **Mahābhūtavarman** as the son of Nārāyaṇavarman and Dēvamati. This king, otherwise called Bhūtivarman, is known not only from his Barganga inscription but also from verse 31 of our record to have performed the horse-sacrifice. It is interesting to note that the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seal does not credit Bhūtivarman with the performance of the Aśvamēdha, but applies the epithet *dvis-turaga-mēdh-āharttā* (i.e. performer of two Aśvamēdhas) to Bhūtivarman's father Nārāyaṇavarman. This coupled with the fact that verses 29-30 of our record appear to speak of the installation of Mahābhūtavarman (Bhūtivarman) to the throne before the death of his father Nārāyaṇavarman possibly gives us a clue. It seems that one of the two horse sacrifices, ascribed to Nārāyaṇavarman in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seal, was performed early in his reign, while the second Aśvamēdha was celebrated when his son was either the *de facto* ruler of the country during his old age or probably the *de jure* ruler after his retirement.[1]

Verse 31 says that Mahābhūtavarman died after having a son from queen Vijñānavatī and having celebrated the Vājimēdha, i.e. horse sacrifice, while the next stanza introduces his son and successor **Chandramukhavarman**. Verse 35 says that Chandramukhavarman got a son from queen Bhōgavatī, while verse 37 refers to some sacrifices performed by the king. Verses 39-48 describe the achievements of Chandramukhavarman's son without disclosing his name; but verse 49 gives his name as **Sthiravarman** and says that, after having lived for some time in the *pura*, i.e. the city which was the old capital of his family, this king made a new city in the holy river (*puṇyē nadē*), i.e. on the banks apparently of the river Brahmaputra. The verse suggests that the old capital of the family was not exactly on the Brahmaputra. The capital city of these kings is usually identified with modern Gauhati on the Brahmaputra.[2] This may have been the city built by king Sthiravarman but the older city may also have been situated not very far from Gauhati. Verse 50 refers to the beloved wife of the king who is represented as belonging to the Bhaum-ānvaya. The next stanza apparently speaks of Sthiravarman's queen Nayanā, Nayanadēvī or Nayanaśōbhā, although its second half that apparently contained the name cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. We have seen that according to Bhāskaravarman's seal, Sthiravarman was the performer of two Aśvamēdha sacrifices. Whether any reference to this achievement of the king was made in the concluding words of verse 51 cannot be determined.

Verses 52-53 describe the birth of **Susthitavarman**, son of Sthiravarman. Verses 55-58 are all partially damaged and cannot be completely deciphered. According to the Nidhanpur inscription, another name of Susthitavarman was Mṛigāṅka. It is not impossible that one of the damaged verses contained the same information. There is also no reference in the extant portion of his description to his struggles with Mahāsēnagupta of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty as

[1] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 144-45 ; above, Vol. XXX, pp. 65-66.

[2] *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Introduction, pp. 8, 22.

known from the Aphsad inscription.[1] Verse 55 speaks of the king as highly learned in the various branches of learning, while verse 59 seems to refer to the king's *guru* (named Nṛiśaṅkara ?) who is compared to the god Śaṅkara (Śiva). Verses 60-61 describe Susthitavarman's queen Dhruvalakshmī. The next verse says how queen Dhruvalakshmī gave birth to two sons. Verse 63 refers to the two sons of Dhruvalakshmī, who were both endowed with signs of royalty, and singles out one of the two brothers (apparently the elder of them) who is called Aridamanēndra. Verse 64 deals with the good qualities of the same Aridamanēndra. The following stanza says that the first of the two brothers was named **Supratishṭhitavarman** and the second **Bhāskaravarman** and both of them are said to have been dear to all in the family of the Varmans.

Verse 66 probably begins with a description of the elder brother Supratisṭhitavarman, who, as we have seen, seems to have been also called Aridamanēndra in verses 63-64. The concluding portion of the stanza, possibly referring to Supratishṭhitavarman's accession to the throne after Susthitavarman's death, cannot be completely deciphered. Verse 67 seems also to continue the description of king Supratishṭhitavarman. But the king's name cannot be traced in the extant portions of verses 66-67. The next verse again speaks of the activities of the two brothers jointly.[2] The first half of this stanza appears to suggest that king Susthitavarman died when his sons Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman were still young in age. The second half of the stanza says that when, apparently not long after Susthitavarman's death, the Gauḍa army, strong in the waters (i.e. in naval warfare), reached (i.e. invaded the country of the two young brothers), Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman were not afraid to advance against them with a small force. The two brothers have been compared here with Bala (i.e. Balarāma-Saṅkarshaṇa) and Achyuta (i.e. Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva) who are often represented in epic and Puranic literature as fighting with success against heavy odds. Verse 69 describes the battle between Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman on the one hand and the Gauḍas on the other. The first half of the stanza speaks of the two brothers fighting with their piercing arrows and of their becoming as full of arrogance as the two heroic brothers Bala and Achyuta when the latter stood unconquered in their fight with the demon chief Bāṇa. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa*[3] describes the victory of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa over Bāṇ-āsura. It may be pointed out that Balarāma's contribution in this battle is not regarded as conspicuous and is hardly emphasised in the account of the battle found in various sources.

It is thus rather strange that the battle with Bāṇa was singled out by the poet from the numerous stories of the joint victories of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa over their enemies. The poet may have been inspired to refer to Bāṇa's battle with Balarāma and Kṛishṇa by the fact that the main battle between the Gauḍa elephant force (indirectly compared with Bāṇa's hosts) and the two brothers Supratisthṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman (compared with Balarāma and Kṛishṇa) was actually fought near Tezpur on the Brahmaputra in Assam, which is traditionally identified with Bāṇa's capital Śōṇitapura where the battle described in the epic and Puranic literature is said to have taken place. The second half of verse 69 describes how Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman, as they had done in the cases of other enemies previously defeated and killed by them, dispersed, in this case also, the huge elephant force of the Gauḍas by means of their arrows. It is interesting to note that the elephant force of the Gauḍas has been compared here with the Krauñcha mountain range which is specially associated in literature with the demon chief Bāṇa.[4]

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[1] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 202 ff.

[2] The joint mention of the exploits of the two brothers may suggest that the Gauda invasion had taken place before the installation of Susthitavarman's successor.

[3] Vaṅgavāsī ed., Section V, Chapter 33.

[4] Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Vaṅgavāsī ed., Śalya-parvan, chapter 46, verse 80 : *Bānō nā-n=ātha Daitēyō Balēḥ putrō mahā-balaḥ | Krauñchaparvatam=āśritya dēva-saṅghān=adhāvata* || The piercing of the Krauñcha is, however, ascribed to Skanda-Kārttikēya and not to Balarāma and Kṛishṇa.

The first half of verse 70 says how the two brothers Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman, with the help of their various weapons, spread consternation in the ranks of the enemies; but, alas (*ahō*), as the second half of the same stanza says, they were completely covered by the striking weapons of the Gauḍas and fell into swoon (*mōhaṁ=gatau*), when the enemies caused them to be encircled by their fierce elephants and captured both of them (*āsāditau*). The first half of verse 71 describes how the enemies, i.e. the Gauḍas, took the two brothers to their own country (i.e. Gauḍa). This is said to have been due to their ill luck (*vidhi-vaśāt*)[1]; but their good qualities (*guṇavattay=aiva*), as said in the latter half of the stanza, soon enabled them to return home.

There is thus no doubt that Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman were carried as captives to Gauḍa by the Gauḍa army, but that they were afterwards reinstated by the king of the Gauḍas, whom they apparently pleased by offering allegiance. That the two brothers were away from their country only for a short time is made clear by the second half of the same verse which says that, when the two brothers soon returned and got back their own kingdom (*prāpya sva-rājyam=achirāt=punar-āgatau tau*), they caused great delight to their paternal land (*pittryaṁ jagat*). The first half of verse 72 refers to the death of Supratishṭhitavarman that took place some time after (cf. *tatō*) the events described in the previous stanzas. The latter half of this stanza, which cannot be deciphered satisfactorily, apparently speaks of the accession of Bhāskaravarman to the throne. The following verse, only a few passages of which can be read, also seems to describe the achievements of Bhāskaravarman as a ruler. The next three stanzas continue to describe Bhāskara's activities and achievements, some of which seem to be quite interesting. Verse 74 describes king Bhāskaravarman as a great poet and dialectician. The third foot of verse 75 referring to his re-acceptance of the royal fortune after a ceremony of purification suggests that the kingdom had passed to the hands of enemies (apparently the Gauḍas) sometime before he succeeded in regaining complete control over his dominions. This may further suggest that his elder brother Supratishṭhitavarman died shortly after his reinstallation by the Gauḍa king. Verse 76 referring to the renewal of an old charter originally granted by a predecessor of Bhāskaravarman and the following lines in prose mentioning the original donees as well as the then share-holders of the property granted have already been discussed above.

It will be seen that the inscription under discussion supplies a number of valuable informations not known from other sources. That Sthiravarman transferred his capital to a new city built by him on the bank of the Brahmaputra and that Supratishṭhitavarman was also known as Aridamanēndra are such new informations. But the most important historical information supplied by the record is that about the invasion of Prāgjyōtisha or Kāmarūpa, the kingdom of the rulers of the Nāraka, Bhauma or Varman dynasty, by the Gauḍas shortly after the death of Susthitavarman during the rule of his young son Supratishṭhitavarman. Since Supratishṭhitavarman seems to have been on the throne for a short time and since his younger brother Bhāskaravarman is known to have succeeded him sometime before 606 A.D., this event must have taken place about the closing years of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh. The name of the Gauḍa king who led or sent this expedition against Kāmarūpa cannot be determined with certainty. But he may have been the celebrated Gauḍa monarch Śaśāṅka who was a contemporary of Bhāskaravarman and is known to have ascended the throne sometime before 605 A.D., when he joined the Mālava king Dēvagupta in an expedition against the Maukhari ruler Grahavarman. Since, however, the dates of both Śaśāṅka's accession and Susthitavarman's death cannot be precisely determined, it cannot be definitely said that it was Śaśāṅka himself, and not his predecessor on the Gauḍa throne, who was responsible for the expedition. The Gauḍas in this case reached the heart of the Bhauma kingdom and the battle between the Gauḍas and the royal brothers Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman may have taken place near modern Tezpur in Assam. As

[1] Cf. the wellknown case of Chālukya Vijayāditya (above, Vol. IX, p. 203, text lines 25-26, etc.).

we have seen, the two brothers were defeated in the battle, and were taken captive to Gauḍa, although the Gauḍa king shortly afterwards sent them back to Kāmarūpa. There is hardly any doubt, as already indicated above, that Supratishṭhitavarman regained his throne by offering allegiance to the king of Gauḍa whose action in this case was guided by a principle recognised by ancient Indian rulers.[1] It seems that, for some time after the carrying away of Supratishṭhitavarman by the Gauḍas, the kingless state of Kāmarūpa was actually in the possession of the Gauḍa army. Even after the reinstatement of Supratishṭhitavarman and during the early years of the rule of his brother and successor Bhāskaravarman, the Kāmarūpa kingdom seems to have owed allegiance to Gauḍa. But Bhāskaravarman must have thrown off the Gauḍa yoke even in the earlier part of his reign (cf. verse 75 of our record). This is suggested by his alliance with Harshavardhana, an enemy of king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, about 606 A.D.

In this connection it is necessary to sketch the background of the foreign policy of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa and their struggle in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. As already indicated above, the political influence of the Gupta emperors seems to have spread over Kāmarūpa in the second half of the fourth century. But, owing to the decline of the Imperial Guptas in the earlier part of the sixth century, the Bhauma kings of Assam appear to have thrown off the Gupta yoke. This is suggested by the performance of the horse-sacrifice by king Nārāyaṇavarman, his son Bhūtivarman or Mahābhūtavarman and the latter's grandson Sthiravarman. The reigns of Nārāyaṇavarman and Bhūtivarman may be roughly assigned to the first and second quarters of the sixth century, while Sthiravarman seems to have ended his rule some years before the end of the same century. The throwing off of the Gupta yoke by the kings of Kāmarūpa in the first half of the sixth century may have engaged them in a struggle with the latest members of the Imperial Gupta family still continuing to rule over North Bengal.[2]

Shortly afterwards, however, the Gauḍas, originally subordinate to the Imperial Guptas, established an independent kingdom comprising wide regions of Central and South-western Bengal and they soon extended their power over North Bengal also.[3] This brought the Gauḍas face to face with the kings of Kāmarūpa which then appears to have included parts of North Bengal at least upto the river Karatōyā in the west. Ancient Indian political thinkers regarded two powerful states situated side by side as natural or potential enemies of each other, while a powerful state lying on the further side of the enemy state was regarded as a natural or potential friend.[4] Besides Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa, two other powers, viz. the Maukharis of Bihar and U. P. and the so-called Later Guptas of Mālava (East Malwa), were also playing an important part in the political history of Northern India[5] and it is interesting to note that the principles of a state's foreign policy as enunciated by the ancient Indian political thinkers seems to have been actually followed by these four powers in their political relations with one another. The Gauḍas are known to have been enemies of their eastern neighbours, i.e. the kings of Kāmarūpa,[6] as well as their western

[1] Cf. *grahaṇa-mōksha* in line 20 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 257) and *gṛihīta-pratimukta* in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 43.

[2] Cf. the Damodarpur inscription of the Gupta year 224=543 A.D. (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 337).

[3] See *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 276, 280. The *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* (ed. Sankrityayana, verses 722-25) refers to Harsha's victory over Śaśāṅka at the battle of Puṇḍravardhana (modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District) which was the headquarters of the Gupta province comprising North Bengal.

[4] Cf. Kullūka's commentary on the *Manu Smriti*, VII, 156.

[5] See *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 69-74.

[6] This is suggested by the struggle between Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa described in the record under discussion, by the fact that the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman were issued from his camp at Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of the Gauḍa kings, and by Bhāskaravarman's alliance with Harshavardhana who was an avowed enemy of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka.

neighbours, i.e. the Maukharis,[1] while they were friends of the Later Guptas who ruled on the further side of the Maukhari dominions.[2]

The Later Guptas were similarly enemies of the Maukharis[3] but friends of the Gauḍas and again enemies of the Kāmarūpa kings.[4] It is very probable that the Bhauma kings of Kāmarūpa were likewise friends of the Maukharis. At least this is suggested by the haste with which Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa offered friendship to Harshavardhana as soon as the latter came to be the successor of the last Maukhari king Grahavarman. Harshavardhana belonged to the family of the Pushyabhūtis of the Eastern Punjab and the neighbouring region. That family also became powerful after the decline of the Imperial Guptas. At first the Pushyabhūtis were matrimonially allied with the Later Guptas;[5] but, when the throne of the Later Gupta king Mahāsēnagupta, who was probably the maternal uncle of the Pushyabhūti king Prabhākaravardhana, passed to the usurper Dēvagupta, they contracted matrimonial relations with and became friends of the Maukharis.[6] Some of the known facts of history indicating the political relations among the above powers were discussed by me elsewhere.[7]

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[1] According to the Haraha inscription of Vikrama Samvat 611=553 A.D. (above Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.; *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, p. 69, n. 4), Maukhari Īśānavarman defeated the Gauḍas, while the *Harshacharita*, supported by the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang, describes how the king of Gauḍa (Śaśāṅka) led an expedition jointly with the king of Mālava (apparently Dēvagupta) against the Maukhari king Grahavarman and was responsible for the death of the latter's brother-in-law Rājyavardhana, the Pushyabhūti king of Thanesar (Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*. pp. 63-68). Earlier success of the Gauḍas against the Maukharis at least in Bihar is suggested by the fact that Śaśāṅka seems to have been originally a viceroy under the Gauḍa king with his headquarters at Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad District (cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 284). The fact that according to the Aphsad inscription, king Mahāsēnagupta of Mālava (probably a friend of the Gauḍa king) led an expedition against king Susthitavarman of Kāmarūpa without encountering Maukhari opposition seems to indicate the same state of things. It is probable that the encounter between Mahāsēnagupta and Susthitavarman and between the Gauḍas and the latter's sons were two phases of the same war resulting from a joint Gauḍa-Mālava invasion of Kāmarūpa.

[2] The Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka was a friend of the Later Gupta ruler of Mālava (Dēvagupta) who usurped Mahāsēnagupta's throne. They fought together against the Maukharis and their Pushyabhūti relatives. As indicated above, Mahāsēnagupta also was possibly a friend of the Gauḍas and led his Kāmarūpa expedition as an ally of the contemporary Gauḍa king.

[3] The Later Gupta king Kumāragupta defeated Maukhari Īśānavarman and extended his power upto Prayāga (Allahabad) in the east, but the same Maukhari king defeated and killed Kumāragupta's son Dāmōdaragupta and he himself or his son Śarvavarman extended Maukhari power in Bundelkhand (cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 25; above, Vol. XIX, pp. 17 ff.). Śarvavarman's grandson Grahavarman was defeated and killed by the Mālava king (Dēvagupta) with the help of the king of Gauḍa (Śaśāṅka).

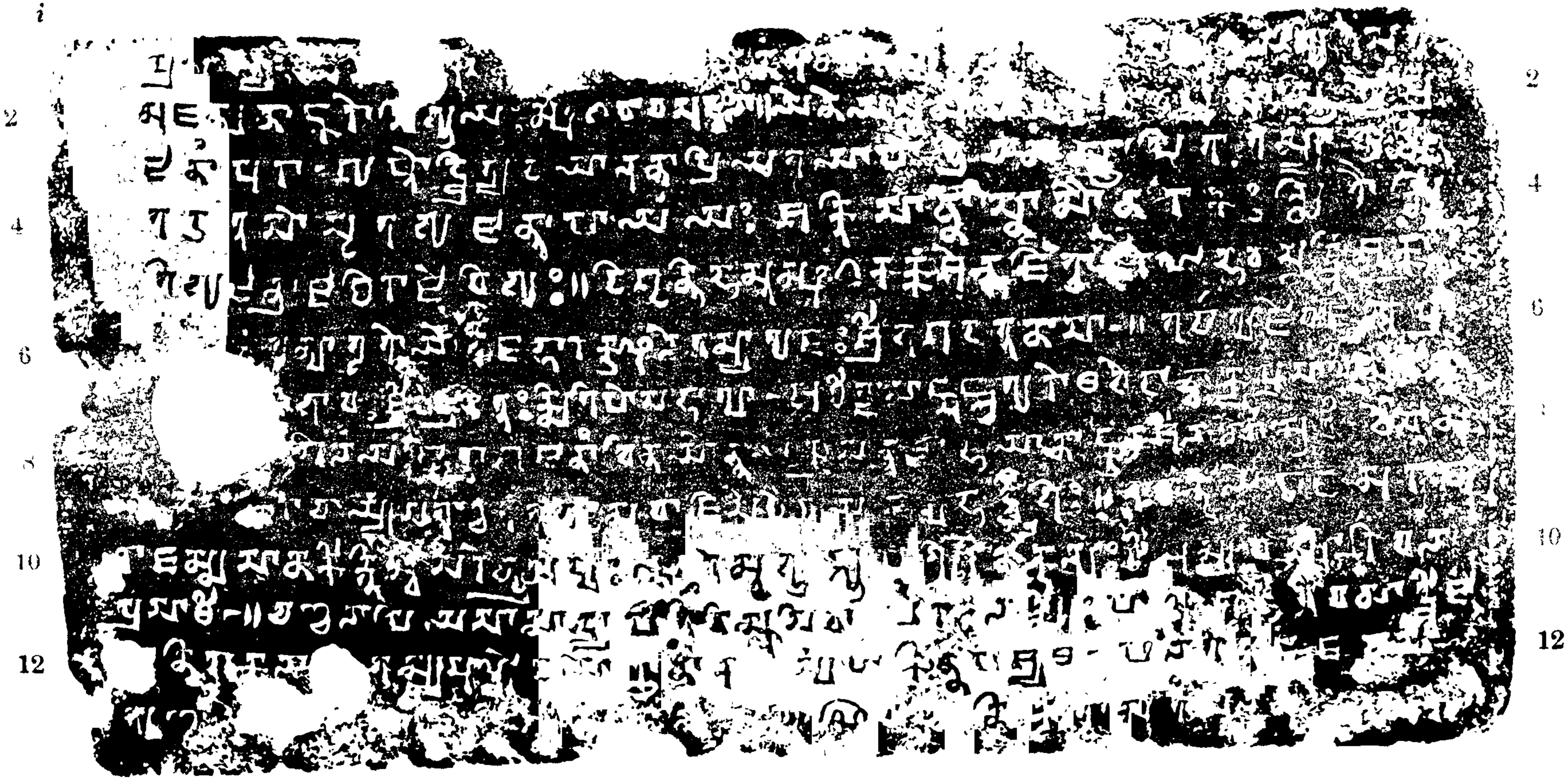
[4] Mahāsēnagupta defeated the Kāmarūpa king Susthitavarman on the banks of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra probably in alliance with the Gauḍas.

[5] It is usually believed that the Pushyabhūti king Prabhākaravardhana's mother Mahāsēnaguptā was a sister of Mahāsēnagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty. After the usurpation of Mahāsēnagupta's throne by Dēvagupta, his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta fled to Prabhākaravardhana's court for protection. According to the *Harshacharita*, Kumāra was installed as king by Prabhākaravardhana's son Harshavardhana (*IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 278, n. 2), although the country where he was installed is not specified. He may have been given merely the position of the king of Mālava at the Pushyabhūti court; cf. the case of the Stuart Pretenders at the French court. Mādhavavarman may have been established by Harsha as his viceroy over some parts of Bihar where his son Ādityasēna carved out a powerful kindom after Harsha's death.

[6] Prabhākaravardhana's daughter Rājyaśrī was married to Maukhari Grahavarman. After the death of Grahavarman at the hands of the Mālava king (Dēvagupta) supported by the Gauḍa king (Śaśāṅka), Prabhākaravardhana's eldest son and successor Rājayavardhana came to fight with the enemies of his brother-in-law. But he was soon killed by Śaśāṅka. Then Rājyavardhana's younger brother and successor Harshavardhana took the field against the Later Guptas and Gauḍas. He succeeded in clearing the Maukhari kingdom of the enemies and ultimately annexed it to his own dominions. He transferred his capital from Thanesar to Kanauj possibly because the latter had been the capital of Grahavarman.

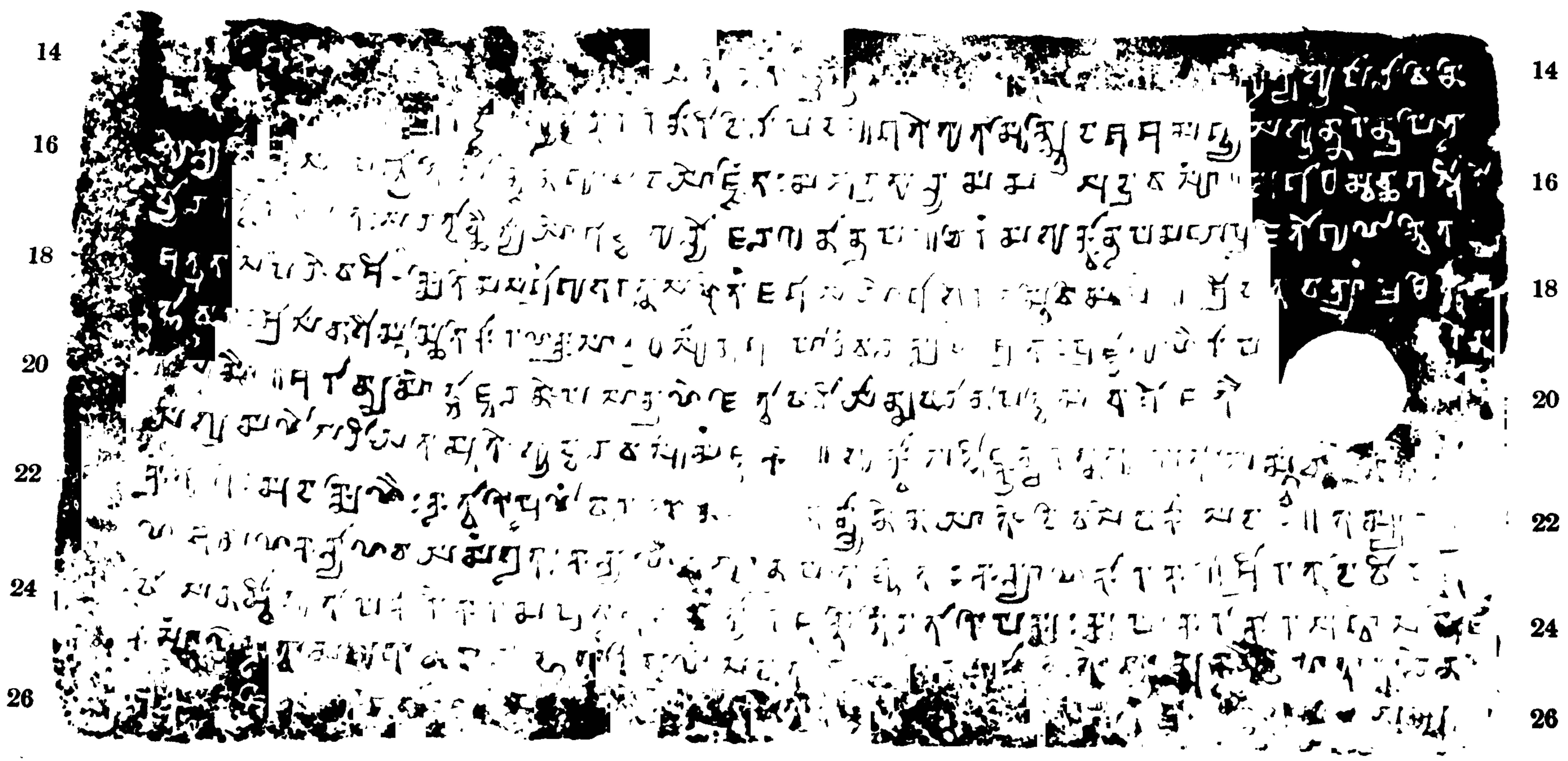
[7] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 69-74.

DUBI PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN—PLATE I



SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

ii,a



The friendship between Harshavardhana and Bhāskaravarman contracted in 606 A.D. with a view to humbling the power of king Śasāṅka of Gauḍa ultimately led to their joint victory over Gauḍa sometime after the death of Śaśāṅka who was ruling as late as 619 A.D. over wide regions of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Nidhanpur charter of Bhāskaravarman was issued from his camp at Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of the Gauḍa kingdom, in the present Murshidabad District of West Bengal, when the two friends were apparently engaged in besieging the Gauḍa capital. This event has been ascribed by some writers to a date between 638 and 642 A.D.[1] There is no mention in that record of the Gauḍa invasion of Kāmarūpa during Bhāskaravarman's youth. The reference to this event in the present charter may suggest that the Dūbi plates were issued when the memory of Bhāskara's success in throwing off the Gauḍa yoke was not dimmed by the lapse of many years and by the subsequent military successes of the Kāmarūpa king. The date of this record may, therefore, be tentatively assigned to the earlier part of Bhāskaravarman's reign.

It has been observed that the extant portion of the inscription before us does not speak of the locality which presumably was granted by the present charter. There is, however, mention of the old capital of the family and the new capital built by Sthiravarman without specifying their names. We have already discussed their probable location. In the legend on the seal, Pushyavarman is described as the lord of **Prāgjyōtisha**, which, together with the later Kāmarūpa, was the name applied to the dominons of the early kings of Assam. The heart of the country was the Gauhati region of Assam, but it extended upto the river Karatōyā in the east. Gauḍa was the name both of a people and of the country inhabited by them. A late tradition seems to suggest that, in the narrow sense, **Gauḍa** indicated only the small area lying to the south of the Padmā and the north of the Burdwan region in South-west Bengal, although it seems that originally the course of the Padmā lay to the north of the present locality called Gaur (Gauḍa) in the south of the Malda District. Thus the present District of Murshidabad together with the southern part of Malda may have been the original Gauḍa. At the time of our inscription, however, Gauḍa seems to have indicated the entire dominions of the Gauḍa kings. At a later date the name Gauḍa was applied to the whole of the western half of Bengal and still later to the entire Bengali-speaking area.[2]

TEXT[3]

[Metres : verses 1, 13, 22 *Vaṁśasthavila* ; verses 2, 37, 50-53, 55, 58, 62, 67, 68, 70, 75 *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* ; verse 3 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā-Vaṁśasthavila*) ; verses 4, 6, 9, 11, 18, 20, 28, 49, 57 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā-Upēndravajrā*) ; verses 5, 15, 40 *Upajāti* (*Indravaṁśā-Vaṁśasthavila*) ; verses 7, 8, 10, 12, 17, 25, 27, 29, 32-36, 41-48, 59, 61, 65 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 14, 16, 56 *Indravaṁśā* ; verses 19, 26, 30, 76 *Indravajrā* ; verse 21 *Upēndravajrā* ; verse 23 *Upajāti* (*Upēndravajrā-Indravaṁśā*) ; verses 31, 66, 69, 73, 74 *Sragdharā* ; verse 39 *Upajāti* (*Indravaṁśā-Indravajrā*) ; verse 54 *Mandā-krāntā* ; verses 60, 64 *Āryā* ; verses 63, 71 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 72 *Śikhariṇī*.]

First Plate

1 [4]Praṇa[mya dēvaṁ śaśiśēkharaṁ priyaṁ Pinākinaṁ bhasma-kaṇair=vibhūshitaṁ(taṁ |) vibhūta][5]yē bhūtimat[āṁ]

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[1] *History of Bengal*, op. cit. p. 78.

[2] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 56-57.

[3] From the original plates kindly lent by Mr. P. Ḍ. Chaudhury, Curator of the Assam State Museum, Gauhati, and from impressions and photographs prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. I am indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. P. B. Desai for some suggestions. The errors in the published transcript of the record have not been indicated here.

[4] There is no trace of the symbol for *Siddham* at the beginning of the line.

[5] Most of the *aksharas* placed within square brackets in this line and in the following lines are totally lost. The lost *aksharas* in verse 1 have been restored from the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarman, which also begins with the same stanza.

2 **sujanmanāṅ=karō[mi]** bhūyaḥ sphuṭa-vācham=ujva(jjva)lāṁ(lām) || **[1*] Yēn=ēyam=va-(yaṁ va)su[dhā** Varāha-vapushā sthityai pra]-

3 **jānāṁ purā** |[1] gupt=ōddhri(ddhṛi)tya dayālunā priyatayā pōttrē cha **saṁsthāpitā [|*] tasy=ā [bhūt=su]-**

4 **ta uttamō=mṛitabhujān**=tāpāyaṁ(ya) yaḥ śaktimān=nāmn=āsau Narakaḥ **kshitau kshi-**

5 **ti-bhujān=rā(jāṁ** rā)jādhirājō vibhuḥ [2*] Dig-danti-hasta-sphuṭa-**karkkaśē[na] jitvā [karē]ṇ=āhava-**mūrddhni Śakkraṁ(kkram) |[2]

6 **tan-mātṛitō yō** [vi]jahāra kuṇḍalē tasy=ā[tma]jjaḥ śrī-Bhagadatta-nāmā || **[3*][3] Tṛip-ātmajō[4] Vajradhara-pra-**

7 **bhāvaḥ śrī-Vajradatta**ḥ kshitipō mahātmā |[2] adhītya s=āṅgāṅś=**cha(ṅgāṁś=cha)turō=tha Vēdān=vākyaṁ** pramāṇaṁ sa[my-ā]-

8 **khilaṁ yaḥ** [|| 4*] [Jñātvā] gajānāṁ vinay-ōnnaya-kkramaṇ=tathā **hayānāṅ=ku[la]-śīla-sau-shṭhavaṁ(vam)** |[2] [dēv-āsu]-

9 **r-āchāryya-matañ=cha** tatva(ttva)taḥ sa vājimēdhair=ayajan=**maharddhibhiḥ || [5*] [Tad-a]-nvayē [rā]jasu** Rā[ja]-

10 **rāja-ssa(sa)māna**-kīrttishv=amarēndra-sadma(ttva)ḥ [|*] ya(yā)tēshv=**abhūd=bhūpatir=Indra-kalpaḥ śrī-[Pushya]va[rmm**-ā]ri-va(ba)la-

11 **pramāthī** ||[5] [6*] Chañchal=āpi yam=āsādya patiṁ Vishṇum=iv=**āparaṁ(ram)** |[2] **Lakshmīḥ pā[ṇi-gṛihīt=ē]va** sāddhvī jā-

12 **[tā] nirā[kulā]** [|| 7*] Tasya puṇy-ōday-ōtthānāṁ karmmaṇāṁ kin=na **paśyatha** |[2] **phalaṁ tad vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-ja[nmānō]**

13 bhuñja[tē] ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ [|| 8*] [Puṇyāni?] [karmmā]ṇi va(ba)hūni kṛitvā **sutaṁ sa lēbhē** ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

Second Plate, First Side

14 — —[6] [|*] Śakkrēṇa — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — yātō narēndras-[tridi]vauka[sānām ||] [9*] ⏓ ⏓[7] [nusmṛitya] bhūpālā vim-

15 ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ [|*] Tasya [tā]dṛig=abhūd-vā(d-bā)hur=ari-nārī-vilāpadaḥ || [10*] **Gatē tu tasmins=Tri(smiṁs=Tri)daś-ā**-ākhyam abhūn-narēndra[ḥ*] pitṛi-

16 [tu]lya[8]-vikkramaḥ [|*] prakhyātimān=jñā(ñ=jñā)na-guṇ-ōday-ōrjjitaḥ **samudra-tulya[ḥ*] sa Samudravarmmā** || [11*] Agādha-svachchha-gambhīrō

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[1] This mark of punctuation, indicated by a short horizontal stroke, is unnecessary.

[2] The punctuation mark is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

[3] The metre is a variety of *Upajāti* having three of the feet in *Indravajrā* and one in *Vaṁśasthavila*. The double *daṇḍa* at the end of the stanza is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

[4] *Tad-ātmajō* or *nṛip-ātmajō* is intended. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 157 and n. 2.

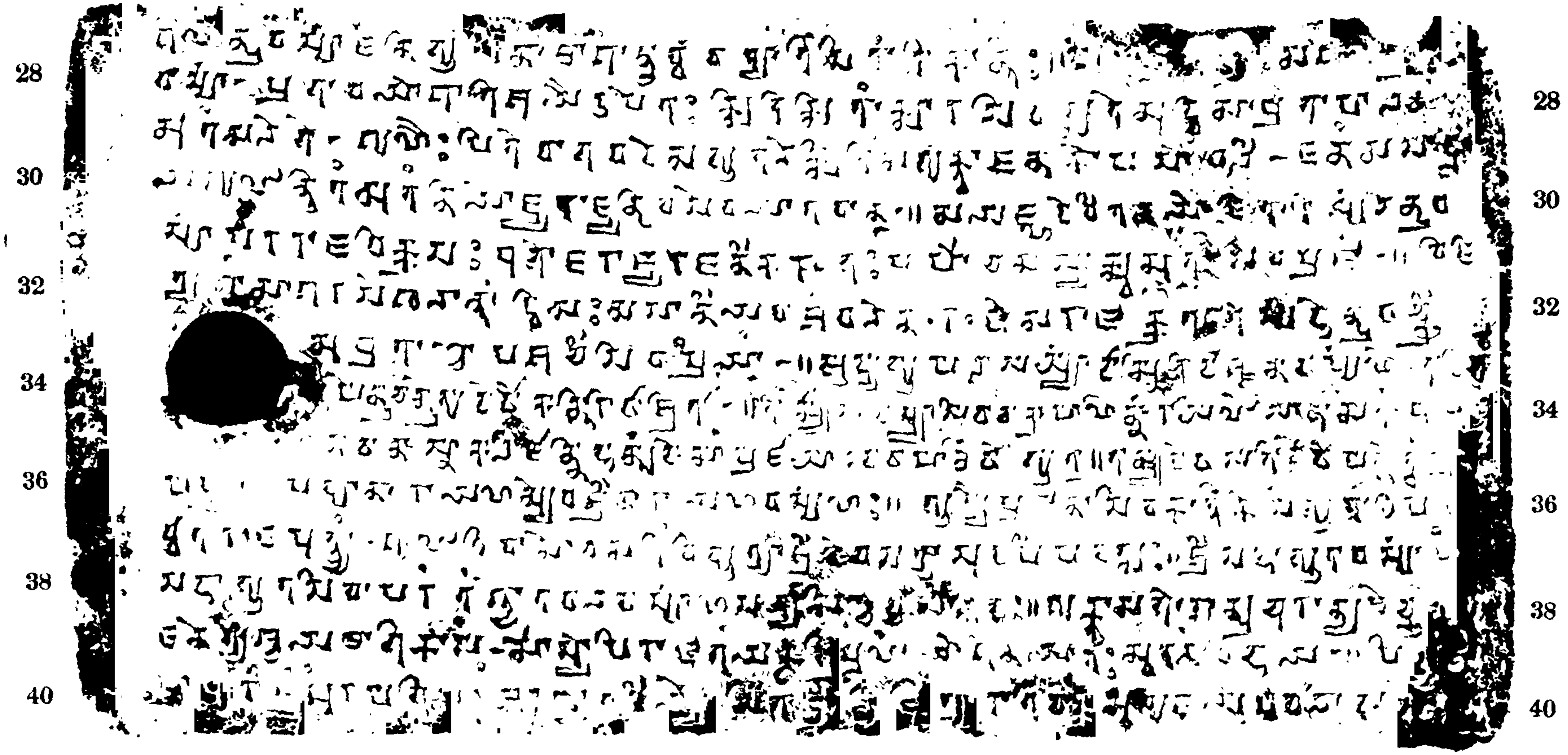
[5] The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

[6] One may suggest *surarāja-kalpam*.

[7] The lost *aksharas* may have been *tam=a°*.

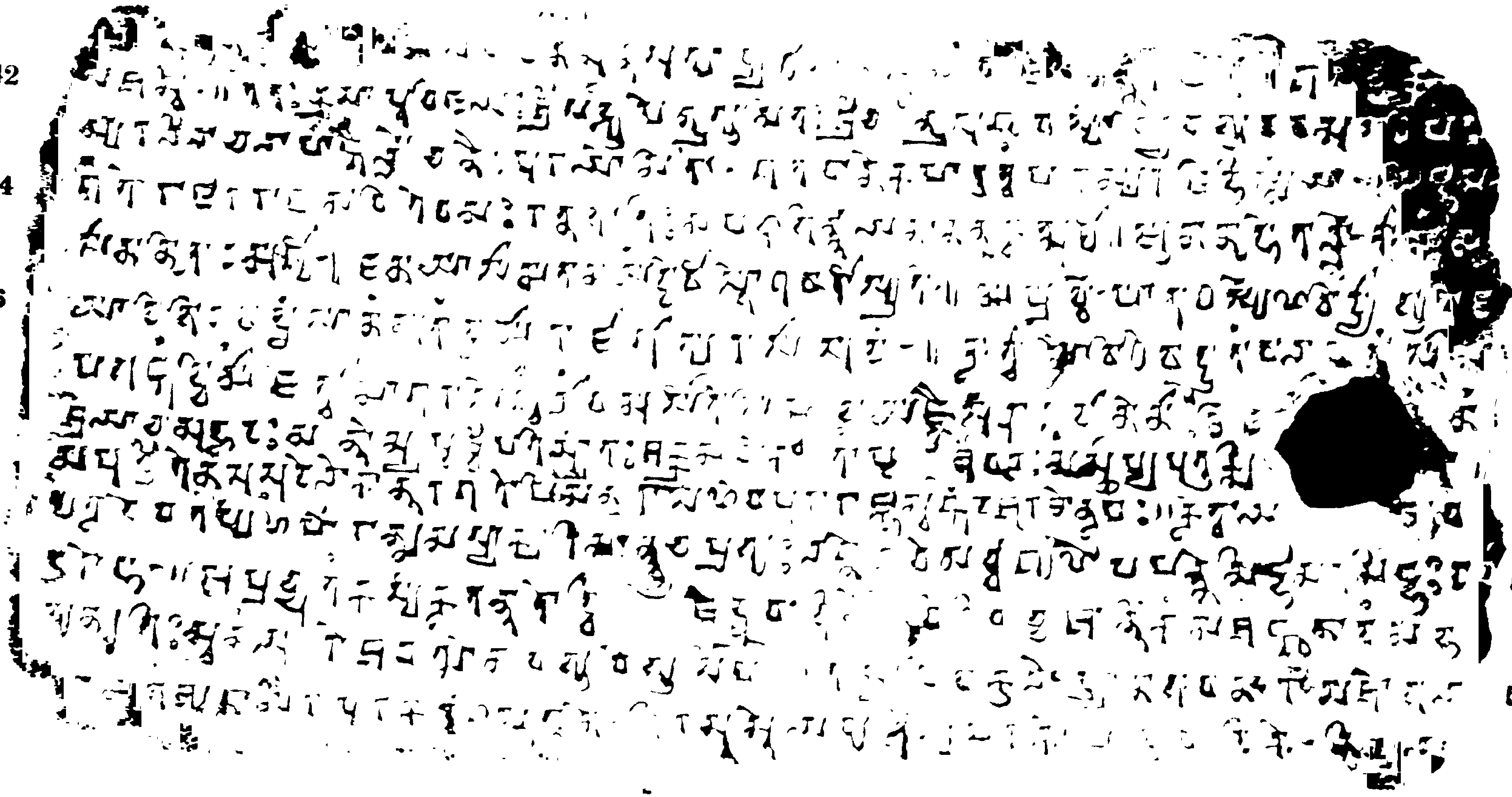
[8] The *akshara tu* looks more like *tyau*.

ii,b



SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

iii,a



17 vyāla-ratn-ōpasēvitaḥ [|*] mahatvā(ttvā)ch=chhaitya-yōgāch=cha tulyō jaladhinā nṛipaḥ || [12*] Chiraṁ sa bhūktvā nṛipa-saṅgha-pūjitō guṇ-ānvitaḥ

18 śattru-tamō-pahō vaśi[1] kshitiṁ samagrāṁ gu(śu)bha-ratna-maṇḍitāṁ jagāma yōg-ābhiratas=trivishṭapaṁ(pam) ||[2] [13*] Śrī-Dattavatyāṁ prathi[tō ma]-

19 hāva(ba)laḥ śrīmān=abhīshṭa-sthiti-kāraṇa-kkramāt [|*] dharmm-ānugaḥ pārthiva-lakshaṇaiḥ śritaḥ prajñā-guṇair=āpa narēndra-

20 tām=asau || [14*] Śarān=sa sōḍhvā jvalan-ōpamān=raṇē jitvā va(ba)līyān=sava(ba)lān=api dvishaḥ [|*] vu(bu)bhōja **Bhau[m-ānva]-**

21 **ya**-bhūshaṇō mahī[ṁ] yatas=tatō=bhūd=**Va(Ba)lavarmma**-saṁjñakaḥ || [15*] Bhuktvā mahīṅ=kundha[3]-ratna-bhūshitāṁ(tā)m=ishṭvā cha n=aikaiḥ

22 kratubhiḥ sudakshiṇaiḥ [|*] kṛitvā ripūṇāṁ va(ba)la-[māna-kha]ṇḍanan=[dh]yānēna yātō divam=ēva kāmada[ḥ] || [16*] Tasya kalyā-

23 ṇa-śēshēṇa kalyāṇa-chaya-saṁbhṛitaḥ [|*] **Kalyāṇavarmmā** nṛipatir=bhūtaḥ kalyāṇa-kārakaḥ || [17*] Śrī-Ratnadēvī-prabha-

24 vō manasvī bhu(bhū)t-ōpakār-aika-rasa-pravṛitta[ḥ*] [|*] [Vṛi]ttrāri-śaktir=nnihat-āri-pakshaḥ kshapākar-ākāra-mukhō ma[h-aujāḥ] [|| 18*]

25 Karmmāṇi kṛitvā sa śubhāni rājā hatvā ripūṇāṁ mahatāṅ=[kulāni] |[1] [bhuktvā] cha bhō-[gān=su]kṛi[tair=u]pāttān=kālēna

26 Śa[kkr-āti]thitāñ=jag[āma] || [19*] ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ yugma[ḥ |*]

Second Plate, Second Side

27 **Gaṇēndravarmm**=ājani bhūmināthō Gāndharvvavatyā[ṁ*] timirāri-kāntiḥ || [20*] Ga-[ṇē]ndra-[tulya]ḥ sa Ga[ṇē]ndra-

28 varmmā |[4] prabhāva-yōg-ātiśayair=upētaḥ [|*] kshitikshitāṁ kshāram=iva kshatēshu dvishāṁ pratāpāya

29 sutaṁ sa lēbhē ||[1] [21*] Guṇaiḥ pit=ēv=ābhavad=ēsha bhūtalē kshitiṁ sa bhuktvā Janak-ōpamō balī |[1] janaṁ samāhū-

30 ya guṇ-ānvitaṁ sutaṁ niyōjya rājyan=divam=ēva yātavān ||[2] [22*] Sa Yajñadēvī-tanayō jit-ārir=m**Mahēndrava-**

31 **rmm**=Āmararāja-vikkramaḥ [|*] bubhōja rājya[ṁ*] rajanīkar-ābhaḥ papau cha samyak=sva-su[tām=i]va prajāṁ(jām) ||[2] [23*] Viji-

32 tya gāṁ sāgara-mēkhal-āntāṁ dvishaḥ samānīya vaśaṁ va(ba)lēna [|*] ījē sa rājā kkratubhir=m**Mahēndravach**=chhrī-

33 Subra(vra)tāñ=ch=āpa Śachīm=iva priyāṁ(yām) ||[2] [24*] Ādyā bhūpāla-maryyādā-sthitir=darśśa(rśa)na-darppaṇē |[1] tasmi-

[1] The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

[2] The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

[3] A word like *kāñchana* in the place of *kundha* would suit both the metre and the sense.

[4] The punctuation mark, indicated by a short horizontal stroke, is unnecessary.

34 [n=nṛi]pēndra-chandrē tu dēvī ka(kā)ntir=iv=āśritā ||[1] [25*] Tasyām=Adityām=iva **Chakra-pāṇir=nNārāyaṇō** mānushatāṁ prapa[dya] [|*]

35 tēn=ēva nāmnā kalijān=nihantuṁ dōshāṁ(shān) prajāyā iva pārthivō=bhūt || [26*] Tasya Dēvamatir=ddēvī patnītvaṁ pra[tya]-

36 padyata |[2] Padmā Nārāyaṇasy=ēva śrī-Nārāyaṇavarmmaṇaḥ || [27*] Bhūtyai prajānām=iva Kārttikēyaṁ Bhūtādhipa[ḥ*] Pa-

37 rvvatarājaputtrāṁ(ttryām) |[2] guṇ-ādhivāsō vasatiṁ vibhūtyā[ḥ*] śrī-Dēvamatyām=udapīpadat=saḥ || [28*] **Śrī-Mahābhūtaba (va)rmmāṇaṁ**

38 mahābhūtam=iv=āparaṁ(ram|) taṁ khyāta-va(ba)la-varmmāṇam=abhyasiñchach=cha [mā]-nadaḥ || [29*] Bhuktvā sa bhōga(gā)n=prachurān=yathēchchhan=datv[ā](ttvā)

39 [ja]nēbhyaś=cha yathābhikāmaṁ(mam) |[2] saumyō=pi rājā bhayakṛid=ripūnāṁ yōgēna yātaḥ sva-tanaṁ(nuṁ) viha(hā)ya ||[1] [30*] Pittryaṁ saṁ-

40 prāpya rājyaṁ surapati-sadṛiśaḥ khyāta-vīryyō=mita-śrī[r=nnirjji]ty=ārāti-chakkraṁ sva-bhuja-yuga-va(ba)lād=ātta-śastraṁ sa-

Third Plate, First Side

41 [mastam] [|*] [Dē]vyā[m=Vi(vyaṁ Vi)jñānavatyāṁ] śa[śi-sa]ma-vadanaṁ sūnum=utpādya dhīmān=ishṭv=āsau Vā[jimēdha]n=narapa[ti]r=agamach=Chhakkra-[vāsaṁ]

42 yaśasvī ||[1] [31*] Tataḥ kram-āpta-vijayaḥ śrīmad-bhūpēndra-bhūshitaḥ [|*] śrī-**Chandramu-khavarmm**-ākhyō va(ba)bhūva vasudh-ādhipaḥ [||32*]

43 Smara-līlā-chal-āpāṅgair=llōchanaiḥ pura-yōshitāṁ(tām) |[2] gatavān=ēka-pātratvaṁ paras-parajihīrshshayā ||[1] [33*] Siṅhā(Siṁhā)sa[na]-

44 gatō rājā rarāja savit=ēva saḥ [|*] ratna-bhābhiḥ sa(su)-paṭubhir=nnayan-ānandakṛit=sudhī-[ḥ*] || [34*] Ānanda-hētur=llōkānāṁ sva [ya]-

45 m=ānanditaḥ sukhī ||[1] (|) janayāmāsa tanayaṁ ddē(dē)vīm=Bhōgavatīm=prati ||[1] [35*] Sa pūrvv-ōpātta-dharmmēṇa vidyā-bhūti-ja-

46 y-ādibhi[ḥ] [|*] varddhamānaṁ sutaṁ dṛishṭvā ra(rā)j=āgāt=paramā[ṁ*] mudaṁ(dam) ||[1] [36*] Kṛitv=āsau vidhivad=drutaṁ va(ba) lavatāṁ mān-ā-

47 pabhaṅgaṁ dvishāṁ jitvā sāgara-mēkhalāṁ vasumē(ma)tīm=ishṭvā cha yajñair=[mmu]huḥ [|*] dānēn=ārthi-janaṁ

48 śriyā cha suhṛidaḥ santōshya pṛithvīpatir=yyātaḥ Śakkra-salōkatāṁ pṛithu-va(ba)laḥ saṁ-sthāpya puttraṁ kshitau |[| 37*]

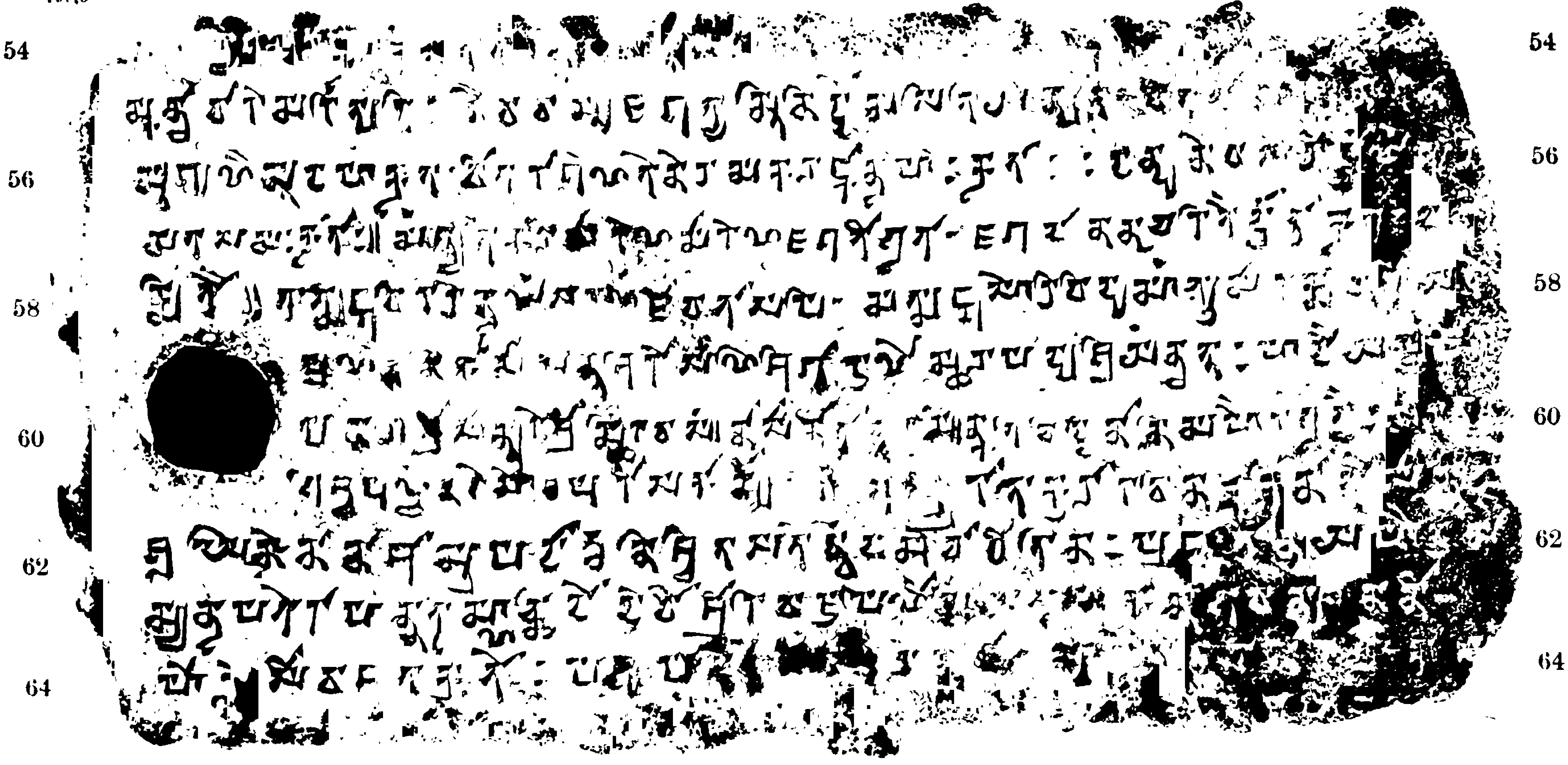
49 Sa puttrī tēna mumudē lōk-āntara-gatō=pi san [|*] Rāmēṇ=ēva purā rājñā svarggē Daśa-rathō nṛipaḥ || [38*] Kṛitvā ya[thā]va-

50 t=p[i]tṛi-dēva-tarppaṇaṁ paurān=sa samyak=parisāntvya cha prabhuḥ [|*] lagnē [Dhru]vē sarvva-guṇ-ōpapannē siṅha(siṁha) sanaṁ siṅha (siṁha) iv=ā-

[1] The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

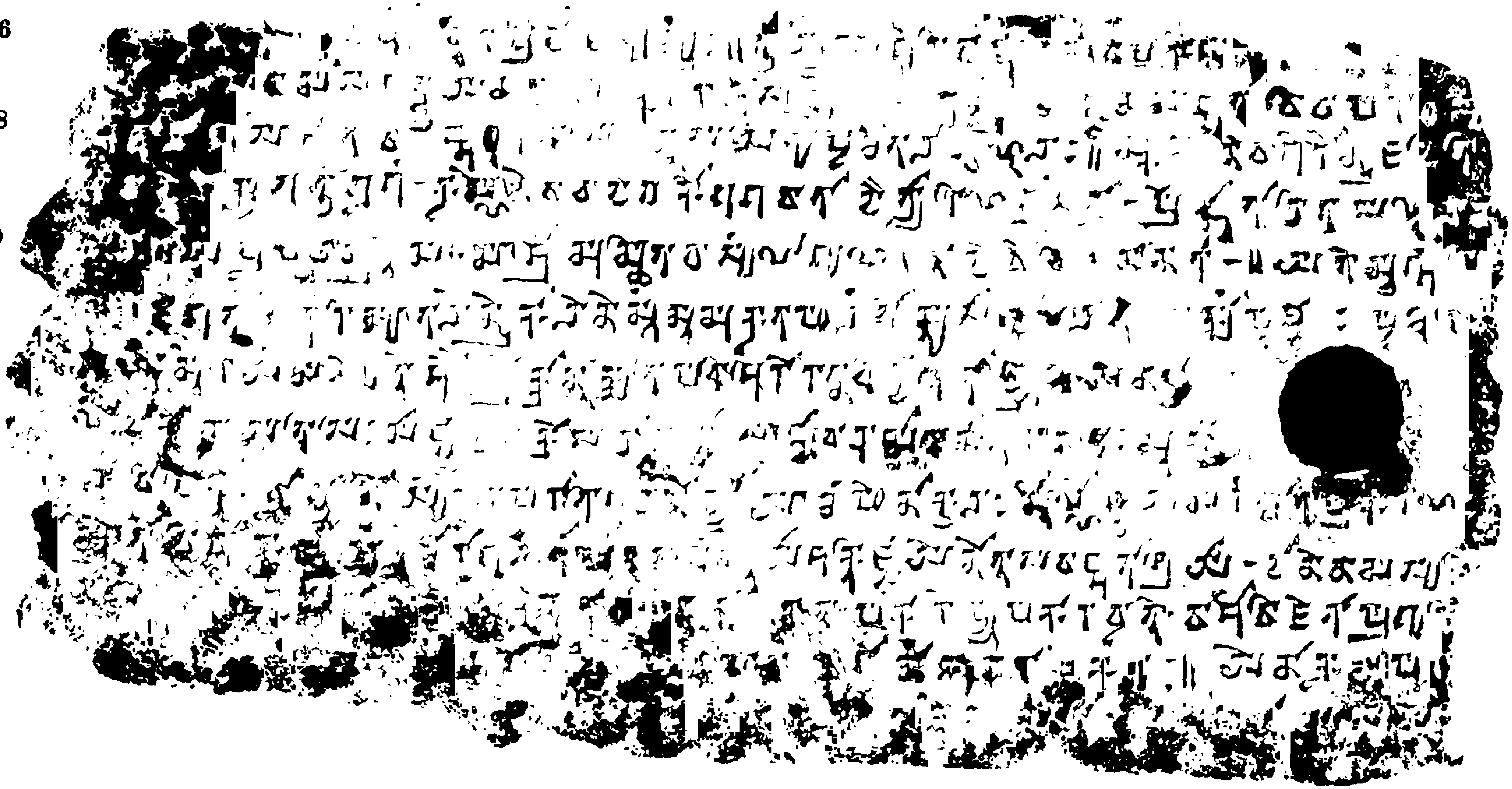
[2] The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

iii.b



SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

iv,a



51 **rurōha** ||[1] [39*] A-prachyutaṁ karmma kṛitan=tatō dvijair=ddhruv-ābhishēkaṁ [v]idhivach=cha śāntikaṁ(kam |) sa-śaṅkha-nādaṁ saha-

52 dundubhiḥ(bhi)-svanaṁ Surēśavat=sō=nuva(ba)bhūva bhūmipaḥ || [40*] Tasya dēvakul-ōdyāna-bhavan-ārāma-śōbha[yā] [|*]

53 [ti]raskṛita-Śunāsīrapura-ka[rvva]ṭapattanē ||[2] [41*] Nira[sta]-stēya-durbhiksha-marak-ōpadrav-ādikē |[2] nitya-ya-

Third Plate, Second Side

54 — — ⏑-vyagra-svalaṅkṛita-jan-ātatē ||[1] [42*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ [|*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏓ ⏓

55 skandhāvārē sarit-patiḥ [|| 43*] N=aiva vastu jagaty=asti nirddōsham=iti yan=mataṁ(tam) |[2] vīta-d[ōsh-ānuva(ba)ndhēna]

56 sva-guṇais=tad=apākṛita[m*] ||[1] [44*] Vīta-rāgēṇa tēn=ēha sa-kalaṅkā nṛipāḥ kṛitāḥ [|*] indun=ēva mahīddhrāṇāṁ gu[ṇāḥ]

57 sa-tamasaḥ kṛitāḥ || [45*] Saṁkhyāta-[kula]-sārēṇa sārēṇa jagatī-bhṛitā[m*] |[2] jagad-ānanda-charitair=ddhāttrā kṛita iva

58 kshitau || [46*] Tā(Ta)t-saṅga-virahē nṛīṇāṁ maraṇaṁ jīvatām=api |[2] sat-saṅgamō hi vidushāṁ bhūshā rakshā cha gīyatē [|| 47*]

59 Praṇat-ānēka-sāmanta-śirō-maṇi-śikh-āruṇō(ṇau |) sthala-padma-śriyaṁ(ya)n=dhattaḥ pādau yasya [ji]t-ā-

60 tmana[ḥ*] || [48*] Śrīmān=purē śrī-**Sthiravarmma**-nāmā nītvā [cha ta]smin=katichid=dināni [|*] sa-paura-bhṛityaiḥ [saha] va(ba)[ndhu]-

61 bhiś=cha puṇyē nadē sō=tha purīm=akārshshīt || [49*] Tasy=ārāti-kul-āravinda-śaśinō **Bhaum-ā[nvaya]**-

62 śla(ślā)ghinō nānā-śāstra-pad-ārtha-niśchita-matēr=vVē[dē]shu ch=ādhītinaḥ [|*] prakhyāt-ānvaya-paurusha-

63 sya nṛipatēr=āpanna-tṛishṇā-chchhidō dēvī śrīr=iva rūpiṇī [priyatamā] kānt=ābhavan=māninī ||[2] [50*]

64 Paulōm=īva Śatakratōḥ Paśupatē[r=Durg=ēva Śai]lēndrajā [|[3]] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑

65 ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑

Fourth Plate, First Side

66 ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ vipul=ōrvv=īva prajā-janma-bhūḥ || [51*] Ttrayyām=agnir=iv=āddhva[rēshu] vipulō nī[tvā] ⏑ — — ⏑ —

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[1] The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

[2] The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

[3] The punctuation, indicated by a short horizontal stroke, is unnecessary.

67 [śāstrāṇā]m=iva samyag-addhyayanataḥ sa[ṁ*]skāra-rāśir=mmahān | tasyāṁ sajjana-saṅgatāv=iva parō dharmm-[ā]-

68 [nu]bhāv-āgamō jātō vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-dhurā[ṁ] samunnamayituṁ pṛithvītal-Ākhaṇḍalaḥ || [52*] Skandēn=ēva Girīndraja(j=Ā)diti-

69 [r=iva] [tTrai]lōkyabharttrā bhṛiśaṁ |[1] Kṛishṇēn=ēva cha Dēvakī bhagavatā daity-āriṇa(ṇā) śrīmatā | prōtkhāt-āhita-maṇḍala(lē)na

70 [va(ba)linā] saṁpūrṇṇa-chandra-tvishā sā śrī-Susthitavarmmaṇā guṇavatā dēvī chi[raṁ] nanditā ||[2] [53*] Ya(Yā)tē svarggaṁ pi-

71 [tari] jagatāṁ bharttari kshmātal-ēndrē kālēn=ēshṭaṁ sva-sukṛita-phalaṁ bhōktum=Ākha[ṇḍa]l-ābhē [|*] rakshāṁ pṛithvyāḥ Pṛithur=iva

72 [guṇaiḥ] svair-i(r=a)yaṁ saṁvidhattē śauryy-ākkrānta-kshitipati-śirō-ratna-vidyōtit-āṅhri (āṁhri)[ḥ ||] [54*] Yēna vyākara-

73 ṇ-ōdakō naya-timiḥ sāṅkhy-ōru-nakrō mahān [mī]māṅsā(māṁsā)-va(ba)hu-[sā]ras-ānurasitaḥ(ta)s=tarkk-āni-

74 l-āvī[jitaḥ] |[3] vyākhyān-ōrmmi-paraṁpar-ātigahanō nyāy-ārtha-phēn-ākulaḥ(la)s=tīrṇṇō=jñēya-saritpati-prakaraṇaḥ

75 [srō]tō vi — — ⏑ — [|| 55*] [Dhīr=āgamair=bhāshaṇa]m=arthavattayā śaktir=jjayēn=ōttama-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)tā śriyā |[3] dānēna sampad=vi=

76 na[yēna śūratā] — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — [|| 56*] kṛit-āpakārē=py=upakāra-vṛittō vaśī vijētā prabhur=i-

77 [ndriyāṇām] [|*] ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — — [surarāja]-kalpaḥ || [57*] yēn=ākṛishṭa-para ⏑ —

78 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — bhūyasī [|*]

Fourth Plate, Second Side

79 — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ lēn=āpanna-tṛishṇā-chchhidō |[1] vāgmitva[ṁ*] pada-vākya — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|| 58*]

80 Śamit-āśēsha-duritaṁ lōkēśam=iva Śaṅkaraṁ(ram) |[3] chētasā bhakti-bhūtēna tasy=ārāddhya [ṁ*] Nṛiśaṅkaraṁ(ram) ||[1] [59*] [Tasya] śrī-[Ddhruva]-

81 lakshmīr=lLakshmīr=iva lakshitā kshitau Vishṇōḥ [|*] prabhavishṇōr=bhāryy=ābhūd=bhūtyai bhrājishṇu-chakrasya ||[2] [60*] Anēk-ōru-[dyu]-

82 mad-ratna-nikar-ōparichāriṇī [|*] mvē(vē)l=ēv=ōdanvatas=tasya s ābhūd=bharttur=m ahībhujāṁ(jām) || [61*] Tasyāṁ tasya mahēśvarasya vaśi[nō]

83 dēvasya dēvyāṁ śubhau |[1] Śambhōḥ Skanda-Vināyakāv=iva jagat-pūjyāv=abhūtā[ṁ*] sutau [|*] nānā-dig-vanitā-mukhāni ⏑ ⏑

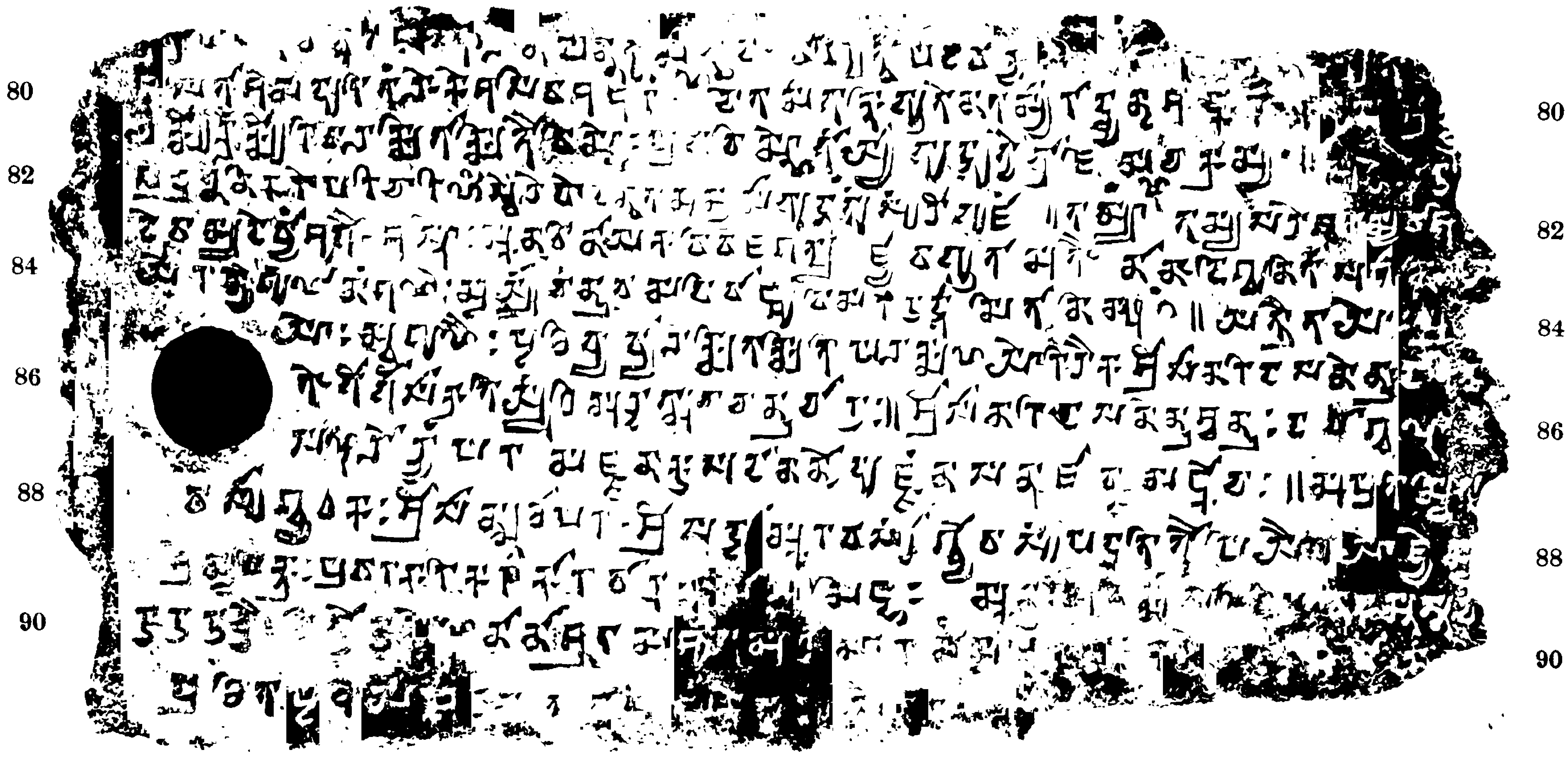
84 yair=anyair=guṇānāṁ gaṇaiḥ sūryyā-chaṁ(cha)ndrava(ma)sa(sā)v=iv=āṅśu(v=āṁśu)-visar[ai]r=udbhāsitāni sphuṭaṁ(ṭam) || [62*] Yattr=aitayōḥ pra[thita]-

[1] The punctuation, indicated by a short horizontal stroke, is unnecessary.

[2] The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

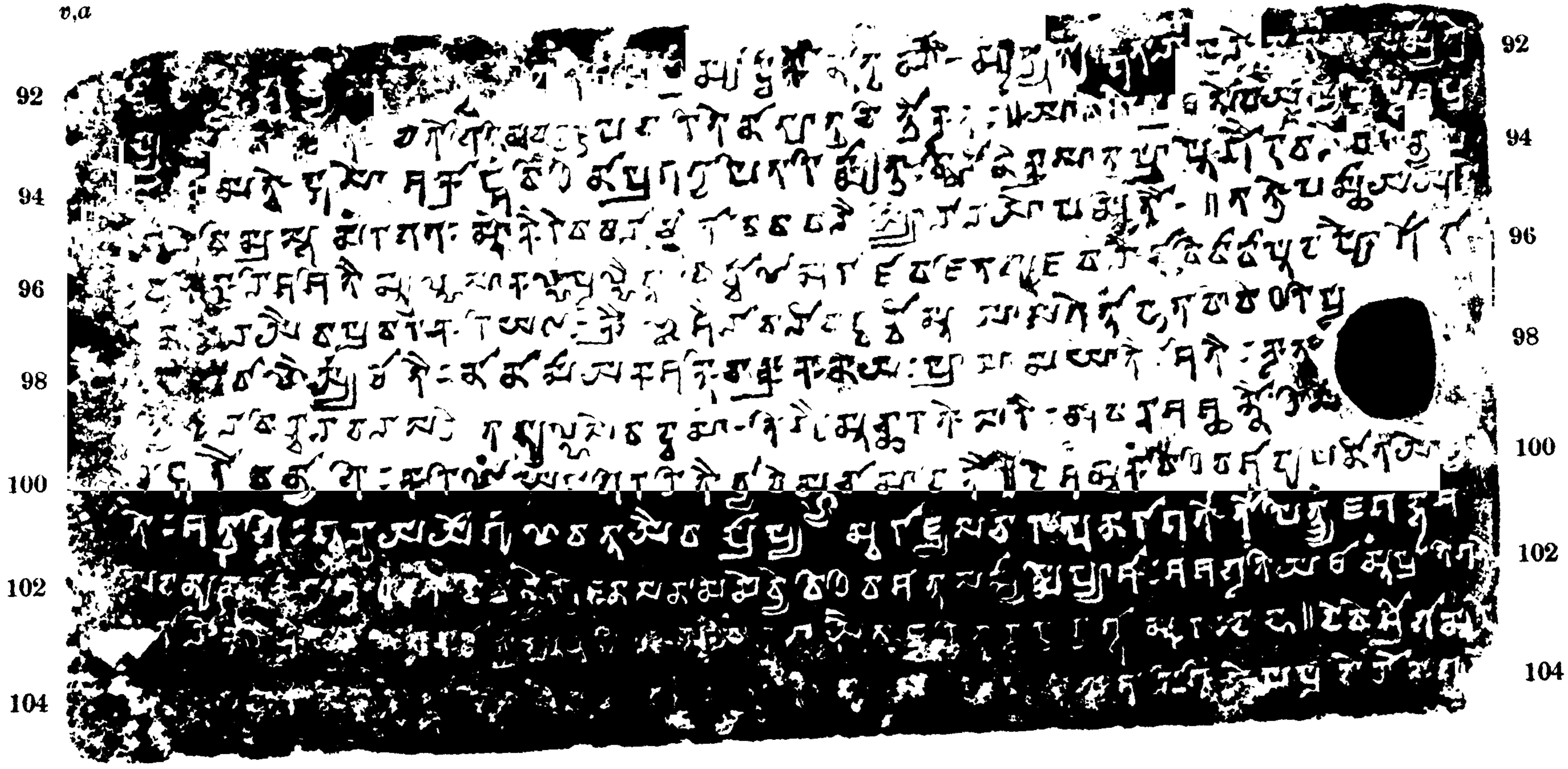
[3] The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

iv,b



SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

v,a



85 yōḥ sva-guṇaiḥ pṛithivyā[ṁ] vyālakshita-kshitipa-lakshaṇayōr=ih=aika[ḥ*] śrīmān=Aridamanēndra[1] iti [pra]-

86 tōbhī[2] bhīm-ākṛitir=yyudhi suhṛitsu cha chandra-chāruḥ || [63*] Śrīmān=Aridamanēndraś=chandra iv=ākhaṇḍa[la][3]-

87 maṇḍalō=hy=apara[ḥ |*] sajjana-kumud-ānandō durjjana-manuj-āvja(bja)-saṅkōchaḥ || [64*] **Supratishṭhita-**

88 **varmm**-ākhya ēkaḥ śrīmāns=ta(māṁs=ta)th=āpara[ḥ*] |[4] śrīmad-**Bhāskaravarmm**-ākhyō **Varmma-pad[dh]atitau(taḥ)** pi(pri)yau || [65*] Yō jyē[shṭhaḥ]

89 śrēshṭha-vaktraḥ pravara-kari-kar-ākāra-vā(bā)hu[r=mmṛig-āksha][ḥ*] siṅhaḥ(siṁha)-skandha[ḥ*] ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — stambha-[chā]-

90 r-ūrur=uchchai[ḥ] [|*] chittrō rūpēṇa nānā-śruta-subhaga-sudhā-sāra-sampūrṇṇa — — — — — — ⏑ — —

91 prathita-pṛithu-yaśāḥ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — || [66*] Yēna — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —

Fifth Plate, First Side

92 — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ l-ōdita-śaśi-prasparddhi-kānti-tvishā |[4] smṛity-uttuṅgita-lōka-lōchana-chayasy=āgrē=

93 dya [yā]vat=kshitau chētō-bhittishu chāru-rūpa-charitēn-ātm=āttra chittrīkṛitaḥ || [67*] Yāv=ētau prathamē vayasy=api Pṛithu-pra-

94 [sparddhi]-satv-ō(ttv-ō)dgamau Śakr-āṅśaṁ(kr-āṁśaṁ) vidhinā pragatya pitari kshmāntar-nnilīnē kkramāt [|*] prāptē **Gauḍa**-va(ba)lē va(ba)[li]ny=api

95 [ja]lē visrambha-saṁra[ṁ*]bhataḥ stōkair=ēva Va(Ba)l-Āchyutāv=iva va(ba)lair=yyau līlay=ōpasthitau ||[5] [68*] Tattr=ōpasthāya yuddhē

96 [Hari]-kuliśa-śitais=tūrṇṇam=ākarṇṇa-pūrṇṇair=vvā(r=bbā)ṇair=vVā(r=bBā)ṇ-āsur-ājāv=ajita-bhuja-va(ba)lau tāv=iv=āvāpta-darppau [|*] Gauḍā-

97 [nāṁ lī]lay=aiva pravara-kari-ghaṭāḥ Kkrauñja(ñcha)-śail-āvalīvad=va(d=ba)hvīḥ(hvī)s=tā(s=tē)shām=abhēttāṁ hata-vividha-ripū-

98 [ṇāñ=cha] vā(bā)ṇair=yyathā taiḥ [|| 69*] Nānā-sāyaka-śakti-chakkra-kanayaḥ(ya)-prās-ās[i]-ghātaiḥ śitaiḥ kṛitvā

99 [vyāku]la-vihvala[ṁ*] va(ba)lam=ahō tat=tūrṇṇam=ēva dvishāṁ(shām) |[4] tigmais=tach-chhara-tōmaraiḥ su-va(ba)huśaś=chhannau hi mō-

100 haṅ=gatau vanyābhiḥ kariṇāṁ ghaṭābhir=ahitai[r*]=vyāvēshṭya ch=āsāditau || [70*] Dēśaṁ svakaṁ vidhi-vaśād=upanītayōś=cha

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[1] The metre requires a word like *arāti* instead of *ari*. But the expression *Aridamanēndra* found both in verses 63 and 64 seems to indicate a secondary name of the elder prince.

[2] *Prakṣōbhī* seems to be intended.

[3] This *la* is redundant.

[4] The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

[5] The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

101 taiḥ śattrubhiḥ khalu yayōr=guṇavattay=aiva [|*] prāpya sva-rājyam=achirāt=punar-āgatau tau pittryaṁ jagad=bhṛiśa-

102 m=idan=tu nana[ndatu]ś=cha || [71*] [Ta]tō dē[vē jyēshṭhē] jana-manasi sēvyē vidhi-vaśāt= tamasy=ākshipy=āśāḥ śaśabhṛiti yath=āstaṁ pratigatē [|*]

103 ⏑ tālō — — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — y=aiva j[v]a[li]ta uru-rug=**Bhāskara** iha || [72*] Dēvē śrī-**Bhāskarē**

104 — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ =ōpaplavē lōka-bhū[tyai |]

Fifth Plate, Second Side

105 — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ [l-ōtthaṁ(ttham) |[1]] — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ā-

106 sīt=samṛiddhyaiḥ(ddhyai) || [73*] Nānā-śāstr-ārtha-tatva(ttva)-śruta-vitata-dhiyō yēna vāditvam=uchchais=tadvach=ch=ālaṅkṛitaiḥ su-[sphuṭa]-

107 lalita-padaṁ sarvva-mārggaṁ kavitvaṁ(tvam) |[1] yēna prāpya prabhābhiḥ pratihata-tamasāṁ sādhu saṁsatsu sarvvaṁ [sv-ēchchh-ā]-

108 ghāt-ōchchhrit=ōchchair=nnija-jaya-janitā svā patākē(kā) cha dikshuḥ(kshu) || [74*] Dharmmaḥ praskhalitaḥ kaliṁ punar=api pra[dhvaṁ]-

109 sya saṁrōpitaḥ kīrttir=durjjana-vāgur-ōdara-gatā muktvā mṛig=īv=ōjjhitā |[1] lakshmīḥ kshīva-vilāsa-[nīta]-

110 vidhinā saṁskṛityā(tya) cha svīkṛitā bhūyō yēna **Mahēśvar-āśraya-nayaḥ** sphāyi-pratāp-ārchchishā ||[2] || [75*] [Śrī-Bhūti?]-

111 varmmā pradadau dvijēbhyō yēbhyaḥ paraṁ śāsanam=ā-kshatan=tat [|*] bhūyaḥ samujvā-(jjvā)lya dadau tad-arthē [śrī-**Bhā**]-

112 **skaraḥ** saṁprati tēbhya ēva || [76*] Kauśikō Vājasanēyī Bhaṭṭa-mahattaraḥ Priyaṅkara-ghōshasva(svā)mī |[1] [Kauśikō]

113 Vājasanēyī āvasarikō Bhaṭṭa-Dēvaghōshasvāmī [|*] yattr-āṅśa(ttr-āṁśa)-patayaḥ Bhaṭṭa-Priyaṅkara[ghōsha]-

114 svāmī |[1] Bhaṭṭa-Pi(Pa)rāśaraghōshasvāmī [|*] Bhaṭṭa-Vishṇughōshasvāmī |[1] Bhaṭṭa-Yajña-ghōshasvā[mī] [|*]

115 Bhaṭṭa-Rudraghō[shasvā]mī |[1] Bhaṭṭa-Vājighōshasvāmī [|*] Bhaṭṭa-Ddhruvaghōshasvāmī [|*] [Bhaṭṭa-Bhū]ma[ghō]-

116 shasvāmī |[1] Dakshaghōshasvāmī [|*] Śrēyaskaraghōshasvāmī [|*] Maudgalyō [Vṛi(Bṛi)-haspati]svāmī [|*] Māṇḍa[vyō]

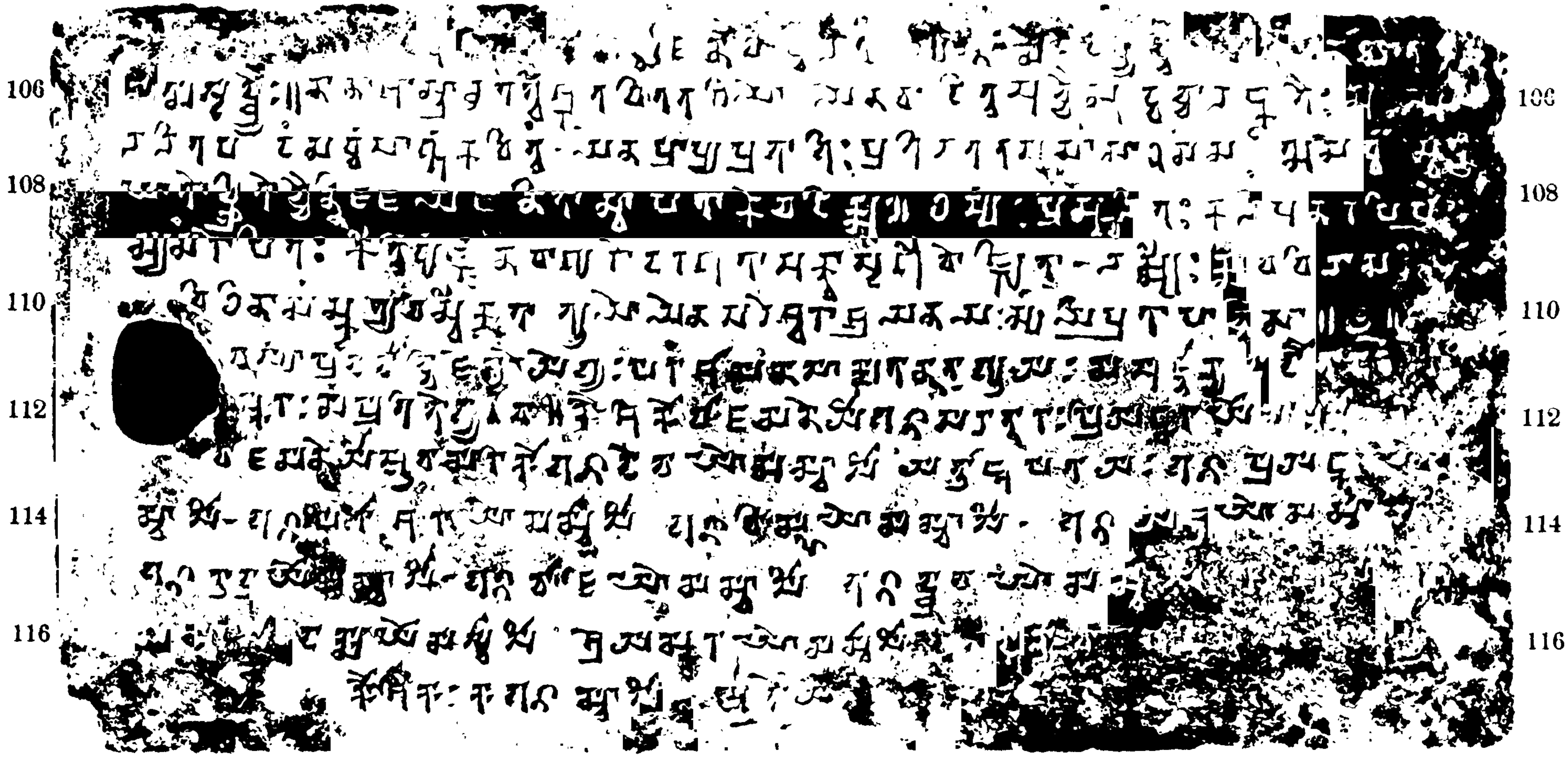
117 .... |[1] Kauśikaḥ Kabhaṭṭasvāmī |[1] [Ā]ttrē[yō] ....

[1] The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

[2] There is a sign between the double *daṇḍas*.

MGIPC—S1—37 DGA/55—3-4-57—450.

r,b



SCALE, ACTUAL SIZE

SEAL



(From a photograph)

RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION[1] OF UDAIPUR

(Continued from Vol. XXIX, part V)

Abstract of contents

Slab I ; Invocation

The contents of the first slab are mostly invocatory, though the main theme of the inscription, namely the construction of the artificial lake called Rājasamudra, is alsc alluded to at places as in verse 3. The first thirteen verses constitute a *Bhavānīstōtra*, the following nine a *Gaṇēśa-stōtra* and the rest a *Sūrya-stōtra.* There are altogether thirty stanzas, the concluding portion of the last one being destroyed. Although the first eulogy is designated as *Bhavānī-stōtra,* yet in it are invoked some other deities as well, such as Rāma in verse 1, Ramā in verse 5, Sarasvatī in verse 6, and so-forth. In the last verse of this *stōtra,* that is in verse 13, the poet has introduced his name as Raṇachhōḍa, whose parentage is given further on in the record.

Slab II ; Canto I

The second slab also has an invocation in the beginning, comprising eight stanzas, collectively named in the inscription as *Maṅgalāshṭaka.* From the first verse we gather that the temple of Ekaliṅga (13 miles to the north of Udaipur) was situated near the stream Kuṭilā[2] on the top of the mount Vivara. It is indicated in verse 7 that Rāṇā Rājasiṁha was a descendant of the solar race to which belonged Manu, the first of the kings. After the *Maṅgalāshṭaka,* verse 9 describes the poet **Raṇachhōḍa** to be a **Tēlaṅga** *Paṇḍita,* born in the Kaṭhōṇḍī family ; his father's name is given as Madhusūdana, while his mother is one Vēṇī, daughter of the family of the Gōsvāmins.[3] The same stanza speaks of Raṇachhōḍa's two brothers whose names appear to be Bharata and Lakshmaṇa, for whose teaching the *Rājapraśasti* was utilized. The next verse, i.e., verse 10, tells us that the king, while residing at Dhōdhuṁdā, commenced the construction of the great lake on the 7th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha in the year (or rather after the completion of the year) 1718 (of the *Vikrama Saṁvat*), and that the poet Raṇachhōḍa at the same time began to compose the *praśasti* of that lake at the command of the king.

In verse 16 the poet says : ' I compose this work in the language of the gods, i.e., in Sanskrit, because the works composed in that language, like the *Mahābhārata,* are everlasting like the immortals themselves, whereas *Bhāshā* works are short-lived as the mortals themselves.' Then, before

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[1] The inscription seems to have been noticed for the first time by Major A. N. Bruce, Political Agent at Hadoti, and Captain J. J. Blair, Assistant Agent to the Governor General in Rājputāna, during their visit to Udaipur early in the eighties of the last century. Yadurāya, a Brahmaṇa of Rājnagar, was subsequently asked to transcribe the record and to despatch the transcript of each canto to Major Bruce as soon as it was complete. The text thus received by Major Bruce was being forwarded to Captain Blair at Tonk who had it translated into English by Pandit Ramkarna of Tonk. Sixteen cantos were thus transcribed and translated into English when the work suddenly stopped due to the sad demise of the two English officers. The labour was, however, not wasted ; for, Munshi Deviprasad prepared a summary of the contents of the sixteen cantos with the help of Pandit Ramkarna's translation and published it in Urdu as a brochure titled *Tārīkh Rājparshasti* (Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore, 1884). The transcript was, however, defective as some names had either been wrongly read or altogether omitted (including that of Hamīr) by Deviprasad. Kavirāj Shyāmaldās published the text in the *Vīravinōda* which was not accessible to us.

[2] It is a small stream near the Ekliṅgaji temple and is also mentioned in the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya* of the time of Mahārāṇā Rāimal. See Ojha, *History of Udaipur State* (in Hindī), Vol. I, p. 112, n. 1. Perhaps the same stream is mentioned in the Śṛiṅgī-Ṛishi Inscription, v. 20. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 237.

[3] Apparently connected with the Gōsvāmins of Nāthadvārā, whose ancestors originally came from the Telugu country. Viṭṭhalanātha, the second son of Vallabhāchārya, the founder of the Vallabha sect of the Vaishṇavas acquired the title of Gōsvāmin. This family was originally settled in Brindāvan and Mathura but later on in V.S. 1728 moved to Nāthadvārā with the deity Raṇchhōḍjī during the reign of Mahārāṇa Rājasiṁha out of fear of molestation at the hands of Aurangzeb.

proceeding to describe the family history of Rāṇā Rājasiṁha, commencing from the king Vāshpa, the poet cites a concordant passage stated to be from the *Vāyupurāṇa*, which, according as the poet gives it, occurs in the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* in the sixth chapter of the *Mēdapāṭīya-khaṇḍa* of the said Purāṇa. Once Pārvatī, being distressed by the pangs of separation from Śiva, was shedding tears and in that condition she addressed Nandin thus: 'O Nandin! since I am shedding tears today, being unable to bear the separation from Śiva, therefore you will, owing to a curse formerly uttered by me, become a king named Vāshpa (tear).[1] At the holy place called Nāgahrada (Nāgdā, near Ēkaliṅgajī) you will worship Śiva and will thereby acquire a kingdom which you will enjoy in the same way as Indra enjoys his, and afterwards will attain to heaven.' Next, with distressed looks Pārvatī said to Chaṇḍagaṇa: 'Since you, as a door-keeper, have failed in your duty by not guarding the door, therefore be thou a hermit, Hārīta by name, in Mēdapāṭa (Mewār)! Having adored Śiva there, you will attain to heaven.'[2]

Towards the end the poet declares his intention first to describe the solar house, and concludes the first chapter by giving his own lineage thus :—

- Bhāskara
  - Mādhava
    - Rāmachandra
      - **1. Lakshmīnātha of the Kaṭhōṇḍī family**
        - **Rāmachandra Tēlaṅga**
          - **Kṛishṇa**
          - **Mādhava**
          - Madhusūdhana, m. Vēṇī, d. of Gōsvāmin **Yadunātha** (Canto V, v. 33)
            - Raṇachhōḍa
            - Bharata
            - Lakshmaṇa
      - 2. Chhītūbhaṭṭa (Canto IV, v. 18)

Slab III ; Canto II

The third slab which contains the second canto of this *Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya*, gives a list of the Sūryavaṁśī kings, which is for the most part mythical. Verse 18 gives Kuśa and Lava as Rāma's son and grandson respectively, whereas according to other sources they both are Rāma's sons. The list enumerates mythical kings beginning from Manu and ending with Vijaya, the total number being one hundred and thirtyfive. There is a pause after the mention of the 92nd (or 93rd) king of the list, namely Bṛihadbala, where the poet points out that Bṛihadbala was killed by Abhimanyu in the Mahābhārata battle and that the kings up to Bṛihadbala have been described as the past kings and those from Bṛihadbala downwards as the future kings by Vyāsa. After mentioning Sumitra, the 122nd king, in verse 30, the poet again points out that the line of kings terminating with Sumitra is known as the Ikshvāku family and that the kings, as told by the poet, are also enumerated in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in its ninth *skandha*. In verse 35 we are told that these kings belonged to Ayōdhyā. From the next verse we learn that Vijaya, the last monarch, left Ayōdhyā, conquered the rulers of the southern region and

[1] For another fanciful derivation of the name Vāpā, see the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 65, v. 8.

[2] The extant texts of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* proper, however, does not contain this reference.

settled there.[1] A heavenly voice asked Vijaya to adopt *āditya* instead of *rāja* as the component part of his successors' names. The purport of the verse seems to be that Vijaya began to call himself as belonging to the Sūryavaṁśa as against the Ikshvāku- or Raghuvaṁśa.

The language of the last three lines is Mewārī. These give the dates *Saṁ*. 1718, 7th day of the dark fortnight of Māgha and *Saṁ* 1732, 15th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha, as those of the commencement and the consecration respectively of the Rājasamudra by Rāṇā Rājasiṁha.

Slab IV ; Canto III

The third canto, inscribed on the fourth slab, opens with an invocation to Kṛishṇa and then continues the genealogical list from Vijaya onwards, which runs as follows: Vijaya-Padmāditya-Śivāditya - Dhārāditya (?) - Sujasāditya - Sumukhāditya - Sōmāditya - Śilāditya - Kēśavāditya - Nāgāditya - Bhōgāditya - Dēvāditya - Āśāditya - Kālabhōjāditya - Grahāditya ; thus fourteen *ādityas*. The sons of Grahāditya were all known as Guhilautas (*Skt.* Guhila-putra). The eldest of them was **Vāshpa.**[2]

Vāshpa was, as described above, an incarnation of Nandin. He became a disciple of the sage Hārītarāśi, likewise an incarnation of Chaṇḍa, a *gaṇa* of Śiva. While residing at Nāgahradapura,[3] Vāshpa worshipped the god Ēkaliṅga, *i.e.*, Śiva, who favoured him with boons, saying : 'Be thou the lord of Chitrakūṭa (Chitor). Let Chitrakūṭa be always under the sway of your descendants.' Thus, Vāshpa, at the age of fifteen received fortune through the favour of the god Ēkaliṅga and the sage Hārīta, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha after 191 (or 791[4] ?) years had elapsed. The verses 13-17 describe Vāshpa's valour and appearance : he used to wear a gold bracelet weighing 50 *palas*, which was given to him by his preceptor Hārīta who, in turn, had received it from Śiva (Ēkaliṅga)[5]. In verse 18, we are told that Vāshpa conquered the Mōrī king Manurāja,[6] captured Chitrakūṭa and ruled there. The next verse says that he assumed the title of *Rāvala*.

From the following verse we learn that Vāshpa's son was *Rāvala* Khamāna, from whom was born Gōvinda. Then was Mahēndra ; his son was Ālū, his son was Siṁhavarman, his son Śaktikumāra, his son *Rāvala* Śālivāhana, his son Naravāhana. Next Ambāprasāda, Kīrtivarman, Naravarman, Narapati, Uttama, Bhairava, Puñjarāja, Karṇāditya, Bhāvasiṁha, Gōtrasiṁha, Haṁsarāja, Śubhayōgarāja, Vairaḍa,[7] Varisiṁha, *Rāvala* Tējasiṁha, Samarasiṁha. This last was the husband of Pṛithā, sister of the king Pṛithvīrāja. Out of regard for this relation he assisted the Chauhāna king of Delhi (Pṛithvīrāja) in his battle against the Gōrī Sahibadīna (Mu'izzuddīn Muḥammad, also known as Shihāb-ud-dīn) of Gajjanī (Gazni). We are told

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[1] According to the Jagannātharāya temple inscription it was Pramāditya, son of Vijaya, who went to the south (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 65, v. 6). Cf. with this the story found in Pāli, of Vijaya, son of Sīhabāhu, ruler of Lāḷa (Rāḍha) who colonised Ceylon for the first time.

[2] Some of these names are historical and are found in the Āṭapur and other inscriptions. But the order of succession is here hopelessly mixed up. See Ojha, ibid., Vol. II, pp. 94 ff.

[3] The same as Nāgdā, one mile from Ēkliṅgajī. For traditions connected with Nāgdā, see Nainsī, ibid., pp. 23-24.

[4] Ojha thinks that the traditional date of Vāshpa's succession, viz. V. S. 191, is an error for V. S. 791, see ibid., Vol. I, pp. 109-10. For various traditions and historical accounts about Vāpā, see Deviprasad, *Tārīkh Rājparshasti*, pp. 16-17 and note, Ojha, ibid., Vol. I, pp. 94 ff., and *Muhanot Nainsī kī Khyāt* (Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā ed.), pt. i, pp. 11-12, 15-16.

[5] See also the Mount Abu Inscription of Samarasiṁha, v. 11, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp, 347 ff.

[6] Apparently identical with the Mōrī king Māna or Mānabhaṅga who ruled in Chitor in the early part of the eighth century. See *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1934-35, pp. 56-57.

[7] Instead of *Vairaḍa*, Munshi Deviprasad inadvertently gives the name Ranmal. (*Tārīkh Rājprashasti*, p. 19).

that Samarasiṁha was followed by his soldiers numbering twelve thousand, captured the Gōrī king, but was unfortunately killed in the battle. Reference is made to a *Bhāshā* work, called here *Rāsā* (perhaps the same as *Pṛithvīrāja-rāsō*), in which, it is stated, the details of this battle are given. Samarasiṁha's son was *Rāvala* Karṇa. With him ends the list of the twentysix *Rāvalas*.[1]

Rāvala Karṇa had two sons : *Rāvala* Māhapa and Rāhapa. The first is said to have ruled as a king at Ḍūṅgarapura (Dūngarpur in Rājputānā). The second, it is narrated, went to Maṁḍavara (Mandor in Jodhpur State and ancient capital of Mārwār) by order of his father and the prediction of a soothsayer. There he vanquished Mōkalasiṁha, and brought him as a captive to his father Karṇa. The latter deprived Mōkalasiṁha of his title of *Rāṇā* which he bestowed on his son Rāhapa who was later on better known as *Rāṇā* or *Rānā* (sic)) only.[2] This Rāhapa, being blessed by Śaraśalya, a learned Brāhmaṇa of the Pallivāla (Pālivāl Brahmans of Rājputānā) family,[3] ruled at Chitrakūṭa. He also came to be known as Sīsōdiyā from the fact that he had formerly dwelt for some time at Sīsōdanagara. *Rāṇā* Rāhapa's descendants bore the same *viruda* of *Rāṇā*.

The last two verses (35 and 36) give the genealogy of the poet, which is the same as found in the end of the slab II above. The record closes with the date of the consecration of the Rāja-samudra, namely Saṁ 1732, Māghī 15 (i.e., Māgha *paurṇimā*).

Slab V ; Canto IV

The fourth canto opens with an invocation of the *tamāla* tree on the bank of the river Yamunā and then the genealogy is continued. His (Rāhapa's) son was *Rāṇā* Narapati ;[4] then came from father to son, Jasa (Yaśaḥ) karṇa, Nāgapāla, Puṇyapāla,[5] Pṛithvīmalla, Bhuvanasiṁha, Bhīmasiṁha, Jayasiṁha and **Lakshmasiṁha** who bore the title of Gaḍhamaṇḍalika apparently because he was the conqueror of the fort of **Maṇḍalgaḍh**, and whose younger brother was Ratnasī, the husband of Padminī, for whose sake Allāvadīna (Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī) besieged Chitrakūṭa. Lakshmasiṁha with his twelve brothers and seven sons fought and died in this battle ; only one of his sons namely Ajēsī survived, who succeeded him to the throne. Lakshmasiṁha's eldest son was Arasī[6] who died with his father and whose son Hamīra held the reins of the kingdom (after Ajēsī). **Hamīra** was well known for his liberality and as one who showed the holy river Ganges on his forehead. It was again he who built the black (stone) image of Ēkaliṅga (Śiva) with four faces,[7] accompanied by Śyāmā (Pārvatī), after the crystal figure of Śrī (Lakshmī) deposited in the lake of Indrasaras had been ascertained to be lost. Hamīra's son was Kshētrasiṁha, his son Lākhā (Lakshmaṇasiṁha) and his son **Mōkala**.[8] This last named had a brother called *Rāvata* Bāgha who had no children. Mōkala got a tank, named Bāghēlā after his brother, constructed at Nāgahrada (with the wish that his brother Bāgha be blessed with a child). Mōkala also built a marble enclosure to the temple

[1] This list closely follows the *Khyāts* with the exception of Puñjarāja whose name is omitted in the latter and Ratnasiṁha (I) who comes between Samarasiṁha and Karṇa. See Ojha, ibid., Vol. I, p. 92, n. 1.

[2] This is according to the *Khyāts* and not borne out by authentic history. See ibid., Vol. I, pp. 205 f.

[3] For details, see ibid., p. 206.

[4] The name of Dinakara found in the *Khyāts* and the Jagannātharāya temple inscriptions has been omitted after Narapati apparently through oversight.

[5] Pūrṇapāla according to the *Khyāts* and the Jagannātharāya temple inscription.

[6] From Arisiṁha downwards the genealogy is in keeping with that found in reliable records.

[7] Tradition, however, connects the installation of the *Chaturmukhaliṅga* with *Mahārāṇā* Rāyamalla one of whose inscriptions is found at Ēkaliṅgajī. In the Mokaljī temple inscription Hammīra is stated to have built a temple and a tank (see *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p. 67, v. 16). Ojha (ibid., p. 206) identifies this temple with the temple of Annapūrṇā at Chitor and the tank with the one in the vicinity of the temple. It was from the time of Hammīra that Udaipur came under the Sisodās.

[8] These are also mentioned in other records such as the Kumbhalgarh and Śṛiṅgīṛishi inscriptions.

of Ekaliṅga. Having performed pilgrimage to Dvārakā he went to Śaṁkhōddhāra (the island of Beyt to the southwest extremity of the Gulf of Cutch), while in the meantime a *siddha* entered the womb of his wife for obtaining kingdom. The *siddha* became Mōkala's son Kumbhakarṇa. It is said that the water of the Ganges used to flow at night from the forehead of Mōkala. Mōkala's son Kumbhakarṇa was the builder of the Kumbhalamēru fort.[1] He had one hundred and sixteen wives. His son was Rāyamalla,[2] and the latter's Saṁgrāmasiṁha (Sāṅgā) who, accompanied by two hundred thousand soldiers, marched as far as Phattēpura[3] in the dominions of **Bābara**, the king of Dilli, and fixed the boundary of his kingdom up to Pīliyākhāla. His son was Ratnasiṁha[4] after whom his brother Vikramāditya became king. His brother, *Rānā* **Udayasiṁha**, (who followed him) built a lake called Udayasāgara (6 miles to the east of Udaipur), founded the city of **Udayapura** and, on the occasion of the consecration of the lake, performed charities such as *tulādāna* as well as granted the village of Bhūravāḍā to Chhītūbhaṭṭa and his brother Lakshmīnātha.[5] One of his warriors, the *Rāṭhōḍa* Jaimala,[6] as well as the Sīsōdiyā Pattā,[7] and Īśvaradāsa (Chauhān), accompanied by soldiers, fought with Akabbara (Akbar), the king of Dillī, at Chitrakūṭa. Udayasiṁha was followed (on the throne) by his son **Pratāpasiṁha** who had a quarrel with the Kachhavāha chief Mānasiṁha on the question of dining together.[8] The latter sought the help of Akabbara with whose army he met Pratāpasiṁha in battle at Khaṁbhanaura.[9] During this terrific struggle, while Mānasiṁha was seated in an iron cage on the back of an elephant, Pratāpa's eldest son Amara, flung a spear at the temple of Mānasiṁha's elephant; while Pratāpa did the same himself, the elephant fled. At that time, Pratāpasiṁha's brother Śaktasiṁha, who accompanied Mānasiṁha, seeing the situation, thus spoke with affection: 'O rider of the blue horse! look behind' Pratāpa looked behind and saw a horse. Mānasiṁha then sent two Mugalas (Mughals) to give chase to Pratāpa; Śaktasiṁha also followed. The two Mugalas fought with Pratāpa, and were killed by Śaktasiṁha who was then recognised by Pratāpa as his brother.[10] Thereafter **Akabbar** came and waged war with Pratāpa, and finding the latter powerful, left his eldest son, named Śēkhū (Prince Salim[11]), there and himself went to Āgrā. Amarasiṁha took

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[1] Kumbhalgarh on a high peak of the Arāvalī about 25 miles north of Nāthadvārā.

[2] Udayasiṁha (Udā), the patricide, is omitted here as in many other inscriptions.

[3] Apparently refers to Fatehpur Sīkrī. Pīliyākhāla is identical with the Pīlī river near Bayānā in the former Bharatpur State. According to the *Bābarnāmā* the territory of Rānā Sāṅgā extended up to Pīliyākhāla on the north, river *Sindh* (by which must be meant the *Kālī Sindhu*) on the east, Mālawā on the south and hills of Mewār on the west. Rānā Sīngā had sent a messenger to Bābar, before his invasion, inviting him to India and offering him the territories up to Delhi, while he (Sāṅgā) himself wanted to extend his dominions up to Agra. See *Umrai Hanood*, p. 292.

[4] Ratnasiṁha was Sāṅgā's son by Dhanabāī, daughter of Bāghā Sūjāvat, the grandson of *Rānā* Jōdha of Jodhpur, while Vikramāditya and Udayasiṁha were born of Karmavatī, daughter of Narbad (Narpat) and granddaughter of *Rānā* Bhāmiḍa of Būndī. See Ojha, ibid., Vol. I, p. 384, notes 3-4. Ratnasiṁha and Vikramāditya are not mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription.

[5] This village is in the Rājnagar District and is also mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, Slab B, vv. 113-14, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 76-77. The name of Vanavīra (a natural son of Pṛithvīrāja, son of *Mahārāṇā* Rāyamalla) who usurped the throne after putting Vikramāditya to death is not mentioned in the list.

[6] Jaimal (Jayamalla) was the eldest of the eleven sons of Rāṭhōḍ Vīramadēva of Mēḍtā. See Ojha, ibid., Vol. II, p. 412 and note 4.

[7] Son of the well-known Chūṁḍā. See ibid., Vol. I, p. 416, note 1.

[8] For details see Ojha, ibid., Vol. I, p. 428 and notes 1 and 2.

[9] Village Khamṇaur, near the famous battlefield of Haldīghāṭī and about 8 miles from Nāthadvārā.

[10] This refers to the well-known story of Pratāpa and his horse Chētak mentioned in all the bardic chronicles and also by Tod.

[11] Akbar used to call Jahāngīr as Shaikhū Bābā during his infancy. Jahāngīr was so named as he was born due to the blessings of Shaikh Salīm, the saintly dervish of Fatehpur Sīkrī (see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, p. 2). Salīm was, however, too young to join the battle at this period. See Ojha, ibid., Vol. I, p. 439, n. 5, para. 3, and Deviprasad, *Tārīkh Rājparshasti*, p. 31, note.

away Khānakhāna's wives and honourably returned them to Khānakhānā.[1] Śēkhū wondered at that. Afterwards Śēkhū became the king Jahāṁgīra of Dillī and came again to fight with Pratāpa whom he encircled. Leaving behind his son Khurrama (Prince Khurram), Jahāṁgīra returned to Delhi. Afterwards Pratāpa met the Sulatāna Chagtā Sērima,[2] paternal uncle of the king of Dillī, who was mounted on an elephant in battle at the pass of Dēvēra,[3] where a Sōlaṁkī *paḍihāraka* (*pratihāra*) chopped off two legs of the elephant, and Pratāpa himself pierced the temple of the animal. The elephant fell down and Sērima then mounted a horse. Then Pratāpa's son Amara pierced Sērima along with his horse with a spear. At Pratāpa's command Amara pulled out the spear from the body of Sērima. Sērima desired to see the warrior who struck him like that whereupon Pratāpa showed him a soldier. Sērima said it was not the man. Then Pratāpa showed him his son Amara whom Sērima recognised and praised. Then eightyfour *sthānapālas* (chiefs) went to Kōsīthala (Kosīthal *ṭhikānā* in Udaipur State), etc., and Pratāpa dwelt at Udayapura, where he once presented his turban and some money to a bard. This bard later happened to go to see the king of Dillī. At that time he took off that turban from his head and kept it in his hand. When he saluted the king of Dillī in that manner, the Sultan asked what it was and was told that as the turban had belonged to *Rāṇā* Pratāpa he did not keep it on his head. The emperor understood the implication and was pleased.[4] Thus *Rāṇā* Pratāpa became famous among both Hindus and Muslims as an 'unbendable' hero.

The canto thus closes with the glorification of *Rāṇā* Pratāpa.

The language in the latter half of the canto is not explicit. It presupposes a knowledge on the part of the reader of the wellknown events connected with the life of the Mahārāṇā as narrated in bardic chronicles, and thus summarises a number of events in a disconnected manner.

Slab VI ; Canto V

After *Rāṇā* Pratāpa, his son **Amarasiṁha** came to the throne, some details of whose history have already been given above, such as his part in his father's fight against Mānasiṁha, his taking away of Khānakhānā's wives and his killing of *Sulatāna* Sērima. He also fought with Khurrama, son of Jahāṁgīra and afterwards with Abadullahakhāna.[5] He was surrounded by twentyfour chiefs (*sthānēśvaras*). He killed Kāyamakhāna (Qāim Khān), a servant of the king of Dillī, at Ūṁṭālā (Untālā, 20 miles north-east of Udaipur). There he destroyed Mālapura. His son Karṇasiṁha destroyed Sirōṁja (Sironj in the former Tonk State), Mālava and Dhaṁdhēmrā (perhaps Dhanērā in the former Indore State), and got much booty.[6] Then at the command of Jahāṁgīra, Khurram entered into a treaty with Amarasiṁha who came down from his place, Udayapura, to Gōghūṁdā (20 miles north-west of Udaipur) whereto Khurrama also came. There they both met in a worthy manner and contracted friendship.[7] *Rāṇā* Amarasiṁha dwelt in Udayapura where

[1] Mirzā Khānkhānā, son of Bairam Khān. This is also well known from the chronicles. See Tod (Crooke's ed.), *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, p. 398.

[2] The name of Chagtā Sērima, who is mentioned here as uncle of the king of Delhi, is not met with in the *Akbarnamā* and *Tūzuk-Jahāngīrī*. As has been pointed out by Deviprasad, he was, perhaps, an officer of the Moghul army whom the writer of the record has inadvertently called as uncle of the king of Delhi (*ibid.*, p. 33, note). Bhandarkar has inadvertently identified him with Salīm Jahāngīr (*List of North Indian Inscriptions*, p. 137), for in the present record he is called Jahāngīr's uncle. We know from Muslim records that Jahāngīr was too young to join the battle and that the king of Delhi at this time was Akbar and not Jahāngīr.

[3] This pass is two miles to the west of Dewir in the south-easternmost part of Ajmēr-Mārwārā.

[4] This event is also mentioned by Munshi Deviprasad in his *Mahārāṇa Śrī Pratāpasiṁhajī kā jīvan-charitra.* See Ojha, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 486, n. 2.

[5] Abdullā Khān Firoz Jang, a commander of Jahangir's army, who according to Muslim historians defeated Karan, the son of Rānā Amarsing in 1611.

[6] See Ojha, ibid., Vol. I, pp. 492-93.

[7] See ibid., pp. 496-97.

he performed the great gifts and ruled peacefully. To his *guru* Lakshmīnātha, Amarasiṁha gave away a village named Hōlī.[1]

After Amarasiṁha, his son **Karṇasiṁha** became king; when he was a boy, he had performed a silver *tulā* charity on the banks of the Ganges and had given a village in charity to the Brāhmaṇas of Śūkara-kshētra.[2] He also destroyed, as said before, Dhaṁdhērā, the country of Mālavā and the city of Sirōṁja. He made Akhērāja, the lord of Sirōhī, defeat his enemies.[3] His feet bore the auspicious signs of lotus, and he was equal to Karṇa in liberality as well as in valour. And when Khurraṁa, son of Jahāṅgīra, the lord of Dillī, turned against his father, Karṇasiṁha gave him shelter in his own country and, when Jahāṁgīra died, sent his (Karṇa's) brother Arjuna with him (Khurrama) and made him (Khurrama) the lord of Dillī.[4] He (Khurrama) then came to be known as Sāhijahāṁ (Shāhjahān).

In the year 1664, on the 2nd day of the bright half of the month of Bhādra, **Jagatsiṁha** was born to Karṇasiṁha, from the latter's wife Jāmbuvatī, a daughter of the Rāṭhōḍa chief called Jasavaṁta, *alias* Mahēchā(?). Jagatsiṁha was crowned king on the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha in the (Chaitrādi) Vikrama year 1685.[5] By his order, his minister Akhērāja attacked Ḍūṁgarapura whose chief *Rāvala* Puṁja took to flight while the city of Ḍūṁgarapura was sacked.[6] Again, ordered by Jagatsiṁha, Rāṭhōḍa Rāmasiṁha raided the city of Dēvaliyā (Deolia, 5 miles from Partābgarh in the former Partābgarh State), plundered it and killed its chief *Rāvata* Jasavaṁta along with the latter's son Mānasiṁha (Mahāsiṁha according to other sources).

Jagatsiṁha had two sons, Rājasiṁha and Arasī, the former of whom was born on the 2nd day of the dark half of the month of Kārttika in the year 1686, and the latter a year later from his wife Janādē, daughter of Rāṭhōḍa Rājasiṁha, chief of Mēḍatā (Mēḍtā); he had also a natural son Mōhanadāsa. Jagatsiṁha afterwards subjugated Akhērāja, the chief of Sirōhī and seized the territory from Tōga-Bālīsā, whom Akhērāja had vanquished. He then had a palace, called Mērumandira, constructed within the premises of his residence, and another, called Mōhanamandira,[7] on the banks of the lake called Pīchhōlā.

At the command of Jagatsiṁha, his Pradhāna (Chief Minister) Bhāgachaṁda[8] invaded Bāṁsavālā (Bānswārā) whose chief *Rāvala* Samarasī along with the ladies fled to the hills, but afterwards owned Jagatsiṁha's overlordship and paid him a tribute of two lacs of rupees.

The king Jagatsiṁha gave his daughter in marriage to Bhāvasiṁha, son of Śatruśalya (Śatruśāl Hāḍā), the ruler of Būṁdī and at the same time gave twentyseven other girls in marriage to different princes. On that occasion he also decorated the temple of Ēkaliṅga with flags and a gold cupola.

In the year 1698 on the occasion of the Dīpāvalī festival the Queen Mother Jāmbuvatī went on pilgrimage to Dvārakā where she worshipped the god Raṇachhōḍa and performed charities including a silver *tulā* gift. She also gave two *halas* of land at the city of Āhaḍa (Āhār, outside the

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[1] This village is in the Girvā District. Cf. the Jagannātharāya *praśasti*, verse 114, above Vol. XXIV, pp. 64 and 77.

[2] Soron in Etah District, U. P., also connected with the life of Tulsīdās. According to the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, Rājasiṁha also performed a gold *tulā* in the same place (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 87, verse 27).

[3] Karṇasiṁha helped Akhērāja (who was about 2 years old at the time), son of Rao Rājasiṁha of Sirōhī, to regain the throne. See *Nainsikī Khyāt* and Ojha, ibid., Vol. II, p. 513.

[4] For details, see Ojha, ibid., Vol. II, pp. 514 ff. As has been pointed out by Deviprasad, it was Purvez and not Khurram as given in the present record (*Tārīkh Rājparshasti*, p. 38, note).

[5] According to the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, this date was the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of (Śrāvaṇādi) Vikrama Saṁvat 1684. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 61.

[6] Also mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 70, verse 54.

[7] Apparently named after his natural son Mōhanadāsa. Pīchhōlā, as the name also indicates, is situated in the western extremity of the city.

[8] See Ojha, ibid., Vol. II, p. 524, n. 1.

city of Udaipur) to Vēṇī, daughter of Gōsvāmin Yadunātha, granting a deed in the name of her (Vēṇī's) husband Madhusūdanabhaṭṭa.[1]

From his accession onwards Jagatsiṁha performed a silver *tulā* charity every year, besides giving other gifts. In the year 1704 during the month of Āshāḍha on the occasion of the solar eclipse (Tuesday, 22nd June, 1647 A.D.), Jagatsiṁha worshipped the lord Ōṁkāra, one of the *Jyōtirliṅgas*, especially venerable to Māndhātṛi, at Amarakaṁṭaka, and performed a gold *tulā* gift there.[2] That time onwards he performed a gold *tulā* every year. He had performed various other great gifts on the occasions of his birthday anniversaries, such as *Kalpavṛiksha*, *Svarṇapṛithvī*, *Saptasāgara* and *Viśvachakra*.[3] In the said year (1704) in the month of Kārttika, Jagatsiṁha's mother Jāmbuvatī[4] set out on pilgrimage. She first visited Mathurā and saw Gōkula where she witnessed the festivals of Dīpāvalī and Annakūṭa connected with lord Gōvardhana ; then on the fullmoon day of the month of Kārttika at the holy Śūkara(-kshētra) on the banks of the Ganges she performed a silver *tulā-dāna*. There she was accompanied by her daughter's daughter Nandakūṁvarī, daughter of Karṇa, the ruler of Bīkānēr and wife of Haṭhīsiṁha, the ruler of Ramapura, who also performed a silver *tulā* gift. She (Nandakuṁvarī) had in the previous year also given the *Umāmahēśvara* gift to Raṇachhōḍa (the poet), having made him stand before the Queen Mother Jāmbuvatī, at the latter's instance. Jāmbuvatī made another silver *tulā* gift at Prayāga, and after visiting Kāśī, Ayōdhyā and other holy places she returned home where she performed a number of silver *tulā* gifts again. Further, she made Jagatsiṁha's wife give the *Umāmahēśvara* gift to Vēṇī and her husband Madhusūdana. To these two were given similar gifts also by the queens of Rāṇā Amarasiṁha, all amounting to thirty. In that year on the fullmoon day of the month of Vaiśākha, Jagatsiṁha erected a temple to the deity Jagannātharāya and on the occasion of the consecration he made the following gifts : one thousand kine, *Kalpalatā*, *Hiraṇyāśva*, and five villages.[5] To Madhusūdanabhaṭṭa he made the Mahāgōdāna gift, and to Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa the village of Bhaiṁsaḍā (near Chitor).[6] He also performed the *Ratnadhēnu* (gift).

[1] Also mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 77, v. 118.

[2] See also above, Vol. XXIV, p. 62 and n. 3 and pp. 73-74, vv. 77-86, Amarakaṇṭaka mentioned in v. 35 of the *Rājaparśasti* apparently refers to Māndhātā itself, where the temples of Ōṁkārnāth and Amarēśvara are situated on either bank of the river and should not be confused with Amarkantak in the Rewā State.

[3] According to the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, the *Kalpavṛiksha*, *Saptasāgara* and *Viśvachakra* charities were performed on his birthday anniversary in V.S. 1705, 1707 and 1708 respectively. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 62.

[4] She was a daughter of Rāthor Jasavanta (Mahēchā) as mentioned in v. 16.

[5] Also mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 79-80, vv. 15-16 and v. 22.

[6] See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 64. In the courtyard of the Ōṁkārjī temple, situated on the other side of the Narmadā at Māndhātā, there is actually a stone inscription of Jagatsiṁha, dated Saṁvat 1704. This record is in two parts, the first of which is in eleven lines containing the origin and the genealogy of the Guhilas. In the family of Raghu was born Bāpa *Rāvala* whose descendants were *Rāṇā* Rāhappa. After that come the names of his descendants beginning with Narapati down to Jagatsiṁha, omitting the name of Kumbhakarṇa's son, the patricide Udā and also those of Ratnasiṁha II and Vikramāditya who reigned between Saṁgrāmasiṁhs and Udayasiṁha II. The name of Vanavīra who usurped the throne after murdering Vikramāditya is also omitted. The second part of the inscription consisting of 23 lines is mainly devoted to Jagatsiṁha and his visit to Māndhātā. In the family of Bāpā and Guhadatta was born, of Jāṁbuvatī and king Karṇa, Jagatsiṁha. Desirous of visiting the temple of Śiva worsipped by Māndhātṛi, he started from his capital and visiting Amarakaṇṭaka on the way reached Ōṁkārēśvara. Then, in the town of Māndhātā, he distributed his weight in gold mixed with pearls and precious jewels. The occasion of the gift was a solar eclipse in Vikrama Saṁvat 1704, dark half of Āshāḍha, Tuesday (22nd June, 1647 A.D., Tuesday). The inscription also states that the Rāṇā had also two *tōraṇas* erected at Māndhātā for the *tulā* ceremony, which were the work of Mukuṁda, son of Bhāru. Other artisans mentioned in this connection are Bhūdhara and Arajuna (Arjuna), son of Kālā of the Gughāvata family. The names of the artisans mentioned here are also found in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription and the *Rājapraśasti*.

Verse 51 gives the following genealogy : Udayasiṁha, Pratāpa, Amarasiṁha, Karṇa, Jagatsiṁha, Rājasiṁha and Jayasiṁha, and also states that Jayasiṁha caused the *praśasti* to be engraved on stone.

Verse 52 states that the poet Raṇachhōḍabhaṭṭa completed the *Rājapraśasti kāvya* on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgha in the year 1732 when Rājasiṁha performed the consecration ceremony of the Rājasamudra.

The inscription on this slab closes with the names of the masons : Urajaṇa, Sukhadēva, Kēsā, etc.

Slab VII ; Canto VI

In the year 1709, on the 2nd day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna, **Rājasiṁha** ascended the throne,[1] performed a silver *tulā-dāna*, gave away his sister in marriage to Anūpasiṁha, the eldest son of Karṇa of the Bhuruṭiyā clan,[2] and also married seventy-one girls, daughters of his relatives, to different Kshatriya chiefs.

In the year 1710, on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Pausha, a son, named Jayasiṁha, was born to Rājasiṁha from (his wife) Sadākuṁvarī, daughter of *Rāva* Iṁdramāna of the Paṁvāra (Paramāra) family (of Bijholiā). The other sons of Rājasiṁha were Bhīmasiṁha, Gajasiṁha, Sūrja(ryasiṁha), Iṁdrasiṁha, Bahādurasiṁha[3] and Nārāyaṇadāsa. This last named was a natural son. Rājasiṁha built himself a pleasure garden, called Sarvartuvilāsa.[4]

In the year 1711, in the month of Āśvina, Rājasiṁha heard of Sāhijahāṁ's (Shāhjahān's) arrival in Ajamēru (Ajmer) and of his minister Sādullahakhāna's[5] arrival in Chitrakūṭa, whereupon he sent his priest Bhaṭṭa Madhusūdana, a Tēlaṅga Brahman of the Kaṭhōṁḍī family, to Sādullākhāna. The Khāna addressed the Bhaṭṭa as *Paṇḍita* and asked why the Rāṇā had recalled Garībadāsa[6] as well as Jhālā Rāyasiṁha from Delhi ; the Bhaṭṭa replied that similar incidents had occurred even before. Śaktasiṁha, brother of *Rāṇā* Pratāpa, and *Rāvata* Mēgha[7] originally came (to Delhi) from

[1] For details, see ibid., p. 63.

[2] Another sister was married to Bhāvasiṁha, son of Śatruśāla Hāḍā of Būndi. See slab VI, above, v. 29.

[3] For further details, see Ojha, ibid., Vol. II, p. 578, notes 2-5.

[4] Situated in the south-east corner of the city of Udaipur. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 63.

[5] Sa'd-ullāh was the Chief Minister of Shāh Jahān. He was the son of Amīr Bakhsh, and was born in 1599 A.D. at Chenut, a village in the Jhang District of the Punjab. He studied Persian and Arabic under Khwājā Mullāh of Lahore. For his profound scholarship he was presented before Shāhjahān in 1641 A.D., where he distinguished himself as an eminent scholar and statesman. In 1645 A.D., on Islām Khān's appointment as the Subedar of the Deccan, Sā'dullāh Khān was appointed the Prime Minister. His rise was rapid and spectacular. He distinguished himself as a builder, administrator, and last but not the least as a scholar. He founded the city of Saidābād between Mathura and Agra, and it was during his prosperous regime that the Tāj at Agra, the Jām-ī-Masjid, the Red Fort and the Peacock Throne at Delhi were constructed. He also erected various Masjids at Agra and Lahore. He relieved Murād during the Mughal campaign of Balkh and Quandhār in 1646 A.D., where he gave a good account of himself as a general. In 1653 A.D. he was sent against Rāṇā Rājasiṁha, who had started extensive repairs to his fort at Chitor, where he defeated the Rājpūt army and conquered the fort in a remarkably short period of fifteen days. He was the author of the following works :—

1. Sā'dullāh Khānī.
2. Risālā Takht-ē-taus
3. Tafsīr Al Hamd Shraīf.
4. Majmuā Ashiyār
5. Bādshāhnāmā Shāh-i-Jahānī.

The gift of fourteen cities, which according to the *Rājapraśasti* was made by Shāh-Jahān to Rāṇā Rājasiṁha through the good offices of Sā'dullāh Khān, is not, however, corroborated by Muslim historians. For details see *Hayāt-i-Sāleh* ; *Life of Sā'dullāh Khān*, Prime Minister of Emperor Shahjahan (in Urdu) by Muhammad Ahmad (Nawalkishore Press, 1909) and Ojha, ibid., Vol. II, pp. 533 ff. and p. 534 n.4.

[6] Son of Karṇasiṁha and uncle of Rājasiṁha.

[7] For *Rāvat* Mēgha and his activity, see Ojha, Vol. I, pp. 504-06.

Mewār and were given a position by the lord of Delhi but afterwards returned to Mewār and thus it is clear that God had created two places for Kshatriyas (viz., Delhi and Mewār). Then the Khāna again asked the Bhaṭṭa as to how many horsemen the Rāṇā possessed. The Bhaṭṭa's answer was "twenty thousand"; whereupon the Khāna said: "Well, the lord of Dillī possesses one hundred thousand horsemen. How then is there equality between the two?". The Bhaṭṭa answered that the Creator had meant that the Rāṇā's twenty thousand horsemen are equal to one hundred thousand horsemen of the lord of Dillī. Thereafter the Khāna and Jayasiṁha had a talk with each other, and it was settled that, if the Rāṇā's son accompanied the Khāna and saw Shāhijahāṁ, he (the Khāna) would see that the lord of Dillī (Sahijahāṁ) gave fourteen cities to the Rāṇā.[1]

Thus Madhusūdana rendered a loyal service to the Rāṇā. After considering how his priest's son had a conference with the son of the lord of Dillī, Rājasiṁha sent the *Mahākumāra* (the senior prince) Sultānasiṁha along with a number of Ṭhakkuras in the company of Dārasakōha (Dārā Shukoh) to meet Shāhjahān.

Rājasiṁha, who in respect of fortune, liberality and prowess was equal to Vikramāditya, gave away in charity his mother Janādē's weight in silver, and also redeemed himself of the pledge of an elephant-gift by giving five hundred silver coins to Bhaṭṭa Madhusūdana.

He sent the *vaiśya* Rāghavadāsa to the fort of Maṇḍalagaḍha (Mandalgarh, 100 miles to the north-east of Udaipur) and had the Rāṭhōḍa Rūpasiṁha[2] driven out of the fort.

In the year 1713 on the fullmoon day of Kārttika he performed the Brahmāṇḍaka gift at the temple of Ēkaliṅga, according to the Vedic rituals. This gift of Rājasiṁha is praised by the poet in vv. 32-36.

Rājasiṁha, thinking that it was not proper to perform an *aśvamēdha* sacrifice in the Kali age, did the following in order to gain all the merit of that sacrifice : In the year 1713, on the 11th day of the bright half of the month of Pausha, on the auspicious day of Manvādi, he gave away a white horse, Nanala by name, along with a gold saddle, to his *guru* Madhusūdana.

After that the king Rājasiṁha went to Banaras along with his *guru* Madhusūdana and stayed there (for a while).

Slab VIII ; Canto VII

In the year 1714, on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, the king (Rājasiṁha) set out on his victorious expedition. Then follows the description of flags, cannons with cannon balls (or guns with bullets), armour of the kings, etc. There is then a conventional enumeration of different countries not only in India but even outside India represented as fearing danger from Rājasiṁha, viz., Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Utkala, Mithilā, Gauḍa, Pūrva (parts of U. P. and Bihar), Laṁkā, Konkan, Karṇāṭa, Malaya (Malabar), Draviḍa, Chōḷa, Sētubandha (Rāmēśvara), Surāshṭra, Kachchha, Taṭṭa (in Karachi Dist.), Valaka (Balkh), and Khaṁdhāra (Kandhāhār), etc. His specific exploits, however, were as follows :

(1) Destruction by his soldiers of the city of Darībā.[3]

(2) A tribute of 22,000 rupees from the inhabitants of Maṇḍala (Māṇḍal in the former Udaipur State).

(3) A similar tribute by the people of Vanahēḍā (Banarā, 5 miles east of Maṇḍal).

(4) A similar tribute from the people of Sāhipurā (former Shāpurā estate).

[1] See above, p. 99, note 5.

[2] Ruler of Kishangarh who received the Jāgīr of Mandalgarh from Aurangzeb (see Ojha, Vol. I, p. 536).

[3] Approximately 12 miles north-east of Kankroli Railway station.

(5) A tribute of 60,000 rupees from Rāyasiṁha, Chief of Tōḍā (in the former Jaipur State, 50 miles south of Jaipur ; the place is known as Tōḍā Rāysiṁha) whereto he (Rājasiṁha) had sent his chief Phattēchanda. The amount was offered by Rāyasiṁha's mother as a ransom.

(6) The reducing to ashes of the Mahirava city of Vīramadēva.[1]

(7) Plundering of Mālapurā (Mālpurā in the former Jaipur State).

(8) His soldiers also conquered the following and exacted tributes from their chiefs : Ṭōṁka (former Tonk State), Sāmbhari (Sāmbhar in the former Jaipur State), Lālasōṭi (Lālsot in the former Jaipur State, 20 miles east of Chātsu) and Chāṭasu (Chātsu in the former Jaipur State).

Amarasiṁha stopped there for a few hours only but Rājasiṁha stopped there for nine days, but could not proceed beyond the river Chhāini[2] on account of its being flooded during the rains. So he returned to his capital, Udaipur.

Slab IX ; Canto VIII

In the year 1714, in the month of Jyēshṭha, while encamping on the banks of the Chhāini river, he (Rājasiṁha) heard the news of Auraṁgajēba's becoming the lord of Dillī, whereupon he sent his brother Arisiṁha (to the lord of Dillī). He went as far as the Siṁha river. The lord of Dillī conferred on Arisiṁha the country of Ḍūṁgarapura and others. Arisiṁha gave all those to his brother Rājasiṁha who, being pleased, did his brother due honour by presenting them to him.

In the year 1714, when Auraṁgajēba waged war against his brother Sūjā, Rājasiṁha sent his son Siradārasiṁha (Sardārsingh) to the assistance of Auraṁgajēba. Siradārasiṁha won the latter's favour by his heroism and got from him horses, elephants and lands as presents which he (Siradārasiṁha) placed at the disposal of his father (Rājasiṁha). The latter, being pleased, gave all those to him (Siradārasiṁha) back.

In the year 1716, he invited Giridhara through the Ṭhakkuras, and made him a *Rāvala*, placing him in charge of Ḍūṁgarapura. The Rāvala served Rājasiṁha loyally.

In the year 1716, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, the king (Rājasiṁha) went against the country of Vasāḍa (Vasād in Mandasor territory). Rāvata Harisiṁha negotiated through Jhālā Sulatāna, *Rāva* Sabalasiṁha Chauhān, *Rāvata* Raghunātha Chōḍāvata and Śaktāvata Muhakamasiṁha and coming from Dēvaliyā (Deoliā) took refuge under Rājasiṁha, paying him a tribute of 50,000 rupees, along with a pair of elephants, the male one's name being Manarāvata.

In the year 1715, on Tuesday, the 9th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha (date irregular), by the order of Rājasiṁha his minister Phatēchanda set out against Vāṁsavāla (Bānswāra), taking with him cavalry 5,000 strong. He vanquished *Rāvala* Samarasiṁha and made him pay 100,000 rupees as a tribute, a bull-elephant, a cow-elephant, ten villages and right to custom duty (*dēśa-dāna*) and also made the Rāvala a vassal of Rājasiṁha. The king (Rājasiṁha) returned to the Rāvala the ten villages, the right to custom duty, and 20,000 rupees (out of the 100,000 rupees).[3]

Again, at the command of Rājasiṁha, Phatēchanda destroyed Dēvaliyā and put to flight its chief Harisiṁha. Harisiṁha's mother presented her grandson Pratāpasiṁha to Phatēchanda

[1] He was the brother of Sujansingh of Shāhpurā (see Ojha, ibid., Vol. II, p. 537).

[2] According to Deviprasad, it is the same as Chambal river (*Tārīkh Rājparshasti*, p. 47 and note). It may, however, be pointed out that it was known as *Charmanvatī* in classical literature.

[3] In the Baiḍvās well inscription (in vernacular) of Phatehchanda, which is earlier in date, this amount is given as Rs. 5,000.

along with a sum of Rs. 20,000 as well as a cow-elephant. Phatēchanda being filled with pity levied a light tribute. He brought Pratāpasiṁha with him and produced him before Rājasiṁha. In this way Phathēchanda became a favourite of Rājasiṁha.[1]

Akhērāja, the *Rāva* of Sirōhī, was already loyal to Rājasiṁha. Thus Rājasiṁha kept him in subjection through affection only.

In the year 1716, in the month of Phālguna, the king got a gate with heavily nailed doors constructed at the great *ghāṭ* of Daṁhabārī (Dēbārī) adjoining the hill.

In the year 1717, the king Rājasiṁha, accompanied by a huge army, went to Kṛishṇagaḍha (former Kishangarh State) and married Rāṭhōḍa Rūpasiṁha's daughter who was intended to be married to the lord of Dillī.[2]

In the year 1719, the king subjugated the country of Mēvala[3] after destroying the Mīnā forces. The whole of Mēvala he gave to his subordinate chiefs.

In the year 1720, *Raṇavata* Rāmasiṁha, by the order of Rājasiṁha, went to Sirōhī with an army and there released *Rāva* Akhērāja, who was placed in captivity by the latter's son Udayabhāna and restored his territory to him.[4]

In the year 1721, on the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Mārgaśīrsha, king Rājasiṁha gave away his daughter Ajavakūṁvarī in marriage to Bhāvasiṁha, son of the Bāghēlā chief Anūpasiṁha, the lord of Bāndhava[5] (Bandhogarh in the former Rewa State), marrying at the same time ninety-eight girls of his relatives to various high chiefs. On that occasion king Rājasiṁha dined together with the Kshatriyas of a lower rank, namely his son-in-law Bhāvasiṁha and his relatives, who then proclaimed : " We have been purified by eating Rājasiṁhā's food which is as holy as that received from the deity Jagannātharāya ".[6] The king then gave gifts of horses, elephants and ornaments to the bridegrooms.

In the year 1721, in the month of Māgha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse (Friday, 6th January, 1665 A.D.), the king performed gifts of *Hiraṇyakāmadhēnu*, costing Rs. 2,000, and silver *tulā* and made a gift of an elephant called Gajamauktika.

In the year 1725, on the 10th day of the bright half of the month of Māgha, on the consecration of a tank at the village of Baḍī,[7] the king performed a silver *tulā* gift, naming the tank as Janasāgara. On that occasion he gave to the priest Garībadāsa two villages, Guṇahaṁdā and Dēvapura. The digging of the tank cost 680,000 rupees. This charitable deed he performed in honour of his late mother Janādē[8] (lit. he assigned the merit to his mother). Also, on that very day, at Udayapura, at the instance of the Rāṇā (Rājasiṁha), (his son) the young prince Jayasiṁha, performed the consecration ceremony of another tank, called Raṁgasaras, giving great gifts.

V. 53 gives the genealogy (Udayasiṁha, Pratāpa, Amarsiṁha, Karṇasiṁha, Jagatsiṁha, Rājasiṁha and Jayasiṁha) and states that the last mentioned caused the present *praśasti* to be engraved on stone.

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[1] See Ojha, ibid., Vol. II, pp. 540-41.

[2] Her name was Chārumatī. This marriage of Rājasiṁha enraged Aurangzeb who is alleged to have separated the *parganas* of Gayaspur and Basāvar from Udaipur State and given them to Harisiṁha, the *Rāval* of Devaliā See ibid., pp. 541-42.

[3] Southern portion of Mewar. Ojha, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 543.

[4] See ibid., p. 543.

[5] It may be pointed out that Bāndhavēśa is one of the epithets of the rulers of the Rewā house even at present.

[6] The temple of this deity is at Udaipur.

[7] To the west of Udaipur.

[8] Daughter of Rāṭhor Rājasiṁha of Meḍtā.

At the end are given the date of the completion of the *kāvya* as also of the lake, viz., V.S. 1732, Māgha pūrṇimā, Thursday (20th January, 1676 A.D), the date of commencement, viz., V.S. 1718, Māgha *vadi* 7, Wednesday (1st January, 1662 A.D.), names of masons, etc., etc.

Slab X ; Canto IX

Invocation to Kṛishṇa, the uplifter of Mount Gōvardhana. In the year 1698, when Jagatsiṁha was reigning, Rājasiṁha, in his heir-apparency, at the age of twelve, went to the fort of Jaisalamēra for his marriage.[1] It was at that time that he conceived the idea of constructing a lake, finding the area covered by the following sixteen villages as fit for that purpose : Dhōdhuṁdā, Sanavāḍa, Sivālī, Bhigāṁvadā, Mōrchanā, Pasōṁda, Khēḍī, Chhāparakhēḍikā, Tāsōla, Mēḍāvaraka, Bhāna, Luhānaka, Vāṁsōla, Guḍhalī, Kāṁkarōlī and Maṭhā. After wards when he had become king, in the month of Mārgaśīrsha in the year 1718, he went to see the deity Rūpanārāyaṇa,[2] and on that occasion he re-inspected the land with a view to starting the construction of the lake. He consulted his priest in the matter and the latter assured that the scheme would mature if three pre-requisites are ensured, namely full faith, friendship with the lord of Dillī and abundant funds. And these there were. The work was thus taken in hand. The Rāṇēṁdra (Rājasiṁha) undertook to dam the Gōmatī[3] river between two big hills. A start was made on the auspicious day of Wednesday, the 7th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in the year 1718 (Wednesday, 1st January, 1662 A.D). Sixty thousand workmen were employed for digging the earth in connection with the construction of the dam. The Mahārāṇā (Rājasiṁha) used to supervise the work himself, as befitted the great enterprise. He divided the work into various sections and entrusted them to different chiefs. Immense quantities of water had to be removed for laying good foundations of the dam, and for that purpose different devices were employed. The water so removed was led to the neighbouring villages for the purpose of irrigation. That converted them into flourishing towns. In the year 1721, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha, Monday (Monday, 17th April, 1665 A.D., year being Śrāvaṇādi) the foundations of the dam were laid by Raṇachhōḍarāya, the eldest son of the priest Garībadāsa.

Slab XI ; Canto X

Invocation to Hari, the Dvārakānātha ! **Rājasiṁha** built a palace on the mount **Suvarṇaśaila**[4], a veritable fortress. In the year 1726, on the 10th—the Paḍo daśamī day in the month of Mārgaśīrsha[5], the king observed the opening ceremony of the palace.

In the year 1726, on the 2nd day of the dark half of the month of Kārttika, the king Rājasiṁha made the following two great gifts to Brāhmaṇas : (a) Mahābhūtaghaṭa,[6] composed of a hundred *palas* of gold, accompanied by five Kalpadrumas, each composed of a hundred *palas* of gold (or silver ?), (b) Hiraṇyāśvaratha[6], costing one thousand silver coins, i.e., rupees. The two gifts cost him altogether 11,670 rupees.

In the year 1726, on the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha, the king fixed the auspicious day (*muhūrta*) for the inauguration of the dam at the town of **Kāṁkarōlī.** The lofty dam consisted of big stone slabs, cemented with lime. In the year 1726, in the months of Jyēstha and Āshāḍha, the water of the lake increased considerably on account of rain. The main

[1] Rājasiṁha married Kṛishṇakumārī, daughter of *Rāval* Manōhardās of Jaisalmer.

[2] The Vishṇu temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa is in the village of Sevantri, not far from Kankroli.

[3] The Gōmati rises from the eastern hills of the Arāvalī range and discharges its waters in lake Dhebara.

[4] This refers to the palace at Rājnagar, near the lake.

[5] See note to the Text.

[6] For these *mahādānas* see Hēmādri, *Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi*, Dānakhaṇḍa (ed. A.S.B.), pp. 342, 279 and 287.

dam as completed by the masons on Sunday, the fifth day (*smara-tithi*) in the dark half of the month of Āshāḍha in the year 1726 A.D., after eight years, five months and six days from the commencement of its construction.

In that very year, the water that came afresh in the lake was removed by the masons for excavating the *chatushkīs*. Numerous squares were excavated in the lake by expert masons hailing from distant lands. The heaps of earth that were dug out in connection with these excavations were removed by thousands of labourers and utilised in building up the dam.

In the year 1727, on the occasion of his birth-day anniversary, king Rājasiṁha gave the great gift of Hēmahastiratha,[1] composed of 1,020 *tolas* of gold.

In the year 1727, the day for launching boats[2] in the lake was fixed, which was the 4th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Āshāḍha. However, till the 3rd day there was not enough water in the lake, and that caused much anxiety in the minds of the people, especially because in the next year Bṛihaspati was going to enter Siṁha and there was to be no other auspicious day for the ceremony of launching boats in the lake. *Rāṇāvata* Rāmasiṁha proposed that more water should be brought in from elsewhere into the *Chōk ḍīnas*[3] so that the launching ceremony should come off on the appointed day. However, the priest, Garībadāsa, arranged for a recitation of Varuṇa hymns replying that thereby the god Indra would surely send rain and remove the obstacle. And it did happen so : in the afternoon of the 3rd day it rained heavily with the result that the lake had enough water and king Rājasiṁha performed the launching ceremony sitting in a boat, bedecked with silver and tastefully decorated.

In the year 1728, on the fullmoon day of the month of Jyēshṭha, the masons stopped the supply-mains (*nala-vimudraṇa*) at the command of the king.

In the year 1729, in the month of Māgha, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (Monday, 12th January, 1674 ?), the king performed the following *mahādānas* : Kalpalatā,[4] composed of 250 *palas* of gold, Pañchalāṅgala,[4] consisting of five *halas*, composed of 180 *tolas* of gold along with the village of Bhāvali. The two charities comprised 1,028 *tolas* of gold.

In the year 1829, on the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna, the king performed the inauguration ceremony of the *saṁgī-kārya* of the principal dam.

In the year 1729, in the month of Jyēshṭha, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight, king Rājasiṁha caused to be constructed four stone *pratōlīs* each with a surrounding wall in the tank, called Indrasaras, near the temple of Ēkaliṅga,—the tank which had steps and whose dam was in a ruined condition. This cost him 18,000 rupees.

At the end the poet says that he composed the *praśasti* at the command of the Rāṇā who having listened to it ordered it to be engraved on stone slabs.

Slab XII ; Canto XI

Canto XI, after obeisance to Gaṇēśa, gives the measurements of the principal dam, steps, pavilions and so forth, which are only of architectural interest. The details given can be fully understood if verified on comparison with the actual constructions. The standard of measurement of length employed is *gaja*, Urdu *gaz*, i.e., 'yard'. The measurement of the principal dam is given as follows : length at the base 515 *gaja* and at the top 581 *gaja* and the width at bottom 55 *gaja*. The following architectural terms are noteworthy, though the meaning of some of them is

[1] For these *mahādānas* see Hēmādri, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, Dānakhaṇḍa (ed. A.S.B.), pp. 342, 279 and 287.

[2] For the ceremony of launching boats in connection with excavation and conservation of a lake, see Hēmādri, *loc. cit.*

[3] For the meaning of *Chōkaḍīna*, see above, p. 39, n. 2.

[4] For these two *mahādānas*, see Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, Dānakhaṇḍa, pp. 331 and 281.

not clear : *pīṭha* 'basement', *mēkhalā*, *tilaka*, *saṁgīkārya*, *stara* 'layer', *garbha-kōshṭha*, *parva-kōshṭha*, *chatushkī* (excavated squares at the bottom of the lake), etc. The minor dams seem to be named after the nearest village, tree or the like, such as Nimba-sētu, Bhadra-sētu, Kāṁkarōlī-sētu, Āsaṭiyāgrāma-sētu, Vaṁsōlāgrāma-sētu, etc. The monotony of the details is occasionally relieved by a play upon the numbers or drawing similes as in vv. 14, 15, 19, 34, 36, 45, and 56.

Slab XIII ; Canto XII

This canto continues the description of the minor constructions in and around the lake, giving their measurements. Verse 5 states that on the border of the village Mōrchanā, there is a hillock in the lake, on the western peak of which is perched a pavilion sacred to Varuṇa, the god of waters. The villages completely submerged in the lake are stated to be Sivālī, Bhiṁgavada, Bhānō, Luhāṇō, and Guḍhalī, and those partly submerged were Mōrchanā, Pasōṁda, Khēḍī, Chhāparakhēḍikā, Tāsōla and Maṁḍōvara. The rivers or rivulets that drained into the lake are said to be Gōmatī, Tāla and Kailavā. Besides, the tanks, wells, etc., of the villages of Kāṁkarōlī, Lōhāṇa and Sivālī, numbering thirty, also merged into the lake.

From verse 13 onwards the poet praises the great enterprise of his patron, Rājasiṁha. The maximum limit prescribed by Viśvakarman for artificial lakes is 6,000 yards in length. Whether anybody ever constructed a lake of that length is doubtful, but Rājasiṁha even exceeded that limit, the lake constructed by him measuring 7,000 yards in length.

The poet now informs that formerly Rāṇā **Udayasiṁha** had attempted to construct a dam on that very spot, but his attempt was a failure. Afterwards he constructed a lake which was named after him, viz., Udayasāgara.

In the year 1730 there came heavy floods in the river Tāla, which caused much destruction in the city. In the same year in the month of Āśvina the lake had water eight *hastas* in depth due to waters coming from the Gōmatī.

On the fullmoon day of the month of Māgha in that year Rājasiṁha performed the great gift of Suvarṇapṛithivī,[1] that consisted of 500 *palas* of gold, costing 28,000 rupees.

In the year 1731, on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa, the artisans hailing from Lāhōra (Lahore), Gurjara (Gujarat) and Surita (Surat), floated a big boat, called Jahāja, built by them, in the lake.

In that year, on the occasion of his birth-day anniversary, Rājasiṁha performed the great gift of Viśvachakra,[1] consisting of 500 *palas* of gold.

Slab XIV ; Canto XIII

After the completion of the construction of the lake, Rājasiṁha, in connection with its inauguration ceremony, sent invitations to princes, relatives, friends and others. The poet utilizes the occasion by describing the immense expenditure of wealth by Rājasiṁha as host to the invitees. We are told how the king sent his messengers with horses, chariots, elephants, palanquins, etc., to fetch his guests, what elaborate arrangements he made for the stay of his guests by way of setting apart big mansions and erecting tents, all fully furnished and decorated, as well as by accumulating all sorts of provisions, toilet requisites and other necessary articles, and how he collected cloths, ornaments, horses, elephants, cows, etc., to be given in charity. Apart from princes, the invitees included learned men, poets, bards and holy men. The city became choke-full of people. They brought many presents to Rājasiṁha who accepted only as much as seemed proper and returned the rest.

[1] For this see Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, Dānakhaṇḍa, pp. 301 and 326.

On the 2nd day of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the year 1732, Rājasiṁha's consort, the Paramāra princess **Rāmarasadē**[1], performed, at the instance of her husband, the consecration ceremony of a step-well in the Dahabārī[2] Ghaṭṭa, which had cost 24,000 rupees.

Then, Rājasiṁha ordered three *maṇḍapas* to be constructed on the dam, one for performing the inauguration ceremony of the lake, another for a *hēma-tulā* ceremony and the third for the Hāṭakasaptasāgara[3] gift. A short description of each *maṇḍapa* with its particular construction is given.

The *muhūrta* fixed for the inauguration ceremony was Saturday, the 10th—Pāṇḍu daśamī day[4] of the month of Māgha, in the year 1732. Five days earlier, that is on the 5th day of the bright half of Māgha, the king, in consultation with the priest, elected the *ṛitvigs* (priests) to perform the rites in connection with the ceremony. Their total number was twenty six (two *hōtṛis*, two *jāpakas* and two *dvārapālas* with reference to every one of the four Vēdas, these amounting to twenty four, one Brāhman and an Achārya, the total thus being twenty six); following the *Matsya Purāṇa* where the merit of such election is also given.

Slab XV ; Canto XIV

The chief queen, **Sadākuṁvarī** by name, daughter of the Paramāra *Rāva* Indrabhāna (of Bijōliā), decided to perform a silver *tulā* ceremony, for which a *maṇḍapa* was quickly constructed overnight and there the preliminary rites were observed as enjoined by the *śāstra*. Garībadāsa, the priest, and his son (Raṇachhōḍa), intended to perform gold and silver *tulā* ceremonies (respectively), for which two *maṇḍapas* were erected and preliminary rites were observed there. The mother of king Rāyasiṁha and wife of king Bhīma of Tōḍā, son of *Rāṇā* Amarasiṁha, also expressed her desire to perform a silver *tulā* ceremony, for which also the Rāṇā's men constructed a *maṇḍapa* overnight, providing it with all accessories ; and preliminary rites were performed there.

There was *Rāva* Balū of the Chōhāna family of Vēdalāpura. His son was Rāmachandra, and the latter's second son was Kēsarīsiṁha who was made second *Rāva* of Salaṁvari (Salūmvar) by *Rāṇā* Rājasiṁha. His brother Balaṁdisiṁha urged him to perform a silver *tulā* ceremony, saying, 'The king has made you *Rāva*, therefore, you should perform a *tulā* ceremony' Thereupon Kēsarīsiṁha undertook to perform the ceremony. Therefore, a *maṇḍapa* was erected quickly and the preliminary rites were celebrated. The Bārhaṭa bard Kēsarīsiṁha also performed a silver *tulā* near Khadiravāṭaka.

On the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha, Rājasiṁha's consort Jōdhapurī,[5] daughter of Rāthōḍa Rūpasiṁha, at the instance of her husband consecrated a step-well at Rājanagara, which cost 30,000 rupees.

On the 9th day (of the bright half of Māgha), the people were treated to the music of the royal band and other festivities also took place. In the decorated main *maṇḍapa* came Rājasiṁha accompanied by his priest, brothers, sons, grandsons and the princes who had been invited. There he performed the purification ceremony and other preliminary rites. He worshipped Dharitrī (the earth goddess), Gaṇēśa, Gōtradēvī, Gōvinda, etc., and then gave seats to the elected priests headed by Garībadāsa and honoured them, presenting them with rich *dakshiṇā* consisting of clothes, jewels, etc.

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[1] She was the daughter of Pṛithvīsiṁha, granddaughter of Juharasiṁha and great-granddaughter of the Paramāra Rāyasala of Ajmer.

[2] Dēvārī. The name of this well is given as 'Jaya' in the Trimukhī well inscription. See Ojha, *History of Rājputānā*, pt. ii, p. 885, n. 10.

[3] Further details of the *Saptasāgara* gift are given below in Canto XVII. See also Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, Dānakhaṇḍa, p. 337.

[4] See Text, Canto X, note on v. 4.

[5] If she is the daughter of Rūpasiṁha of Kishangarh, as she appears to be, her name was Chārumati.

Slab XVI ; Canto XV

The fifteenth canto describes the king's *jala-yātrā*, worship of the god Varuṇa, naming ceremony of the lake, etc. He went in a procession, headed by richly attired Brāhmaṇas and priests on elephants, followed by gaily dressed ladies carrying jars full of water, with a band playing in front. This *jala-yātrā* presented an unprecedented scene in the city. Afterwards, in a tastefully decorated pavilion, he got the water pitchers brought by the ladies arranged in rows and there conducted the worship of Varuṇa, adoring at the same time the nine Grahas and other presiding deities.

Then, in that great *maṇḍapa*, accompanied by priests and learned men, the king kept vigil, preparatory to the final ceremony on the following day. He got up early next morning, and once again worshipped Varuṇa in company with his relatives, including ladies. Then, as if with the intention of making the lake a second ocean, he threw in it various gems as also fish, tortoises and alligators. After that he worshipped a cow along with her calf and performed the *gō-tāraṇa* rite. Finally, the naming ceremony of the lake took place. The king asked the priest what name to give to the lake, and the priest in reply suggested two names, Rājasāgara and Rājasamudra. Both these names were accepted and given to the lake with due ceremonial five days after the above ceremony, when *hōmas* were performed and the king, followed by his retinue, circumambulated the lake, at the same time inspecting the newly erected structures.

Slab XVII ; Canto XVI

The sixteenth canto opens with a verse stating that the Udayasagara lake was consecrated by *Rāṇā* Udayasiṁha on Vaiśākha sudi 3 in the year 1620 and then goes on elaborating the description of Rājasiṁha's circumambulation of the lake. *Rāvala* Jasavaṁtasiṁha said to Rājasiṁha : " Udayasiṁha, while consecrating the Udayasāgara lake, circumambulated it, seated in a palanquin, accompanied by ladies. Now you may also do likewise, or, if you prefer, you may ride on a horse which may be given away in charity after the circumambulation " Rājasiṁha listened to these two alternative proposals but kept quiet. In the midst of the priests, bards, ladies, and others standing by, the king then started circumambulation on foot even though there were horses, elephants and palanquins in attendance. They spread quilts on the ground so that the king should walk in comfort, but those he simply touched with his toe and got them removed. He even put off his shoes and walked bare-footed, to the great admiration of all. Thus he went walking bare-footed on the rough ground and as he walked, he made charities on the way in a lavish manner. According to the rite, he surrounded the lake with an unbroken thread, casting it as he walked round it. In the midst of his queens, bedecked with glittering jewels, the king, clad in white, looked like the moon surrounded by stars. He was constantly being besprinkled (with water) by his queens. It rained at that time and it appeared as if even the god Indra was attracted to the scene. Seeing that his brother Arisiṁha and queen (Rāmarasadē), the Paramāra princess, who were unaccustomed to walking bare-footed felt tired and sore, he asked them to mount the palanquins.

At the end, all the flower-garlands which were presented to him during his circumambulation, he threw in the Rājasamudra lake as an offering to Varuṇa. The whole circumference of the lake was 14 *krōśas*, and the king circumambulated it in five stages, encamping (with his retinue) at every stage.

On the 13th day (of the bright half of Māgha) one of the elephants fell into the lake near the Kamalabūrj, but soon afterwards it came out. It looked as if the god Varuṇa presented the king with an elephant for his religious merit.

The six days taken by him in the circumambulation purified the king, as it were, of the six *ūrmis* and he was thus to enjoy perfect health in all the six seasons.

On the 14th (of the bright half of Māgha), he performed the preliminary rites of a *suvarṇa-tulā* and a Saptasāgara *mahādana*. The two *maṇḍapas* erected for the purpose were beautifully decorated with flower garlands, flags, etc. The worship of the Earth-goddess, as well as of Hari, Gaṇēśa and Vāstu was conducted, the election of the priests made, the recitals of the Vēdas commenced and *hōmas* performed. All this was done preparatory to the consecration ceremony of the lake.

Slab XVIII ; Canto XVII

The subject of the seventeenth canto is the accomplishment of the consecration of the Rājasamudra lake along with the ceremonies of the Saptasāgara gift and the gold *tulā* gift.

On the fullmoon day the king took his seat in the auspicious *maṇḍapa*, accompanied by his priests and relatives. The latter included his brother Arisiṁha, sons Jayasiṁha, Bhīmasiṁha,[1] Gajasiṁha,[2] Surajasiṁha,[3] Indrasiṁha and Bahādurasiṁha, grandsons Amarasiṁha (son of Jayasiṁha), Ajabasiṁha, Manōharasiṁha and Dalasiṁha. There were other princes and Ṭhakkuras, the priest Raṇachhōḍa and the minister Bhikhū, also present at the ceremony. He performed the *pūrṇāhuti*, that is, the last rite, of the dedication of the lake which was to be for the benefit of the public at large. By this act Rājasiṁha equalled Dilīpa, Rāma and Yudhishṭhira who had respectively performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice, constructed a bridge across the sea and celebrated the Rājasūya *yajña*.

Similarly he performed the final rites of the gold Saptasāgara[4] great gift, the prominent features of which were the seven vessels filled with different contents and representing different deities, each representing a *sāgara* : filled with salt, Brahman ; with milk, Kṛishṇa ; with ghee, Mahēśa ; with *guḍa*, Sūrya ; with curds, Mahēndra ; with *ghee* and sugar, Rāma ; and with water, Gaurī.

Afterwards he entered the *tulā-maṇḍapa* accompanied by his people and there performed the gold *tulā* ceremony, weighing himself along with his grandson Amarasiṁha, the weight of the gold being 9,000 *tolas*.

The canto ends with the two verses, describing the lineage of the poet Raṇachhōḍa, that are found also in some other cantos.

Slab XIX ; Canto XVIII

This eighteenth canto records certain gifts by Rājasiṁha and others, made on the occasion of the consecration ceremony. The latter half contains mostly the conventional praises of the king, the lake, etc.

Rājasiṁha gave the following twelve villages to his chief priest Garībadāsa : Ghāṁsō, Gudhō, Sirathala, Sālōla, Alīdaka, Majjhēra, Dhanēriya, Jhāḍīṁdikā, Sādaḍī, Ambērī, Sarōla and Mānasana. To other Brāhmaṇas he gave away villages and land, measuring many *halas*.

The chief queen of Rājasiṁha (i.e., Sadākuṁvarī) performed a silver *tulā* gift. The priest Garībadāsa and his son Raṇachhōḍarāya performed gold and silver *tulā* gifts respectively.

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[1] Both Jayasiṁha and Bhīmasiṁha were sons by the chief queen Rāmarasadē. It was the popular belief that they were twins and Bhīmasiṁha was actually born first but as the news of the birth of Jayasiṁha reached his father first he was considered elder. Ojha has, however, shown from several sources that Bhīmasiṁha was younger by at least 7 months and 4 days. Jayasiṁha's date of birth, according to the *Rājapraśasti* (Canto VI, vv. 4-6) was v. 1710, Pausha vadi 11 which Ojha takes as correct. See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 882, n. 2.

[2] Indrasiṁha, Gajasiṁha, Bahādurasiṁha, Sultānsiṁha and Sardārsiṁha (last two not named here) were born of Chandramatī, daughter of *Rāval* Sabalasiṁha of Jaisalmer.

[3] Ojha gives the name as Suratsiṁha whose mother's name is not definitely known.

[4] See *ante*, Canto XIII, note 3.

The mother of Rāyasiṁha, the chief of Tōḍā, performed a silver *tulā* gift. The *Rāva* of Salūṁbarī, Kēsarisiṁha of the Chōhāna family, performed a silver *tulā-dāna*. Bārhaṭa Kēsarisiṁha, the bard, performed a silver *tulā* gift.[1]

On that day, the lake was called Rājasamudra, and following that, the king also named the palace on the hill Rājamandira and the city Rājanagara.

The further charities performed by the king on that day included also other articles, such as grains of all kinds, cooked food, sugar, *guḍa*, ghee, etc.

The penultimate verse contains the genealogy of the royal family from Udayasiṁha down to Rājasiṁha's son Jayasiṁha by whose order this *praśasti* was engraved on stone slabs.

The last verse tells that the *Rājapraśasti* was completed on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgha in the year 1732 (the day of the consecration of the lake Rājasamudra itself).

Slab XX ; Canto XIX

This canto does not impart any additional information. It contains a poetic description of the lake, mostly comparing it to the ocean. Besides, it once again recounts the gifts given by Rājasiṁha on the occasion of the consecration. All the gold, silver, etc., used for the *tulā* ceremonies were distributed among the 46,000 Brāhmaṇas who came for the occasion from various parts of the country. In addition were given many *halas* of land and villages donated by copper-plate charters. Finally it tells how Rājasiṁha presented his guests with costly gifts of garments, horses and elephants at the time of their taking leave of him after the ceremony was over.

The last two verses contain the genealogy of the poet Raṇachhōḍa as in some other cantos.

Slab XXI ; Canto XX

The twentieth canto gives details of the gifts made by Rājasiṁha to his relatives and the contemporary princes invited.

The Rāṇā (Rājasiṁha) sent through Raṇachhōḍa Bhaṭṭa the following presents to Rāṭhōḍa Jasavaṁtasiṁha, the ruler of Jōdhapura[2] : one elephant, called Paramēśvaraprasāda, which cost 9,500 rupees, two excellent horses, one called Phattē which cost 2,500 rupees, and the other called Kanakakalaśa, which cost 600 rupees, and, besides, many pieces of brocade and other costly clothes.

To the city of Ambērī he sent his priest Rāmachandra with the following presents for the Kachchhavāhā king Rāmasiṁha : one elephant, called Sundaragaja, that cost 10,250 rupees, two horses, one called Chhavisundara, that cost 1,500 rupees, and the other called Hayahadda, that cost 750 ruppes, and many costly clothes.

To *Rāva* Anūpasiṁha, the ruler of Bikanērī,[3] he sent the following presents through Mādhava Jōshī : one elephant, called Manamūrtti, that cost 7,500 rupees, two horses, one called Sahansiṁgāra, costing 1,500 rupees, and the other called Tējanidhāna, costing 750 rupees, and many costly clothes.

To *Rāva* Bhāvasiṁha Hāḍā, the ruler of Būṁdī, he sent the following presents with Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa : one elephant, Hōṇahāra, costing 10,376 rupees, two horses, Sarvaśōbha and Siratāja, costing 1,500 and 750 rupees respectively, and costly clothes.

To the Chandrāvata *Rāva*, Muhukamasiṁha, he sent to Rāmapura the following presents with Bhaṭṭa Dvārakānātha : one elephant, Phattē dōlati (daulat), costing 7,250 rupees, two horses, Mōhana and Hayasarasa, costing 1,500 and 750 rupees respectively, and costly clothes, as before.

[1] See also canto XIV for the same gifts repeated here.

[2] Jaswant Sing (1638-78), first Mahārājā of Mārwār.

[3] Son of Mahārājā Karṇasiṁha (1669-1698 A. D.)

Similarly for *Rāvala* Amarasiṁha Bhāṭī, he sent to Jēsalamēru the following presents with Dēvānanda Jōshi : one elephant, Pratāpaśṛiṅgāra, costing 11,500 rupees, two horses, Hayamukuṭa and Ratimūrtti, costing 1,500 and 750 rupees respectively, and costly clothes.

Again, to Rāvala Jasavaṁtasiṁha of Ḍuṁgarapura, he sent the following presents with Dvivedī Harijī : one elephant, Sāradhāra, costing 6,500 rupees, and costly clothes. At the time of the consecration of Rājasamudra (where he was present) Rājasiṁha had also given him two horses, one called Jasaturaga, costing 1,000 and 500 rupees respectively, and many costly clothes.

To his Chief Minister, Dōsī Bhīkhū, he gave one elephant, Pratāpaśṛiṅgāra, costing 11,000 rupees, and clothes.

To *Rāṇāvata* Rāmasiṁha, who was the chief of those entrusted with the supervision of the construction work of the Rājasamudra, he gave an elephant, Siranāga, costing 7,000 rupees, and clothes, while to the other Ṭhākuras and Kshatriyas he gave altogether sixty-one horses, costing 25,551 rupees.

On this occasion, the bards and minstrels also received from the king a generous gift of two hundred and six horses, costing all told 27,571 rupees.

Further, to Bāṁdhavēśa (Bāghelā ruler of Bandhōgaḍh, i.e., Rewā) Bhāvasiṁha he sent, through Lādhu Masānī as *lādhūka* (?) for the purpose of pilgrimage, an elephant, Anūparūpa, costing 7,000 rupees, two horses, Vinayasundara and Dilasāra, costing 950 and 400 rupees respectively, and costly clothes.

To some chiefs, who had come there on invitation, he gave eighteen horses, costing 4,300 rupees.

To the mother of Rāyasiṁha, the ruler of Tōḍā, and his sons, he gave a female elephant, Sahēlī, costing 3,000 rupees.

To some other chiefs, who had come there on invitation, he gave thirteen horses, costing 3,450 rupees, to still some others, seven horses, costing 561 rupees (each).

To those of the bards and minstrels who were *ināmdārs* or freeholders of his own and of his ancestors, he gave two hundred horses, costing 13,136 rupees. The details thereof are as follows : 23 horses to his own free-holders, 23 to those of *Rāṇā* Jagatsiṁha, 4 to those of Karṇasiṁha, 7 to those of Amarasiṁha, 18 to those of Pratāpasiṁha, 38 to those of Udayasiṁha, 1 to that of Vikramārka, 1 to that of Ratanasī, 27 to those of Saṁgrāmasiṁha, 21 to those of Rāyamalla, 1 to that of Kuṁbhā, 19 to those of Mōkala, 5 to those of Hammīra, 7 to those of Lākhā, 1 to that of Khētā, 1 to that of Ajēsī, 1 to that of *Rāvala* Śālivāhana, 1 to that of Samarasī, and 1 to that of Rāvata Vāghā, brother of Mōkala.

In all 552 horses were bought at the cost of 1,22,268 rupees, and 13 elephants, including a cow-elephant, at the cost of 1,02,800 rupees, that were given away as gifts by Rājasiṁha.

Slab XXII ; Canto XXI

In the beginning of this canto are given the details of the expenditure on the lake itself. The **construction started on Wednesday, the 7th day of the dark half of Māgha in the year 1718** (Wednesday, 4th January, 1662 A.D.) and was **completed in the month of Āshāḍha in the year 1735.** The money spent during this period on various works in connection with the lake amounted to 46,64,625¼ rupees. Further details of this gross total are mentioned in the text and are noted in footnote 2 on p. 81. The total includes the sum of 7,00,001 rupees spent in connection with the inauguraton ceremony. Of the remaining sum of 39,64,624¼, 32,02,880¼ were given in cash as wages, and 7,61,744 were adjusted against the revenue due from the Ṭhakkuras who had been appointed to the supervision of the construction work.

Apart from the above, enormous additional expenditure was incurred voluntarily by various feudatory chiefs and freeholders especially in the digging work.

According to another reckoning, the total expenditure by the king represents a larger figure of 1,05,07,608 rupees.

On the day of his birth-day anniversary in the year 1734, Rājasiṁha performed two great gifts, Kalpadruma and Hiraṇyāśva,[1] comprising two hundred *tolas* and eighty *tolas* of gold respectively.

In the month of Śrāvaṇa in that year, Rājasiṁha went up to Jīlavāḍa, rescued Vairisāla, the Rāva of Sirōhī, who was harrassed by enemies, and reinstated him as the ruler of Sirōhī. From him Rājasiṁha accepted one lakh of rupees and five villages, Kōraṭā and others. Besides, a gold pitcher belonging to the Rāṇā (Rājasiṁha) had been stolen and found its way to Vairisāla's land, and as compensation for that Rajasiṁha took from him (Vairisāla) a sum of fifty thousand rupees.[2]

Verses 33-41 contain a panegyric of Rājasiṁha, verse 42 his lineage from Udayasiṁha down to Rājasiṁha's son Jayasiṁha, as in some other cantos, and likewise the last two verses the genealogy of the poet.

Slab XXIII ; Canto XXII

On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 1735, Prince Jayasiṁha, at the instance of his father, Rājasiṁha, started on tour. First he came to Ajamēru (Ajmer). Then he went to Dillī to see Aurangzeb, the lord of Dillī. He met him two *krōśas* this side of Dillī in a camp. The Emperor welcomed him and presented him with a pearl necklace, brocade, an elephant and horses. The Emperor also gave similar gifts to the prominent men who accompanied Jayasiṁha, namely the Jhālā Chandrasēna, the priest Garībadāsa and several Ṭhakkuras.

From there Jayasiṁha went to the Ganges where he took bath, worshipped Śiva Gaṇayuktēśvara[3] and performed a silver *tulī*, and made gifts of an elephant and a horse.

In the month of Jyēshṭha, Jayasiṁha performed pilgrimage of **Vṛindāvana** and **Mathurā**.[4]

On the 11th day of the dark fortnight of Pausha in the year 1736, the Emperor of Dillī came to Mēvāḍa. First, his son Akbar and Tahabara Khāna (Tahawar Khān) came with their armies to Rājanagara where their men committed atrocities. There Śakta of the Śaktāvata clan, son of the Pūrāvat Sabalasiṁha and brother of Muhakamasiṁha, gave a terrific battle.[5] A certain Chōṁḍāvata warrior and twenty soldiers gave their lives in this clash. Thereupon the Rāṇā ordered the Kshatriya warriors of the great Dahavārī *ghaṭṭa* (Dēbārī pass) and other *ghaṭṭas* to join the struggle. They came with fire-arms. On the other side the Emperor of Dillī also came to the Dahavārī *ghaṭṭa* breaking open its portals, was there for twenty-one days and then secretly reached Udayapura.

Afterwards **Akbar** also came to Udayapura. Tahabara Khāna followed him while his work was done by his followers. Akbar saw there the god Ēkaliṅga. When he was near Ambērī and Chīrava *ghaṭṭas*,[6] Jhālā Pratāpa of Karkēṭapura (Karget) seized two elephants from the Emperor's army and presented them to the Rāṇā.

[1] For these two *mahādānas*, see Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, Dānakhaṇḍa, pp. 245, 277.

[2] See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 855.

[3] The reference is obviously to the Śiva at Gaḍhmuktēsvar on the Ganges about 45 miles from Delhi in the Meerut District.

[4] See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 856. It may be interesting to note that on the southern side of Gōvindajī's temple at Bṛindāvan there is a pillared Chhatri 'of very handsome and harmonious design' erected on the 5th day of the dark half of Kārttika, V.S. 1693 (1636 A.D., *i.e.*, 40 years later than the temple itself), in the reign of Shāhjahān by Rāṇī Rambhāvatī, widow of Rājā Bhīmasiṁha, second son of Rāṇā Amarasiṁha of Udaipur and uncle of Rājasiṁha.

[5] Ojha, (*op. cit.*, p. 876) gives the credit to Muhakamasiṁha.

[6] The villages of Ambērī and Chīrwā.

When the Rāṇā was halting at Nainavārā, the Ballas of Bhadēsara presented him with a number of horses, elephants and camels (captured from the enemy).

The loss sustained in that battle included fifty thousand men dead.[1]

The Emperor of Dillī then came to Chitrakūṭa. Akbar also, setting afoot a false rumour, came there, and from Chhappanna, Hasana Allīkhā, too, arrived there. The Rāṇā, filled with anger, soon came to Nāhī (the village of Nai) from the village of Kōṭaḍī (Koṭḍa), followed by his army.

Prince Bhīmasiṁha, sent by the Rāṇā, effected the destruction of Iḍara (Idar in Gujarat) and Saidahasa[2] fled from there. Baḍanagara was plundered and a sum of 40,000 rupees was taken by Bhīmasiṁha as fine. Similarly, Bhīmasiṁha took 2,00,000 rupees as fine in Ahamadanagara in addition to causing plunder of the city. He also caused one big mosque and three hundred small mosques to be destroyed, and thereby vindicated his resentment at the destruction of Hindu temples by the Muslims.[3]

Prince **Jayasiṁha,** following the command of his father, took with him a number of chiefs such as Jhālā Chandrasēna (of Sādrī), the Chōhāna Rāva Sabalasiṁha (of Bēdlā), his brother Rāva Kēsarisiṁha, Rāthōḍ Gōpīnātha son of Arisiṁha, Bhagavaṁtasiṁha, and many other Kshatriyas, besides 13,000 strong cavalry and 20,000 strong infantry, and marched towards Chitrakūṭa in order to gain victory over his enemies. There those Ṭhakkuras in a terrible fight at night killed a thousand men and three elephants of the Emperor of Dillī. In the end, Akbar retired (towards Ajmer) and the Rājputs captured fifty horses and presented them to Jayasiṁha. Prince Jayasiṁha, thus pleased with his triumph, went to see his father. Gaṅgakūvara (Gaṅgādās), son of Śaktāvata Rāvat Kēsarisiṁha (of Bānsī) seized eighteen elephants and a number of horses and camels from the Emperor's army, and presented them to the Rāṇā.[4]

Afterwards, the Rāṇā sent Prince Bhīmasiṁha with an army to fight with Akbar and Tahabara Khāna. Crossing the Dēvasūrī (Dēsūri pass) he fought them at Ghānōrānagara (Ghāṇērā). The Sōlaṅkī hero Bīkā (of Rūpnagar) fought in defence of the *ghaṭṭa* (pass).[5]

Similarly, Prince Gajasiṁha, sent by the Rāṇā, destroyed Bēgamapura (Bēgūṁ).[6]

It is stated that Aurangzeb then showed his readiness to make peace with the Rāṇā, giving three provinces or 3,00,000 rupees.[7]

Like the foregoing canto, the present one also ends with the genealogies of the Rāṇā and of the poet.

Slab XXIV ; Canto XXIII

On the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 1737, Rāṇā Rājasiṁha died after making numerous gifts to Brāhmaṇas. The victorious Jayasiṁha was encamping at the city of Kaḍaija (Kuraj village). Fifteen days after his father's death, he ascended the throne. Residing at Kaḍaṁja (Kaḍaija and Kaḍaṁja are identical[8]) in the month of Mārgaśīrsha in the year 1737, Jayasiṁha heard that Tahabara Khāna had crossed Dēvasūrī (village Dēsūrī near the entrance to

[1] Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 876.

[2] Saidahasa (Sayyid Khān ?) (v. 26) probably refers to Sayad Kamal, son of Sayad Kamil, who was the commander of Sādra in Mahikantha, which was one of the military posts during the viceroyalty in Gujarāt of Muhammad Amin (1674-1683). See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 85-86.

[3] Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 877.

[4] For the war in Mewār, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, pp. 339-347. See also *ibid.*, pp. 378-81, Appendix X.

[5] Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 878-79. See also next canto where the same incident is repeated in greater detail.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 879.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 878.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 879.

the pass).[1] Thereupon Jayasiṁha sent his brother Bhīmasiṁha and Bīkā Sōlaṅkī to stop Tahabara Khāna. They both destroyed many enemies and surrounded Tahabara who after eight days got away. Jayasiṁha had by this time come in the neighbourhood of Ghanōrā.[2] Hearing that from the other side Dalēlakhā (Dilābar Khān) had reached the hills of Chhappanna, Jayasiṁha sent Rāvat Ratnasī (Chūḍāvat) to protect the Gōgūṁdā *ghaṭṭa*. Then the Rāṇā's men surrounded the *ghaṭṭa*, with the result that Dalēlakhā̃ could not escape.

Jayasiṁha sent Jhālā Varasā (Varasiṁha) to make peace with Dalēlakhā̃ whom he said : "You are respected by the Emperor of Dillī and you have got 15,000 strong cavalry with you and you have been stopped here by one man (*viz.*, Ratnasī), so you can easily get away." Dalēlakhāna tried all the three passes and found them all strongly guarded. The Nawāb Dalēlakhā̃, however, bribed a Brāhmaṇa by giving him 1,000 rupees and with his help escaped through another way under cover of night; but there, too, Rāvata Ratnasī blocked his way. Anyhow he managed to escape from there, and came to the Emperor of Dillī.[3] There asked by the latter as to why he returned without chasing the Rāṇā, he said that through want of foodstuff daily four hundred of his men were dying and he was thus compelled to return.[4]

Then Akbar came to make peace.[5] Śyāmasiṁha, son of Garībadāsa, the second son of Rāṇā Karṇasiṁha, participated in the peace negotiations, and so did, from the other side, Dalēlakhā̃ and Hasana Allīkhā̃. To ratify the treaty Jayasiṁha came to the bank of the Rājasamudra lake, followed by his retinue and 7,000 strong cavalry and 10,000 strong infantry. The retinue included the Chōhān Jhālā Chandrasēna, Rāval Sabalasiṁha of the Paramāra family, Mahārāva Vairīsāla, the Rāṭhōr Ṭhakkuras, and also the warriors of the Chaṇḍāvata, Śaktāvata and Rāṇāvata clans.

The prominent of the opposite party were Emperor Auraṅgajēba's son, Suratrāṇa Ajama,[6] his faithful general Dalēlakhā̃, Hasana Allīkhā̃, and also Rāṭhōḍa Rāmasiṁha of Ratlam and Hāḍā Kiśōrasiṁha,[7] the ruler of Gauḍa. Jayasiṁha flanked by his priest Garībadāsa and the chief minister Bhīkhū of the Vaiśya caste and followed by the aforementioned Ṭhakkuras, advanced and saw the Suratrāṇa Ajama. The latter showed great respect to the former. Then there was exchange of gifts that comprised 11 elephants and 40 horses from the side of the Rāṇā and 1 elephant, 28 horses and three pieces of gold embroidered cloth from the side of Ajama.[8]

Afterwards, Dalēlakhā̃ introduced to Ajama some of the outstanding warriors of the Rāṇā's side, namely Jhālā Chandrasēna, Rāva Sabalasiṁha, Rāvata Ratnasī, and so forth.

Thus the treaty was concluded.[9]

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[1] Rājasiṁha died suddenly after a meal in the village of Ōḍā in the Kumbhalgadh District, according to some, of poisoning.

[2] Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 89-92.

[3] Actually not the emperor of Delhi but prince Azam Khān with whose forces Dilabar was attached. See Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 892, n. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 892-93.

[5] The reference to Akbar here is wrong. It should be Azam. Śyāmasiṁha, who was the first to propose to Jayasiṁha peace with the Mughals offering his services as the mediator was employed in the Mughal army under Dilerkhan. Sarkar identifies him with Shyām Singh of Bikaner (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 370), but according to the *Rājapraśasti*, he was the son of Garībadāsa, second son of Mahārāṇā Karṇasiṁha. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 896, n. 1.

[6] This meeting of the Rāṇā and the Mughal prince Azam took place, according to Sarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 370), on the 14th June ; but Ojha gives the date as 24th June (*op. cit.*, p. 897).

[7] Hāḍā Kiśōrasiṁha was the 5th son of Rāṇā Mādhavasiṁha of Kotah. See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 897, n. 2.

[8] See also Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 897 and n. 3.

[9] For the terms of this treaty see, Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

Slab XXV ; Canto XXIV

This slab contains the last canto—Canto XXIV of the *Rājapraśasti Kāvya*. Its contents are miscellaneous, generally repetition of some of the events already described.

The first eleven verses describe the various *tōraṇas* erected in connection with the *tula* charities by Rājasiṁha, his grandson Amarasiṁha, Rājasiṁha's chief queen Sadākuṁwarī, his mother Janādē, his priest Garībadāsa, the latter's son Raṇachhōḍa, and so forth.

The next four verses, vv. 12-15, are those that are found towards the end in several other cantos and give the Rāṇā's and the poet's genealogies as well as the date of completion of the Rājasamudra and the *Rājapraśasti*.

These verses are again repeated towards the end of this last canto., being vv. 33-36.

Verses 16-21 constitute what may be termed the *māhātmya* of the *Rājapraśasti Kāvya*.

Verses 25-27 inform us that this work describes the destruction of Khērāvāḍ by Dayāla Sāhabu, seizure of his standard and war-drums, plundering of Vanahēḍā, destruction of Dhārāpurī, and of a number of mosques, plundering of Ahmadnagar and the destruction of the great mosque.[1]

Verse 28 speaks of the Mahāmiśra Māthura Hīrāmaṇi, son of Jagadīśamiśra, as one who cast thread round the Rājasamudra lake at the time when Rājasiṁha performed its circumambulation.

Verses 29-32 recall how Rājasiṁha appointed one Miśra to distribute money and grain to the poor, placing at his disposal one heap of grain, weighing 1,200 maunds, at the chief dam, and a similar one at the Kāṁkarōlī dam, and 1,500 rupees worth of Ḍhabbukas (Ḍhēbuā coins). For six days the Miśra kept distributing these to the satisfaction of the king.

After verse 36, the composition is in the local dialect, covering about eight lines (11. 36-43). It contains two *Dōhās* which have been explained above (p. 96, n. 1). For the rest it contains names, including those of certain Ṭhakkuras and masons, and also the dates of the commencement and the completion of the Rājasamudra as follows : The *muhūrta* was on Wednesday (nīmshōdavāra), the 7th day of the dark half of Māgha of (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1718. The Ṭhākurs who were in charge of the work were :—Rāṇāvat Māhasiṁha, Rāmasiṁha (XXI. 4), Rāṇāvat Bhāu-(Bhāva)siṁha, Chuṁḍāvat Dalapat, Mōhaṇasiṁha, Rāvat Lūnakaran(Karṇa), Chuṁḍāvat Kēśarīsiṁha, Chuṁḍāvat Mōkamasiṁha, Māṁjāvat Narasiṁhadās, Māṁjāvat Garīvadās, Rāthōḍ Siṁha, Rāthōḍ Rāmachandra, Rāthōḍ Hēma, Rāthōr Mōkamasiṁha, Vitagarā[2]-Sāha Rāmachandra Chēchāṁuī, Sāha Kalu Paṁchōlī, Rāma Jagamālōt, Sāha Mukuṁdadās Pāṁchōlī, Hararām Sidhavī, Lashu(khu) Paṁchōlī, Gajadhara[3] Bāghō, Gajadhara Mukuṁda, Jagannātha, son of Kilyāna (Kalyāṇa),[4] sons of Urajaṇa[5], Lālō[6], Lashō[7], Jasōhara (canto VII), Mēghō and Manō, sons of Jaganātha (canto VII). The other masons mentioned in the text are : Sachadēva, Kēsō (Kēśava), Sudara (Sundara), Bhāṇa (canto V), Mōhaṇa (canto VIII) and Sūtradhāra Lāḍā (canto V). This list shows that in certain families (*e.g.*, that of Kalyāṇa) the profession was handed down from father to son.

At the end it is stated that the consecration ceremony took place in Saṁvat 1732.

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[1] See above, canto XXII.

[2] An officer dealing with the accounts of the royal family.

[3] Literally, 'the wielder of Gaz,' i.e., an architect or mason.

[4] Both Kalyāṇa and his son Jagannātha are mentioned in cantos VII and VIII.

[5] Another son of Kalyāṇa (cantos II V, VII, VIII).

[6] *S.a.* Lāla (cantos II, V, VII, VIII).

[7] *S a.* Lākhā (VII).

Dated events mentioned in the Rājapraśasti

(The dates are given in Vikrama Saṁvat, the year being usually Śrāvaṇādi.)

1718 Māgha vadi 7, Wednesday (1st January, 1662 A.D.), **commencement** of the lake and the *praśasti* (II. 10, VIII *et passim*).

1732 Māghi-pūrṇimā, Thursday (20th January, 1676 A.D.), date of the **consecration** of Rājasamudra (III. 35-36, *et passim*).

1664 Bhādra sudi 2, birth of Jagatsiṁha (V, 15).

1685 Vaiśākha sudi 3, his coronation.

1686 Kārttika vadi 2, birth of Rājasiṁha.

1687 Birth of his brother Arisiṁha.

1698 Diwālī, king's mother Jāmbavatī went on pilgrimage to Dvārakā.

1698 Rājasiṁha at the age of 12 went to Jaisalmer for his marriage. Idea of excavating Rājasāgara conceived.

1704 Āshāḍha 8, solar eclipse, the king was at Amarkaṇṭak on pilgrimage.

1704 Kārttika, king's mother went on pilgrimage to Mathurā and Gōkula. Same year Vaiśākhī 15, he built the temple of Jagannātha Rāya. (Acc. to the J. R. Temple inscription the year of the installation of the image was 1709 (13th May, Thursday, 1652 A.D.); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 62.

1709 Phālguṇa vadi 2, Rājasiṁha ascends the throne (VII).

1710 Pausha vadi 11, birth of Jayasiṁha from Sadākuṁbarī.

1711 Āśvina, Shāhjahān arrives at Ajmer and Sādullā Khān at Chitor.

1713 Kārttika Pūrṇimā, king performs *Brahmāṇḍa-dāna* at Ēkaliṅga.

1713 Pausha vadi 11, Manvādi day, he gave away a white horse in lieu of Aśvamēdha.

1714 Vaiśākha sudi 10, he sets out on *digvijaya*.

1714 Jyēshṭha, the Rāṇā when in camp hears of Aurangzeb's becoming emperor and sends his brother Arisiṁha to Delhi.

1714 Rāṇā sends his son Sardārsiṁha in aid of Aurangzeb against Sujā.

1716 Rāṇā places Rāvala Giridhara in charge of Ḍuṅgarpur.

1716 Śrāvaṇa, Rāṇā marches against Vasāḍ (in Mandāsōr).

1715 Vaiśākha vadi 9, Tuesday, his minister Phatēchand marches against Bānswārā.

1716 Phālguna, Rāṇā constructs a gate at the Dēbārī pass.

1717 Rāṇā marches to Kishangarh and marries Rūpasiṁha's daughter (Chārumatī).

1719 Rāṇā subjugates the Mīnas of Mēvala.

1720 Rāṇāvata Rāmasiṁha goes to Sirōhī and restores the territory to Akhērāja put in captivity by his son.

1721 Mārgaśīrsha vadi 8, Rājasiṁha marries his daughter Ajavakuṁvarī to Bāghēlā Bhāvasiṁha, son of Anūpsiṁha of Rewā.

1721 Māgha, solar eclipse, king performs certain charities.

1721 Vaiśākha sudi 13, Monday (17th April, 1665 A.D., the year being Śrāvaṇādi), foundations of the dam laid.

1725 Māgha sudi 10, consecration of a tank at Baḍi and of another called Rangasaras at Udaipur.

1726 Paḍō daśamī in Mārga, palace on Suvarṇaśaila opened.

1726 Kārttika vadi 2, Rājasiṁha makes two *mahādānas*.

1726 Vaiśākha vadi 13, *muhūrta* fixed for the inauguration of the Kāṁkrōlī dam.

1726 Jyēshṭha-Āshāḍha, rain water collects in the excavations.
1726 Āshāḍha vadi 5, Sunday, main dam completed (after 8 years 6 months and 6 days from the commencement of its construction)=12th June, 1670 A.D. (Śrāvaṇādi).
1727 his birthday anniversary, Rāṇā performs a *mahādāna*.
1727 Āshāḍha vadi 4, ceremony of launching boats takes place.
1728 Jyēshṭha pūrṇimā, the water supply main (*nala-vimudraṇa*) was stopped.
1729 Māgha, lunar eclipse (Monday, 12th June 1674 ?), king performs *mahādānas*.
1729 Phālguna vadi 11, king inaugurates *saṁgī-kārya* of the principal dam.
1729 Jyēshṭha sudi 7, Rāṇā repairs the dam at Indrasaras near Ēkaliṅga and builds 4 *pratōlīs*.
1730 heavy floods in the river.
1730 Āśvina, the lake Rājasamudra had 8 cubits of water.
1730 Māghī pūrṇimā, king performs a *mahādāna*.
1731 Śrāvaṇa sudi 5, floating ceremony of the ship (Jahāja) takes place.
1731 birthday anniversary, king performs a *mahādāna*.
1732 Māgha sudi 2, queen Rāmarasadē consecrates a step-well at Dēbārī pass.
1732 Māgha, Pāṇḍu daśamī, Saturday, *muhūrta* for the inauguration ceremony of the lake, the officiating priests being selected 5 days earlier=15th January 1676 A.D
1732 Māgha sudi 7, Queen Chārumatī consecrates a step-well at Rājnagar.
1732 Māgha sudi 9, festivities in connection with the consecration of the lake.
1620 Vaiśākha sudi 3, consecration of Udayasāgara by Rāṇā Udayasiṁha recalled.
1732 Māgha sudi 13, an elephant falls in the lake but comes out again.
1732 Māgha sudi 14, Rāṇā performs a *mahādāna*.
1742 Māgha pūrṇimā, consecration of the lake performed and gifts, made (details given in cantos XVIII-XX).
1734 birthday anniversary, king performs *mahādānas*.
1734 Śrāvaṇa, Rāṇā goes to Jilwāḍā and reinstates Vairisāla of Sirōhī.
1735 Chaitra sudi 11, prince Jayasiṁha starts on his tour to Ajmer and Delhi.
1735 Jyēshṭha, he visits Mathurā and Vṛindāvana.
1736 Pausha vadi 11, Mughal expedition to Mēwār.
1737 Kārttika sudi 10, Rājasiṁha dies and Jayasiṁha ascends the throne 15 days later.
1737 Mārgaśīrsha, Jayasiṁha sends his brother Bhīmasiṁha to Dēsūrī against Tahawar Khān.

Chronology of the rulers of the Guhila Dynasty

The genealogy of the early Guhila rulers as given by the author of the *Rājaprasasti* from Guhila to Hammīra is entirely drawn from the bardic chronicles and their chronology is hopelessly inaccurate and misleading. The author traces the origin of the Guhila dynasty to Manu and the solar dynasty and at the outset gives the names of 135 kings beginning with Manu, who had their seat in Ayōdhyā. The last of these kings, Vijaya, is stated to have migrated to the south, carved out a kingdom for himself and took the title of Āditya for his family. A list of 14 Āditya rulers is given in the *praśasti*, of whom the last was Guhāditya whose descendants were known as Guhilauts (Guhilaputras[1]). In the Āṭpur inscription of Śaktikumāra,[2] V.S. 1034, he is called Guhadatta who is stated to have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family and to have come from Ānandapura (Baḍaṇagar) in Gujarāt. According to the *Rājapraśasti*, his son was Bāshpa (Bappa) whose original place was Nāgahrada (Nāgdā), but who, on the advice of the Pāśupata sage Hārītarāśi, went to Chitor,

[1] See above, p. 3 and n.1.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

wrested the kingdom of the Mōri chief Manu (Mānabhaṅga), became its ruler and took the title of Rāvala for his family.[1]

The *Rājapraśasti* then follows with the names of 26 Rāvals of whom the last was Karṇasiṁha.[2] Though many of these names are found in the Āṭpur inscription of V.S. 1034, which for the first time gives a number of names of the Guhila chiefs, and a few other earlier records known so far,[3] their chronology, relationship and the order of succession as given in the *Rājapraśasti* are not at all accurate. It, however, gives the succession of the rulers from Arisiṁha, father of Hammīra, onwards correctly. This would indicate that its author had a knowledge of the genealogy of the later rulers perhaps from some of the late records, though it is clear that he was not acquainted with the early records of the dynasty and drew his material entirely from the bardic chronicles.

The *praśasti* contains very little information about the Rāvals and whatever little is given is found to be incorrect. Karṇasiṁha's father Samarasiṁha is stated here to have married Pṛithā, of a sister the Chauhān king Pṛithvīrāja and died in the battlefield fighting for his brother-in-law against Shahābuddin Ghūrī. The same story is repeated by Col. Tod in his *Annals* on the authority of the chronicles. But this is impossible from the chronological point of view. Pṛithvīrāja died in 1192 A.D. and Samarasiṁha was still alive in 1302 A.D., *i.e.*, more than one hundred years later. They could, therefore, have never been contemporaries. The Guhila contemporary of Pṛithvīrāja was Sāmantasiṁha and not Samarasiṁha and, if there is any truth in the matrimonial connection between these two families, the reference must be to Sāmantasiṁha. But so far no inscription has been found to support this conjecture. Moreover, we know that Ratnasiṁha and not Karṇasiṁha was the son of Samarasiṁha. Karṇasimha, according to the Rāṇpur and Kumbhalgaḍh inscriptions (where he is called Raṇasiṁha), was the son of Vikramasiṁha and flourished long before the time of Samarasiṁha. The *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya* calls him Karṇasiṁha and says that from him sprang the two branches—those of Rāṇā and Rāval. Again, according to the *Rājapraśasti*, of the two sons of Karṇa, Māhapa who was the elder, became the ruler of Ḍungarpur and Rāhapa the younger son, after he had defeated Mōkalasiṁha of Māṇḍor, was given the title of Rāṇā, and made the ruler of Chitor by his father Karṇasiṁha. But we have ample evidence to show that neither of the statements is correct. Both Māhapa and Rāhapa belonged to the Rāṇā branch of Sisōdā, while Karṇasiṁha's eldest son, Rāval Khēmasiṁha, succeeded to the rule of Mewār. His next seven successors were Kumārasiṁha, Mathanasiṁha, Padmasiṁha, Jaitrasiṁha, Tējasiṁha, Samarasiṁha and Ratnasiṁha.[4] Actually, Khēmasiṁha's eldest son Sāmantasiṁha succeeded his father; but afterwards he lost his kingdom of Mewar to an enemy and had to remain statisfied with the remaining part of his kingdom including Vāgaḍa (present Ḍungarpur and Bāuswārā). Ojha names this usurper as the Chāhamāna Kīrtipāla (Kītu)[5] who was finally ousted by Sāmantasiṁha's younger brother Kumārasiṁha who took upon himself the rule of Mewār.[6] According to the Sadaḍi inscription of V.S. 1496 of the time of Rānā Kumbhakarṇa,[7] however, the credit of defeating Kītu goes to Bhuvanasiṁha of the Sisōdā branch who is also credited with the victory over Alāuddīn (Khaljī). But neither statement can be correct as the date of Bhuvana-

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[1] See also above, pp. 3 and 6. Bhandarkar identifies Bappa with Siṁha of the Āṭpur inscription and Ojha with Kālabhōja. See Bhandarkar's List, p. 388, n. 8; Ojha, *History of Rājputānā* (in Hindī), pp. 404 ff.

[2] For a list of these kings, see above, p. 4.

[3] These are the Sāmoli inscription of Śilāditya, V.S. 703, the Nāgdā inscription of Aparājita, V.S. 718, Partābgarh and Āhāḍ inscriptions of Bhartṛipaṭṭa, V.S. 999 and 1000, Āhāḍ inscription of Allaṭa, V.S. 1008 and 1010 and Ēkliṅga inscription of Naravāhana, V.S. 1028.

[4] For these rulers, see Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 458 ff.

[5] Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 453 ff.

[6] See Mount Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, V. 1342; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, pp. 347 ff.

[7] Bhandarkar, *A.S.I. An. Rep.*, 1907-08, pp. 214 ff.

siṁha would be too late for one and too early for the other. There is an inscription of Samarasiṁha, son of Kītuka, the founder of the Sōngirā branch of the Chāhamānas who ruled in Mārwār, which is dated in V.S. 1239[1], long before the time of Bhuvanasiṁha. Alāuddīn attacked Chitor when Lakshmaṇasiṁha, grandson of Bhuvanasiṁha, was the Sisōdā chief. In the Kumbhalgarh inscription, Jaitrasiṁha *alias* Rāvala Jayasiṁha is said to be ruling over the four countries of Chitor, Āghāṭa, Mēdapāṭa and Vāgaḍa with his seat at Nāgahrada which shows that the whole of the former possessions of the Guhilas came under their power once again.

Again, the twelve chiefs from Rāhapa onwards belonged to the Sisōdā branch and not to the Rāval branch of Mewār. These are, according to the *praśasti*, Rāhapa, his son Narapati, Dinakara (omitted in the *praśasti*), Jasakarṇa, his son Nāgapāla, his son Puṇya(Pūrṇa)pāla, his son Pṛithvīmalla, his son Bhuvanasiṁha, his son Bhīmasiṁha,[2] Jayasiṁha, his son Lakshmasiṁha, mentioned in the *Rājapraśasti* as the ruler of Maṇḍalgarh, who died with his 12 brothers and 7 sons defending Chitor against Alāuddīn Khaljī, and Ajēsī (Ajayasiṁha), his only surviving son who succeeded his father.

It may be mentioned here that the Sadaḍī inscription of the time of the Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa (V.S. 1496),[3] mentioned before, also gives the names of Bhuvanasiṁha, his son Jayasiṁha, Lakshmasiṁha, his son Ajayasiṁha, and his brother Arisiṁha after Samarasiṁha of the Rāval branch, but Ratnasiṁha's name is altogether omitted. The *Rājapraśasti*, however, mentions Ratnasī but puts him as the brother of Lakshmasiṁha. But we know from the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517 and the *Ekaliṅga Māhātmya* that Ratnasiṁha was the son and successor of Samarasiṁha of Mewār while Lakshmasiṁha belonged to Sisōdā.[5] At the time of the siege of Chitor, Lakshmasiṁha must have been in Chitor in command of the fort on behalf of Ratnasiṁha. The history of Mewār is a bit confused at this period and the statements given in the bardic and Muslim chronicles do not agree. There is no reference in the Rājput chronicles of the occupation of Chitor by Alāuddīn who left it in charge of his son Khizir Khān and then of Māladēva, the Soṅgirā Chāhamāna ruler, as stated by the Muslim historians. Again, according to the *Rājapraśasti*, Arisiṁha died with his father Lakshmasiṁha in the battlefield and his brother Ajēsī (Ajayasiṁha) seems to have been the chief of Sisōdā.[4] It seems certain that the line of the Rāval branch of Mewār ended with Ratnasiṁha till Hammīra, son of Arisiṁha of the Sisōdā branch, reconquered Chitor and thus brought Mewār under the rule of the Sisōdās. From Hammīra onwards the information given by the author of the *Rājapraśasti*, though meagre, is more authentic. As is usual in such cases, the poet has scrupulously avoided any reverses that his patron and his ancestors may have suffered, exaggerated their achievements and mixed up legends with history following the tradition of the bards, but all the same he has given quite a lot of information which is interesting and can be verified from other sources. Many of these have been noticed in the footnotes to the abstract of contents.

Two chronological tables, one from Guhila to Hammīra, compiled from early inscriptions, and another from Hammīra to Jayasiṁha, the last ruler included in the *Rājapraśasti*, are appended here with known dates of the rulers mentioned. In the Kumbhalagarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbhā (V.S. 1517), it is claimed that the genealogy of the early rulers as given there has been compiled with great care after studying many old *praśastis*[6] and this claim seems to be justified.

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[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 53 f.

[2] Tod wrongly mentions him as the husband of Padminī.

[3] *A.S.I. An. Rep.*, 1907-08, pp. 214 f.

[4] Bhandarkar in his Genealogical List includes him in the Rāval branch.

[5] This is the relationship given in the Sadaḍī inscription also. But according to the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, p. 525), Arsi was the eldest son of Ajai Sing who was appointed to the command of Chitor by Alāuddīn.

[6] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 324, v. 138.

Table I

Kings of the Guhila Dynasty from Guhila to Hammira

	(a) Ātpur inscr. V.S. 1034	(b) Chitor inscr. V.S. 1331	(c) Mount Abu inscr. V.S. 1342	(d) Sadaḍī inscr. V.S. 1496	(e) Kumbhalgarh inscr. V.S. 1517	Relationship	Known dates	Remarks
1		Bappa	Bappaka	Bappa				
2	Guhadatta	Guhila	Guhila	Guhila	Guhila			
3	Bhōja	Bhōja	Bhōja	Bhōja	Bhōja			
4	Mahēndra	..	..	..	Mahēndra			
5	Nāga	..	..	..	Nāga			
6	Śīla	Śīla	Śīla	Śīla	Bappa		V.S. 703	
9	Aparājita	..	..	..	Aparājita		V.S. 718	
8	Mahēndra II	..	..	..	Mahēndra II			
7	Kālabhōja	Kālabhōja	Kālabhōja	Kālabhōja	Kālabhōja			
10	Khōmmāṇa	..	..	..	Khummāṇa			
11	Mattaṭa	Mattaṭa	..	..	Mattaṭa			
12	Bhartṛipaṭṭa	Bhartṛibhaṭa	Bhartṛibhaṭa	Bhartṛibhaṭa	Bhartṛibhaṭa			
13	Siṁha	Siṁha	Siṁha	Siṁha	..			
14	Khummāṇa II	..	..	..	..	S. of 13		
15	Mahāyaka	Mahāyaka	Mahāyaka	Mahāyaka	..	S. of 14		
16	Khōmmāṇa III	Khōmmāṇa	Khōmmāṇa	Khōmmāṇa	..	S. of 15		
17	Bhartṛipaṭṭa II	..	..	..	..	S. of 16	V.S. 999, 1000	m. *Mahālakshmī* of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.
18	Allaṭa	Allaṭa	Allaṭa	Allaṭa	Allaṭa	S. of 17	V.S. 1008, 1010	m. Hariyādēvī, d. of a Hūṇa prince.

Table I—*contd.*

	(*a*) Āṭpur inscr. V.S. 1034	(*b*) Chitor inscr. V.S. 1331	(*c*) Mount Abu inscr. V.S. 1342	(*d*) Sadaḍī inscr. V.S. 1496	(*e*) Kumbhalgarh inscr. V.S. 1517	Relationship	Known dates	Remarks
19	Naravāhana .	Naravāhana .	Naravāhana .	Naravāhana .	Naravāhana .	S. of 18 . .	V.S. 1028	m. d. of Chāhamāna Jējaya.
20	Śālivāhana . .	..	..	..	Śālivāhana .	S. of 19 . .		
21	Śaktikumāra . .	Śaktikumāra .	Śaktikumāra .	Śaktikumāra .	Śaktikumāra .	S. of 20 . .	V.S. 1034	
22		Āmraprasāda .	..	..	Ambāprasāda .	S. of 21		
23		Śuchivarman .	Śuchivarman .	Śuchivarman .	Anantavarman			(*e*) calls Anantavarman b. of 22.
24		Naravarman .	Naravarman .	..	Naravarman .	b. of 22 . .		
25			Kīrtivarman .	Kīrtivarman .	Yaśōvarman .			b. of 22 according to (*e*).
26			..	Yōgarāja .	Yōgarāja .			Yōgarāja's line did not rule according to (*e*).
27			Vairaṭa . .	Vairaṭa . .	Vairaṭa . .			
28			..	Vaṁśapāla .	Haṁsapāla .			
29			Vairisiṁha .	Vairisiṁha .	Vairisiṁha .	S. of 28 . .		(*e*) had 22 sons.
30			Vijayasiṁha .	..	..	S. of 27 . .	V.S. 1164, 1173.	*m.* Śyāmaladēvī, d. of Paramāra Udayāditya. Kalachuri Gayākarṇa of Tripuri m. their d. Ālhaṇadēvī. Seems identical with the nameless king of (*e*).
31			..	Vīrasiṁha .	Vairisiṁha .	s. of 30 . .	..	
32		..	Arisiṁha .	Arisiṁha .	..	..	..	
33		..	Chōḍa . .	Chōḍasiṁha .	Chōḍa . .	..	..	
		..	Vikramasiṁha	Vikramasiṁha	Vikramasiṁha	elder b. of 33 (*e*); s. of 33(*c*).		

35		..	..	Raṇasiṁha .	Raṇasiṁha .	s. of 34 . .	V.S. 1223.	s. a. Karṇasiṁha of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*.
36			Kshēmasiṁha .	Kshēmasiṁha .	Kshēmasiṁha .	s. of 35 . .	V.S. 1228, 1236, 1256, 1258.	y.b. of Mahanasiṁha who apparently predeceased his father.
37			Sāmantasiṁha	Sāmantasiṁha	Sāmantasiṁha	s. of 36 . .	..	
38			Kumārasiṁha .	Kumārasiṁha .	Kumārasiṁha .	y.b. of 39 .	..	Turned out Kītu and got back Āhāḍ through favour of the Gujarāt ruler (e).
39			Mathanasiṁha	Mathanasiṁha	Mahanasiṁha .	s. of 38 . .		
40			Padmasiṁha .	Padmasiṁha .	Padmasiṁha .	b. of 37 (e) .		
41			Jaitrasiṁha .	Jaitrasiṁha .	Raula Jaya- (Jaitra) siṁha	s. of 40 . .	V.S. 1270, 1279, 1284.	His second son Sīhaḍa seems to have been the ruler of Vāgaḍa who was succeeded by his s. Jayasiṁha for whom we have the dates V.S. 1306-1309.
42			Tējasiṁha .	Tējasiṁha .	Rāvala Tējasiṁha	s. of 41 . .	V.S. 1317, 1322, 1324.	m. Jayatalladēvī.
43			Samarasiṁha .	Samarasiṁha .	Samarasiṁha[1] .	s. of 42 . .	V.S. 1330, 1331, 1335, 1342, 1344, 1345, 1356, 1358.	*Mahārājakula*.
44					Ratnasiṁha[2] .	s. of 43 .	V.S. 1359.	m. Padminī.
45				Hammīra .	Hammīra .			

[1] After Samarasiṁha, the Sadaḍī inscription of the time of Kumbhakarṇa gives the names of the five rulers (found also in the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*), Bhuvanasiṁha, his s. Jayasiṁha, Lakshmasiṁha, his s. Ajayasiṁha and his b. Arisiṁha who really belonged to the Rāṇā branch of Sisōdā. These are followed by Hammīra and his successors.

[2] After Ratnasiṁha, the Kumbhalgarh inscription brings in Lakshmasī, but deliberately calls him Mahārāṇā in order to distinguish him from the Rāval branch. He is brought in to describe his valour in the defence of the Chitor fort at the time of the Muslim siege.

Table II

Succession of the rulers of Mewār from Hammīra to Jayasiṁha

1. Mahārāṇā Hammīra, s. of Arasī (Arisiṁha) of Sisōdā who was the eldest son of Lakshmasiṁha.[1]
2. Mahārāṇā Kshētrasiṁha[2], s. of 1. V.S. 1423.
3. Lakshya or Lakshasiṁha[3], s. of 2. V.S. 1462, 1468, 1475.
4. Mōkala (*Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāja Mṛigāṅka*), s. of 3. *m.* Saubhāgyadēvī (mother of Kumbhā) and Gōrāmbikā of the Bāghēlā family. Had seven sons[4]. V.S. 1478, 1485-86. The *Rājapraśasti* mentions Bāghā as one of his brothers.
5. Kumbhakarṇa (*Mahārājādhirāja Rāyarāya Rāṇe-rāya Mahārāṇā*). Had also the *birudas* Tōdaramalla, Abhinava-Bharatāchārya and Hindusuratrāṇa among others. Eldest s. of 4. *m.* Kumbhalladēvī and Apūrvadēvī.[5] Built the fort of Kumbhalgarh and other monuments and forts. V.S. 1488[6], 1491, 1494-97, 1499, 1505, 1507, 1509-10, 1515-18.
6. Udayasiṁha (Udā). s. of 5. Became ruler after murdering his father in V.S. 1525. As a patricide his name is omitted in all the inscriptions of the dynasty.
7. Rājamalla (Rāymal). s. of 5. Became ruler in V.S. 1530 after ousting his brother Udā. m. Śṛiṅgāradēvī, d. of Yōdhā, prince of Marusthalī (Mārwār).[7] V.S. 1537, 1543, 1545, 1556-57, 1561.
8. Saṁgrāmasiṁha (Sāṅgā), s. of 7.[8] V.S. 1574, 1584.
9. Ratnasiṁha II[9], died childless.
10. Vikramāditya, b. of 9. V.S. 1589. He was murdered in V.S. 1596 by Vanavīra, a natural son of Pṛithvīrāja, son of Mahārāṇā Rāymal, who for a time usurped the throne of Chitor.
11. Udayasiṁha II, s. of 10.[10] Built Udaipur and commenced the excavation of Udayasāgara in V.S. 1616 which was completed in V.S. 1621; d. V.S. 1628.
12. Pratāpasiṁha, s. of 11.[11] V.S. 1630, 1634, 1639. d. V.S. 1653.
13. Amarasimha, s. of 12. Born V.S. 1616, Chaitra sudi 7 (16th March 1559 A.D.). Coronation V.S. 1653, Māgha sudi 11 (19th January, 1597 A.D.), died V.S. 1678, Māgha sudi 2, Wednesday (26th January, 1620 A.D.).[12]

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[1] According to Nainsi, he had three other sons, Lūṇā whose descendants were known as Lunāvat Sisodā, Khaṅgār and Vairasāla.

[2] He had six other sons. See Ojha, *Hist. of Rajputana*, p. 570.

[3] For the names of his six other sons, see Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

[4] Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 590.

[5] According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription, he had 11 sons and many wives of whom only two names are known, one from the Chitor Kīrtistambha inscr. and the other from his commentary on the *Gītagōvinda*, *Rasikapriyā* (Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 664). His d. Ramābāi was married to Yādava Maṇḍalika of Surat (Junagarh) who later became a Muslim and his wife returned to Mewār.

[6] This is the reading of Bhandarkar. See his List, No. 769.

[7] According to bardic chronicles he had 11 wives, 13 sons and two daughters (Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 658).

[8] According to the chronicles he had 28 wives, 7 sons (4 of whom died during his life time) and 4 daughters (Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 686-87).

[9] No inscription of this ruler has come to light yet. But there is an undated stone inscription of his minister Karmasiṁha at Śatruñjaya (near Pālitānā in Kāthiāwār) (Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 703).

[10] The story has it that Vanavīra wanted to kill the boy prince also. But his foster mother Pānnā placed her own son on the bed of the prince who was killed by the usurper. Pānnā then rescued the boy prince who ultimately with the help of the Sardārs recovered for himself his ancestral kingdom in about V.S. 1597. According to the chronicles, he had 20 wives and 25 sons (Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 733-34).

[11] He had 11 wives and 17 sons. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 781.

[12] See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 820.

14. Mahārāṇā Karṇasiṁha, s. of 13.[1] Birth V.S. 1640, Māgha sudi 4 (7th January, 1584 A.D.); coronation V.S. 1676, Māgha sudi 2 (26th January, 1620 A.D.); death V.S. 1684, Phālguna (March, 1628 A.D.). *m.* Jāmbavatī, d. of Mahēchā Jasavanta.

15. Mahārāṇā Jagatsiṁha, s. of 14. Birth V.S. 1664, Bhādrapada sudi 2 (Friday, 14th August, 1607 A.D.); coronation V.S. 1684, Phālguna (March, 1628 A.D.); death V.S. 1709, Kārttika vadi 4 (10th April 1652 A.D.).[2] V.S. 1685, 1686, 1704, 1709.

16. Mahārāṇā Rājasiṁha I, s. of 15 and Janādē, d. of Rāṭhōr Rājasiṁha of Meḍtā. Birth V.S. 1686, Kārttika vadi 2 (24th September, 1629 A.D.); coronation V.S. 1709, Kārttika vadi 4 (20th October, 1652 A.D.); death V.S. 1737, Kārttika sudi 10 (22nd October, 1680 A.D.)[3]; *m.* Sadākuṁbarī, d. of Paramāra Indrabhāṇa of Bijōliā, Rāmarasadē, d. of Prithvīsiṁha, grd. d. of Jujharasiṁha and grt. grd. d. of Paramāra Rāyasala of Ajmer, and Chārumatī, d. of Rupasiṁha of Rūpnagar (Kishangarh). V.S. 1713, 1716, 1717, 1721, 1725, 1731, 1732, 1733. The *Rājapraśasti* gives the date of his death and the coronation of Jayasiṁha.

17. Mahārāṇā Jayasiṁha, s. of 16 and Sadākuṁbarī. Birth V.S. 1710, Pausha vadi 11 (5th December, 1653 A.D.), coronation 15 days after the death of Rājasiṁha; death V.S. 1755, Āśvina vadi 14 (23rd December, 1698 A.D.).[4]

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[1] Had 7 sons and 2 daughters; Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 829-30.
[2] Had 11 wives, 5 sons and 4 daughters; *ibid.*, p. 839.
[3] Had 18 wives, 9 sons and one daughter. See above and Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 855.
[4] Had 4 sons and 4 daughters; *ibid.*, p. 904.

INDEX

[The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure to footnotes, and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*au.*= author, *ca.*= capital, *ch.*= chief, *Chron.*= Chronicle, *ci.*= city, *co.*= country, *com.*= composer, *de.*= deity, *di.*= district or division, *do.*= ditto, *dy.*= dynasty, E.= Eastern, *engr.*= engraver, *ep.*= epithet, *f.*= family, *fe.*= female, *feud.*= feudatory, *gen.*= general, *gr.*= grant, grants, *Hist.*= Historical, *ins.*= inscription, inscriptions, *k.*= king, *l.*= locality, *l.m.*= linear measure, land measure, *m.*= male, *min.*= minister, *mo.*= mountain, *myth.*= mythological, *n.*= name, N.= Northern, *off.*= office, officer, *pl.*= plate, plates, *pr.*= prince, princess, *prov.*= province, *q.*= queen, *rel.*= religious, *ri.*= river, S.= Southern, *s.a.*= same as, *sur.*= surname, *te.*= temple, *Tel.*= Telugu, *t.d.*= territorial division, *tit.*= title, *tn.*= town, *tk.*= taluk, *vi.*= village, W.= Western, *wk.*= work, *wt.*= weight.]

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